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A CORPUS-BASED APPROACH TO  
INFINITIVAL COMPLEMENTS  
IN EARLY LATIN

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the  
Louisiana State University and  
Agricultural and Mechanical College  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Interdepartmental Program in Linguistics

by  
Sarah H. Ross  
B.A., University of Alabama, 1984  
M.A., Louisiana State University, 1999  
May 2005

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

*Nil tam difficile 'st quin quaerendo investigari possiet.* ‘Nothing is so difficult that it cannot be investigated by inquiring.’ (Ter. *Heau.* 675) Reaching across a divide of more than twenty-one centuries, these words from the Roman playwright Terence express the motivation for the present study: Dead or not, a language can be studied and understood within the framework of modern linguistic theory. Its speakers can still convey – sometimes with humor, sometimes with pathos – the range of human experiences that change remarkably little through the millennia.

Terence’s words also encapsulate the continuous push towards “getting it right” that Professor Michael Hegarty, my committee chair, has firmly yet patiently required; whatever errors remain are wholly mine. The playwrights’ words express far better than I could the level of academic commitment – and the presupposition that the results are achievable – expected by the other committee members, Professors Jill Brody, Hugh Buckingham, and Janna Oetting. Each of these professors is a leader in a particular academic area, and each also shares his or her special talents – academic and otherwise – unselfishly with students. To Professor Hegarty, thank you for the breadth of your knowledge, the ability to convey it clearly to students, and the expectation that we students will actually (if only eventually) get it right: *Numquam accedo, quin abs te abeam doctior* ‘Never do I approach you without coming away knowing more’ (Ter. *Eun.* 791). To Professor Brody, thank you for your enthusiasm about the academic discipline and your emphasis on the human side of both the profession and the texts we all study: *Nil humani a me alienum puto* ‘I think nothing human is alien from me’ (Ter. *Heaut.* 77). To Professor Buckingham, thank you for your enthusiasm in both your particular subject area and in linguistics in general; you will appreciate the onomatopoetic effects of the spondees in this line

of dactylic hexameter from Ennius: *mīssāquē | pēr pēc- | tūs dūm || trānsīt | strīdērāt | hāstā* ‘and the spear, shot into his chest, whizzed as it went through’ (Enn. *Ann.* 357). To Professor Oetting, thank you for your vast expertise in producing results from child-language corpora: *Dum in dubio ’st animus, paulo momento huc vel illuc inpellitur* ‘When my mind is in doubt, it is soon led here or there [with you]’ (Ter. *And.* 267).

To the entire faculty of the Interdepartmental Program in Linguistics, I also express great appreciation. Particular thanks go to Professor Lisi Oliver, whose knowledge of medieval languages and literatures is amazing, matched only by her enthusiasm for the subject and her generosity in working with students. To Professor Arnulfo Ramirez, head of the program, I also express great appreciation for the many discussions we have had on corpus linguistics and on the Romance languages from the beginnings of Latin through modern Spanish. To all of these mentors, I owe a huge debt of gratitude. That debt I can only modestly attempt to repay by (finally!) producing this document.

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Finally, I gratefully acknowledge the tremendous support my family has provided. My parents, John and Lucile Hawkins, have always instilled the kind of intellectual enthusiasm and perseverance conveyed by Terence in the opening quote. To my immediate family, I also acknowledge a huge burden of time and patience imposed by the dissertation process. Thank you, Dennis, Andrew, and Ainsley for putting up with me, for getting impatient at just the right points as a prompt to finish up, and above all for your belief in me all along. I could not have done it without you – nor would I have wanted to. *Non potest ecfari tantum dictis quam factis suppetit* ‘It cannot be expressed in words as great as the deeds that [you] have done’ (Enn. *Hec.* 179).

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## LIST OF GLOSS AND OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ABL	Ablative case
ACC	Accusative case
AcI	<i>Accusativus cum Infinitivo</i> ‘accusative with infinitive’
Agr	Agreement
AgrO	Object agreement
AgrOP	AgrO phrase
AgrS	Subject agreement
AgrSP	AgrS phrase
ANA	Anaphor
COMP	Complementizer
COMPAR	Comparative
DAT	Dative case
DEPON	Deponent verb
DIMIN	Diminutive
ECM	Exceptional Case Marking
F	Feminine gender
FUT	Future tense
GEN	Genitive case
I	Inflection
IMPERAT	Imperative mood
IMPERF	Imperfect tense
INDEF	Indefinite pronoun
INFIN	Infinitive
INTERROG	Interrogative (enclitic or free morpheme)
INTENSIF	Intensifier
IP	Inflection Phrase
LOC	Locative case
M	Masculine gender
N	Neuter gender
NcI	<i>Nominativus cum Infinitivo</i> ‘nominative with infinitive’
NOM	Nominative case
NP	Noun phrase
PART	Participle
PASS	Passive voice
PERF	Perfect tense
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
PL	Plural
PLUPERF	Pluperfect tense
PPP	Perfect passive participle
pro	Understood subject or object, recoverable from agreement features and/or context
PRO	Non-overt subject of control infinitival

Q	Questionizer
REFLEX	Reflexive pronoun
REL	Relative pronoun
S	Singular
SUBJ	Subjunctive mood
SUPER	Superlative
T	Tense
V	Verb
VOC	Vocative case
VP	Verb phrase
Y/N	Yes/no questionizer (enclitic)

## ABSTRACT

A theory-based perspective is essential to a full understanding of infinitive clauses in early Latin. Some previous work focusing on syntactic theory has failed to include appropriate Latin data or has not explained it adequately. More recent theoretical perspectives have taken the approach of Functional Grammar, dismissing much of the variation in word order and embedded clause types as driven merely by pragmatics.

This study examines the syntax of early Latin from a Government and Binding viewpoint, with the aim of fully marrying the theory with the data to account for the infinitival variations. A corpus was created from the complete extant works of Accius, Caecilius, Cato, Ennius, Livius Andronicus, Lucilius, Naevius, Pacuvius, and the anonymous *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* as well as five selected plays from Plautus and three from Terence (comprising a total of over 200,000 words with 3,828 infinitives).

One of the main findings is that certain structures such as passivization are a strategy to avoid the syntactic ambiguity that would otherwise result from the confluence of multiple accusative-case assignments. The results show that infinitival complements with more than one overt accusative noun phrase are relatively rare (occurring in only 14% of contexts), while structures that avoid ambiguity, such as finite clause variants, passivization, and null noun phrases, are more frequent (occurring in about one fourth of possible contexts). The study also provides a baseline for examining grammaticalization and other language changes in the history of Latin.



## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The last half century has witnessed an explosion in linguistic theory, much of it in the area of syntax. Chomsky's Syntactic Structures (1957) focused theoretical attention on transformational generative grammar. As transformational generative theory eventually developed into Government and Binding and later the Minimalist Program, much of the original focus was on English. Later work has expanded to include other languages – even the Romance languages – but generally not dead languages such as Latin.

The result is a third-fold irony. First, Chomsky himself had written a descriptive analysis of modern Hebrew, so that early on English was not the dominant language of research interest for many researchers. Second, a stated goal of the Minimalist Program is to identify linguistic universals. While the general approach is theoretical rather than empirical, universal principles can be derived only through the systematic study of a wide range of languages. Third, one particular language long associated with rationalism in the Western tradition – Latin – has been generally neglected by linguistic theorists. Dismissed as “elitist” by many in the twentieth century, analyses of Latin have remained mostly hidden from the syntactic microscope. Where Latin is still regularly studied, such investigations are typically philological rather than theoretical.

One early exception is Lakoff's Abstract Syntax and Latin Complementation (1968), but this work has been rightly criticized for errors in its application of syntactic theory (Amacker, 1972) as well errors in the actual facts about Latin (Pinkster, 1971; Householder, 1969). Moreover, Lakoff deals primarily with Classical Latin, and when attempting to show diachronic change makes unwarranted assumptions about the underlying nature of the grammar. While Lakoff's work is seminal, it ultimately leaves many more questions than it has answered. That

vacuum has begun to be filled. In the past two decades some areas of Latin syntax have been examined from a theoretical standpoint, for instance Exceptional Case Marking. Theoretical research has also explored specific areas of the grammar, such as the distribution of various types of NP and discourse markers.

The result of these recent analyses has finally focused long-needed attention on Latin, combining the best of descriptive analysis with a chosen theoretical framework. However, with the exception of Pinkster's Latin Syntax and Semantics (a 1990 English translation of his 1984 work), most recent linguistic attention on Latin has been on particular topics. Pinkster synthesizes many aspects of Latin grammar into a larger outline, but overall the work is descriptive and promotes a Functional Grammar perspective. For instance, in analyzing embedded infinitival complements, he makes no theoretical distinction between Exceptional Case Marking and control structures. So far, other work that is theory-based has not yet drawn a complete picture of Latin grammar. Bolkestein has examined various issues of Latin syntax and discourse (e.g. 2000; 1992; 1990; 1989; 1985; 1980; 1979; Bolkestein & van de Grift, 1994), but so far without integrating the various pieces into a composite description of the grammar, and much of her theory is, like Pinkster's, within Functional Grammar. Thus, the current state of a theoretical approach to Latin grammar is still skewed: The theory-driven studies are applied only to localized aspects of syntax, and the synthesizing studies are not driven by a syntactic approach such as Government and Binding or Minimalism. There remains a void in our understanding of how Latin grammar actually works as interpreted by the "mainstream" apparatus of syntactic theory.

Even when syntactic theory has been applied to Latin, it has dealt either exclusively or primarily with the classical period of the language. Earlier stages of the language have received

little systematic attention, apart from work by nineteenth- and twentieth-century philologists (e.g. Bennett, 1984:2001, 1910; Buck, 1976; Kieckers, 1930; Leumann & Hofmann, 1928; Gildersleeve & Lodge, 1895:1997; Draeger, 1878). Understanding the pre-classical period of Latin is important for a complete understanding of Latin as a diachronous, multi-register language. Even when syntactic attention focuses on the early period, textual citations are typically framed as anomalies compared with the better-known classical period, or as mere corroboration of patterns found from later. No modern theoretical study has yet examined the early Latin period in itself.

The classical period has its theoretical study in Pinkster's framework of Functional Grammar, but early Latin has not yet had a recent theoretical account applied to it. Given the lack of a theoretical approach to the syntax of early Latin, this gap invites a thorough-going examination of actual data to meet up with a theoretical approach to syntax. This study attempts to fill in the syntactic gap by examining the nature of infinitival complements in early Latin. The data for the study come directly from extant texts of the early period, which are analyzed within the framework of Government and Binding and the Minimalist Program. Using a corpus-based approach, this study takes a small step in a much longer path toward understanding early Latin with a syntax-centered theoretical apparatus.

## **CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO INFINITIVAL COMPLEMENTS**

The obvious difference between an infinitive and a finite verb are the settings of the [finite] and [tense] features. While significant, these differences obscure the many similarities that finite and non-finite verbs share. For instance, both verb forms can take an external argument (i.e. the subject) if semantically endowed with an appropriate thematic role. Both can also subcategorize for one or more internal arguments, again according to their semantic structure. Where an infinitive most differs from its finite counterpart is in the type of NP it takes for its subject and in the type of structures in which it can occur. Generally, the subject of a finite verb (in English, at least) is an overt NP, and that NP receives its case marking from the finite verb. A non-overt subject can occur with an infinitive in a construction such as control. In Exceptional Case Marking, the infinitive allows an overt NP as subject, but the NP receives its case assignment from the main verb, not the infinitive. In these various ways, non-finite verbs are noticeably different from finite verbs. In addition, infinitivals play important roles in passivization and raising.

### **2.1 CASE ASSIGNMENT**

Under Case theory, each lexical thematic NP must receive case. According to the Case Filter, each overt thematic NP argument must receive a case assignment, either overt or abstract (Chomsky, 1995, p. 111). One implication of the Case Filter is that all languages are presumed to have abstract case. However, parameter settings and relative morphological richness account for differences in whether abstract case is overtly expressed in any particular language. In languages like English with little overt morphology on NPs, most nouns can overtly show plurality or possession, but only pronouns overtly mark the difference between nominative and accusative case (e.g. she vs. her). Determiners, adjectives, and nouns are also overtly case-

marked in more morphologically rich languages like German and Latin. An account of Latin inflectional morphology is presented in detail beginning in section 3.2 below, but for now examples (1-2) show how overt case marking distinguishes nominative (*pueri*) and accusative (*pueros*) in Latin. (In citations throughout this work, verbs are in present tense, indicative mood, and active voice unless otherwise noted. Gloss abbreviations are listed on page ix, and full names of authors and their works are in Appendix A.)

- (1) *Mercator*      *quidem*      *fuit*      *Syraculis*      *senex,*      *ei*      *sunt*  
 merchant-M-S-NOM    INDEF-M-S-NOM    be-3-S-PERF    Syracuse-F-PL-LOC    old-M-S-NOM    ANA-S-DAT    be-3-S
- nati*      *filii*      *gemini*      *duo,*      *ita*      *forma*      *simili*  
 born PPP -M-PL-NOM    son-M-PL-NOM    twin-M-PL-NOM    two-M-PL-NOM    thus    form-F-S-ABL    alike-S-ABL
- pueri*  
 boy-M-PL-NOM

‘There was a certain old merchant in Syracuse who had twin sons, boys so alike in appearance ...’ (Pl. *Men.* 17-19)

- (2) *ut*      *quidem*      *ille*      *dixit*      *mihi,*      *qui*      *pueros*      *viderat*  
 as    INDEF-M-S-NOM    that-M-S-NOM    say-3-S-PERF    I-S-DAT    REL-M-PL-NOM    boy-M-PL-ACC    see-3-S-PLUP

‘as a certain man who had seen the boys told me’ (Pl. *Men.* 22)

As the glosses show, all Latin NPs including pronouns and adjectives are inflected for case.

Case may be assigned either inherently or structurally. Inherent case derives from the semantic properties of the verb and the NP’s relationship to that verb. For example, the dative case is for an indirect object, as it relates that NP as a beneficiary or goal of the verb. Inherent case may also stem from the relationship between another lexical head and an NP, such as a preposition combining with an NP to yield a PP or a genitive NP expressing the relationship of possession or source. Case assigners in English include verbs and prepositions, but not nouns or adjectives. Since inherent case comes from a “natural” relationship between constituents, its form in a given type of thematic role does not vary except in so-called quirky case. Thus, for example, all indirect objects should be assigned dative case unless overridden by some other

principle of the grammar. Under the  $\theta$ -Criterion, each thematic role for a given verb must be mapped onto one (and only one) NP argument. In a nominative-accusative type language such as English or Latin, the typical active verb licenses an agent role for the doer of the action, and that agent is often (but necessarily) the subject. The  $\theta$ -role of agent is based on the verb's semantics and its nominative case assignment is inherent. If transitive, the verb also selects a  $\theta$ -role like patient or theme for the direct object. In the corresponding passivized sentence, the  $\theta$ -role of the agent still exists (although it may be phonetically null), but the NP with the role of patient/theme becomes the subject.

In contrast to inherent case, structural case reflects merely a grammatical relationship between the verb and its arguments. The nature of that relationship can change according to the clause structure. Nominative (for the subject) and accusative (for the direct object) are structural case assignments because they are not mapped to specific thematic roles. The subject of an English sentence is often the NP with the  $\theta$ -role of agent, but NPs with other thematic roles can also be the subject, including the expletives it and there, which have no  $\theta$ -role at all. Regardless of its thematic role, the subject of a finite clause structurally gets a nominative case assignment, and the direct object gets accusative case. Exactly how those structural case assignments are made is explained differently in different syntactic theories.

In Government and Binding (GB) theory, the grammar is modular and the main relationship between the modules is government. Both  $\theta$ -roles and structural case are assigned under government. For example, a finite transitive verb assigns accusative case to its direct object internally from within the VP, regardless of which  $\theta$ -role the NP bears. Under the relation of government, I(nfl) also assigns nominative case to the subject externally as the specifier of the

I head, which carries Agreement. These case assignments are shown in simplified structure in Figure 1, ignoring any movement of the subject from within the VP.

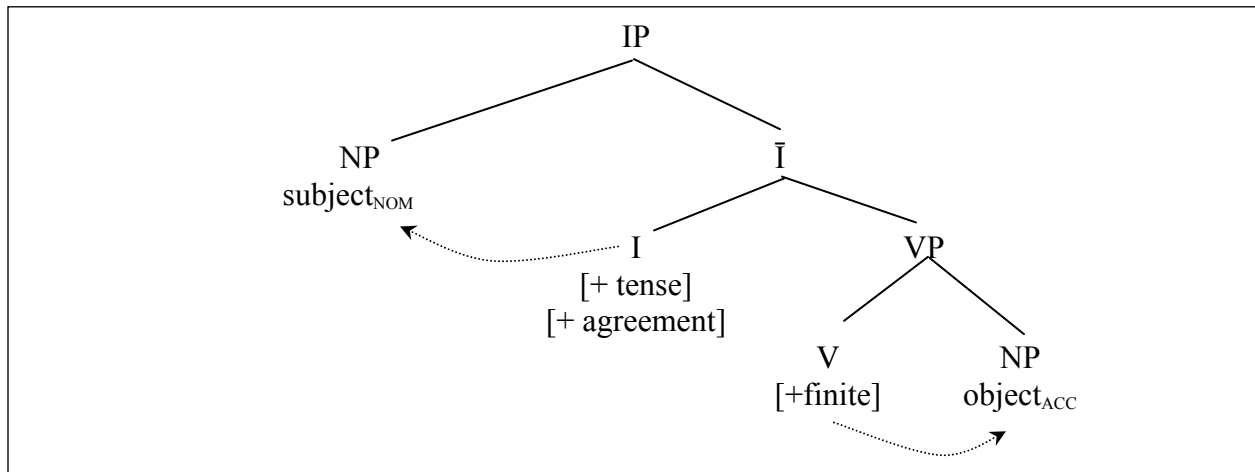


Figure 1: Case Assignment in GB.

In GB, phrases have specifiers, heads, and complements, and they set up relationships between specifier-head or head-complement, defined by different forms of government. Nominative case is assigned from the Spec-Head relationship between the agreement feature in the I node and the NP in its specifier. Accusative case is assigned by V to the NP in its complement. This results in an asymmetric assignment of structural case.

Besides government, another crucial component of GB is the principle of Move- $\alpha$ . Move- $\alpha$  is the obligatory movement of constituents, limited only by specific parameter settings or other features of the grammar such as binding rules. If after an instance of movement the resulting derivation violates no grammatical principle or parametric setting, the string is grammatical; otherwise, it either crashes or is subject to another cycle of Move- $\alpha$ . One example of Move- $\alpha$  is when an overt NP has no case assignment. Since that condition violates the Case Filter, Move- $\alpha$  derives a new structure in which the NP is at a position where it can receive a case assignment. For example, accusative case assignment is absorbed in passivization, leaving the underlying direct-object NP without case. Lacking a case assignment even though it has

phonetic content, the NP is forced to move. In passivization the only available slot is the subject position, previously vacated by the underlying NP with the  $\theta$ -role of agent. Once the promoted NP moves into the position where it can receive case, the Case Filter is satisfied and the resulting structure is valid.

Minimalist syntax also assumes the Case Filter requirements are fulfilled through syntactic relationships. One crucial difference is that in the Minimalist Program (MP) the main force behind syntactic relations is a generalized concept of agreement, the relationship between a head and its specifier or between two heads under head movement. That is, movement is not triggered per se under a universal principle of grammar, but rather movement is a consequence of the need to check features under the structural relation of agreement. Whenever movement occurs, it does so over the shortest possible route. The MP includes Checking Theory, under which NPs have agreement features that must be checked. Rather than being assigned structurally through syntactic relations, case is the checking of features between the NP and its functional head. Checking takes place in sequential Spec-Head derivations, wherein constituents move from a base position to one or more secondary positions. Whenever an agreement feature is at a position where it cannot be checked, the structure crashes. It can be recovered only by movement to a position where feature checking is possible. Where the Case Filter denies grammatical support for an overt NP without case, Checking Theory requires an overt NP to be in an agreement relationship in order to receive case. An NP without case crashes not because it violates the Case Filter per se, but the lack of case reveals that the NP's agreement features have not been properly checked.

Projections result from the merger of heads for checking purposes. This means that in the MP there are more projection levels to account for the various agreement features that must be



checked. Subject agreement (AgrS) is one feature to be checked, as are tense (T) and object agreement (AgrO). AgrO is supported by V. Nominative case marking on the subject occurs through Spec-Head agreement with AgrS, and accusative case under Spec-Head agreement with AgrO. Thus, checking theory posits the assignments shown in Figure 2, a simplified version with T and AgrS together; some versions of the theory separate them out.

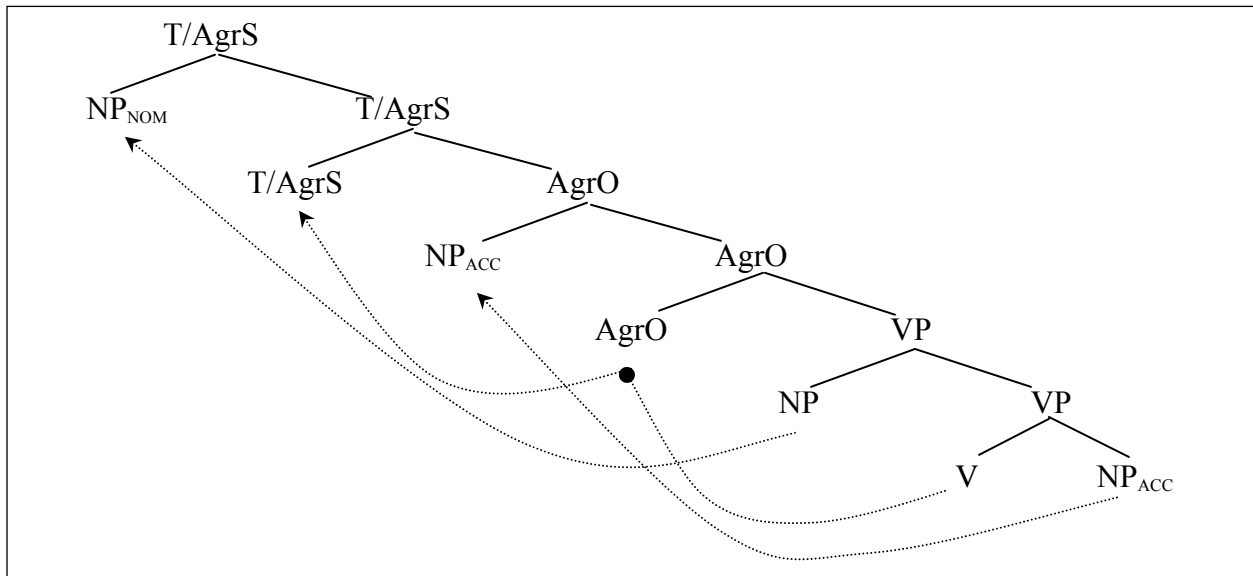


Figure 2: Checking Theory in the MP.

Under Minimalist theory, it is essential that the subject originates as the specifier of VP. Since the VP-internal subject cannot check its AgrS feature where it is generated, it must move to the specifier of AgrS. Similarly, the direct object moves to the specifier of AgrO in order to check case. The verb moves twice, each time motivated by feature checking: first to AgrO to check object agreement features with the direct object and then to AgrS to check subject agreement features with the subject. The object checks accusative case in Spec-AgrO, and the subject checks nominative case in Spec-AgrS after T merges with AgrS. In GB, case assignment is asymmetrical, but in the MP case checking is consistently made through Spec-Head agreement relations.

For the sake of consistency and to avoid unnecessary repetition, throughout this work syntax and related issues such as case assignment and movement will be referred to in the terms of GB rather than the MP. The interested reader can adapt such terms and concepts into those of Minimalism. Rather than case being assigned, in the MP features are checked for agreement properties. For GB's I node, substitute AgrS and for VP in relation to accusative case, substitute AgrO. Other terminological translations between the two theories will be mentioned below.

## **2.2 BINDING AND TYPES OF NPS**

One GB module is binding theory, which encompasses how the relationships between NPs are interpreted. Binding theory includes the distribution of referring expressions, pronouns, reflexives, and empty categories. The definition of binding is in (3), and the principles of Binding Theory are in (4).

- (3)  $\alpha$  binds  $\beta$  iff
  - (a)  $\alpha$  c-commands  $\beta$  and
  - (b)  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are co-indexed. (Chomsky, p. 93)
- (4) Binding theory
  - (a) Principle A: An anaphor must be bound in its governing category.
  - (b) Principle B: A pronoun must be free in its governing category.
  - (c) Principle C: An R-expression must be free everywhere.

NPs are categorized according to how they express two binary features, [anaphora] and [pronoun]. The four possible combinations of these two features for overt NPs are in Table 1. Anaphoric NPs require an antecedent, and pronouns may or may not have an antecedent. Personal pronouns are [- anaphor, + pronoun], because while they do not require an antecedent, they can have one. Reflexive pronouns are [+ anaphor, - pronoun] because they require an

antecedent. Referring (or R-) expressions require no antecedent; they are ‘unbound’ and independently recoverable and therefore [- anaphor, - pronoun].

Table 1: Types of Overt NPs.

Overt NP	[anaphor]	[pronoun]
Personal pronoun	–	+
Reflexive pronoun	+	–
Referring expression	–	–
N/A	+	+

The feature combination [+ anaphor, + pronoun] is not possible for an overt NP because of government. The two binding conditions of Principle A and Principle B shown in (4) place a mutually incompatible set of restrictions on an overt NP that is [+ anaphor, + pronoun] with a governing category. The only way to resolve the contradictory requirements of the [+ anaphor, + pronoun] features is for the NP to have no governing category. But in order to receive case, the subject of a finite verb must be governed, and if that subject has no case it violates the Case Filter. Therefore, this set of features cannot apply to an overt NP.

However, the PRO theorem allows an empty category of NP, known as PRO, that does simultaneously fulfill the two conditions. PRO serves as an infinitival subject, a domain considered as ungoverned. As a result, overt NPs and PRO are in (near) complementary distribution; indeed, the binding conditions of GB appear to be formulated precisely to explain why such a distribution occurs. In addition to PRO, the other three combinations of the [anaphor] and [pronoun] features also have counterparts that are empty categories. These are shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Types of Empty Categories.

Empty Category	[anaphor]	[pronoun]
pro	–	+
NP-trace	+	–
<u>wh</u> -trace	–	–
PRO	+	+

The empty category with the features [- anaphor, + pronoun] is pro. In languages such as Spanish and Italian that parametrically license it, pro is a phonetically null pronoun. Most commonly, pro is a subject pronoun but some languages also have object pro. The two types of traces both have the [- pronoun] feature, which results from the fact that in GB traces remain in situ from the D-structure following all movement derivations, in accordance with the Empty Category Condition that all traces must be governed.

Since a basic tenet of the MP is movement for checking purposes, the binding conditions of GB are unnecessary. Where patterns in overt vs. empty NP distribution exist, these result as a consequence of the grammar – without having to formulate special rules to create them. Anaphora, for instance, results from movement, and the three categories of NPs that have the feature [+ anaphor] – reflexive pronouns, NP traces, and PRO – are merely what result when checking conditions are satisfied. Even more generally, the [pronoun] feature is a lexical option that does not depend on any notion of domain or government for its realization.

## 2.3 CONTROL

Case theory accounts for the occurrence of case on overt NPs, specifying that lexical thematic NPs must have a case assignment. The theory also accounts for conditions in which an overt NP is prohibited but a covert one (i.e. PRO) is allowed. Infinitives like those in (5-7)

cannot support overt NPs as subjects except with the for complementizer, but instead require PRO. (Infinitival clauses are indicated in square brackets.)

- (5) a. the plan [PRO to sneak into Troy]  
b. \*the plan [the Greeks to sneak into Troy]
- (6) a. [PRO to design the horse] was clever  
b. \*[Odysseus to design the horse] was clever
- (7) a. Cassandra promised [PRO to warn the Trojans]  
b. \*Cassandra promised [she to warn the Trojans]

The ungrammatical (b) sentences result from a violation of the Case Filter. The I node contains tense and subject agreement, but the infinitive's [- finite] tense cannot support a case (suitable for an overt NP) for the subject. The infinitival subject cannot be assigned case, which by the Case Filter prohibits an overt NP in that position. As long as the subject is the non-overt PRO, as in the (a) sentences, the string is acceptable. This type of structure is control, in which one of the thematic arguments of the higher verb is obligatorily co-indexed with PRO in the infinitival complement.

Recall that PRO, with the binding features [+ anaphor, + pronoun], is interpretable as either anaphor or pronoun, as in (8-10), where anaphoric co-indexing is indicated by matching subscripts.

- (8) Caesar<sub>i</sub> decided/trying [PRO<sub>i</sub> to cross the Rubicon]
- (9) Caesar<sub>i</sub> ordered the soldiers<sub>j</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> to cross the Rubicon]
- (10) Caesar<sub>i</sub> told the soldiers<sub>j</sub> [it was healthy [PRO<sub>j/k</sub> to eat apples]]

PRO is anaphoric in (8-9), co-indexed with Caesar in (8) but with the soldiers in (9). Both are examples of so-called obligatory control, in which PRO is co-indexed with a particular NP

argument in the main clause. In (8) control extends from the main-clause subject Caesar to the PRO subject of the embedded verb, thus creating subject control; in (9) the link between the matrix object the soldiers and embedded subject PRO results in object control. In (10) PRO can be co-indexed with the soldiers, but there is also another reading in which it is not co-indexed with either overt NP. Rather, the co-indexing is with a distinct but covert controller, creating so-called arbitrary control. Arbitrary PRO appears mostly in infinitival complements of intransitive adjectives like healthy in (10) but not with transitive predicates. In obligatory control, the [+ anaphor] element of PRO is stronger since it links back to a particular NP, while in arbitrary control the [+ pronoun] element predominates.

Control predicates have a  $\theta$ -role assigned to their specifier, which is the NP Caesar in examples (11-13).

- (11) a. Caesar<sub>i</sub> decided [PRO<sub>i</sub> to cross the Rubicon]  
 b. \*Caesar<sub>i</sub> decided [Caesar/he/him<sub>i</sub> to cross the Rubicon]
- (12) a. Caesar<sub>i</sub> ordered the soldiers<sub>j</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> to cross the Rubicon]  
 b. \*Caesar<sub>i</sub> ordered the soldiers<sub>j</sub> [the soldiers/they/them<sub>j</sub> to cross the Rubicon]
- (13) a. Caesar<sub>i</sub> told the soldiers<sub>j</sub> [it was better [PRO<sub>k</sub> to eat apples]]  
 b. \*Caesar<sub>i</sub> told the soldiers<sub>j</sub> [it was better [people<sub>k</sub> to eat apples]]

The  $\theta$ -role of these subjects is usually agent, which fits semantically with the notion of ‘control’.<sup>1</sup>

The semantic field of control predicates includes those above and various verbs meaning tell, show, want, and try. Adjectival control predicates include psychological states such as anxious and desperate. In addition, control includes modal constructions with root or deontic modals,

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<sup>1</sup> By metaphorical extension, non-agentive entities can also serve as controllers: That dessert tempted me to break my diet, The cat persuaded her to let it outside.

which also assign the subject a  $\theta$ -role (Roberts, 1985, p. 49). The requirement for a thematic role rules out an expletive subject, as in (14-16).

(14) \*It/There<sub>i</sub> decided [PRO/Caesar<sub>i</sub> to cross the Rubicon]

(15) \*It/There<sub>i</sub> ordered the soldiers<sub>j</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> to cross the Rubicon]

(16) \*It/There<sub>i</sub> told the soldiers<sub>j</sub> [it was better [PRO<sub>k</sub> to eat apples]]

In the MP, control is considered not a module of the grammar, but rather a natural by-product of feature checking. The features [+ tense, - finite] on infinitives check null case, and the combination [- tense, - finite] does not check any case (Martin, 2001, p. 147). Since an overt NP must have a real case assignment – not merely null – only PRO is permitted as the infinitival subject.

## 2.4 EXCEPTIONAL CASE MARKING

PRO occurs as the specifier of a non-finite verb, while an overt NP is required with a finite verb. Overt subjects in a finite clause are allowed by the Case Filter because the subject receives a case assignment. Overt subjects are also possible in infinitival clauses headed by the complementizer for, as in (17-19).

(17) the plan [for the Greeks/them/\*PRO to sneak into Troy]

(18) [for Odysseus/him/\*PRO to design the horse] was clever

(19) Cassandra<sub>i</sub> expected [(for) Zeus<sub>j</sub>/(for) him<sub>j</sub>/\*PRO<sub>j</sub> to warn the Trojans]

In (17-19) it appears that the complementizer for assigns accusative case to the infinitival subjects, much as the preposition for assigns an oblique case to an ordinary NP complement (e.g. This book is for him/\*he). Yet in (19) the overt NP Zeus and its pronominal equivalent him are the infinitival subject and they carry accusative case (as overtly shown on him), but these accusative forms are equally possible without for. This fact suggests that the assignment of

accusative case in (19) comes from outside the clause, specifically from the higher verb across the clause boundary. Because case assignment in GB ordinarily occurs within a local domain, the assignment of structural case across clauses is known as Exceptional Case Marking (ECM).

In ECM, the infinitival subject receives accusative case from the matrix verb. Examples are in (20-22).

(20) Caesar believed [Pompeia/her to remain above suspicion]

(21) Caesar found [Marius/him to be a good role model]

(22) Caesar understood [the soldiers/them to have destroyed Alesia]

Thematically, Pompeia/her in (20) is the subject of the lower clause, receiving its  $\theta$ -role of experiencer from the embedded VP remain. If inherent and structural case assignments matched directly, Pompeia/her could not be accusative since it is the subject of a verb. Similarly, the accusative NPs Marius/him and the soldiers/them are assigned from the higher verb, not the infinitive itself. The difference between these examples and the control structures in (23-24), repeated from (12-13), is the absence of an argument position within the main clause.

(23) Caesar<sub>i</sub> ordered the soldiers<sub>j</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> to cross the Rubicon]

(24) Caesar<sub>i</sub> allowed the soldiers<sub>j</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> to eat apples]]

Control structures like (23-24) with an overt NP have an internal argument in the higher clause. For example, order in (23) has an argument slot for who is ordered, the soldiers, and allow has an argument for who is allowed, the soldiers. These  $\theta$ -roles rank high in the verbs' argument structure, and in English they occur as overt NPs. In contrast, ECM verbs such as believe, find, and understand in (20-22) take an internal argument that has the  $\theta$ -role of theme. That theme argument occurs as an infinitival complement, not as a mere NP. On the surface, the



two structures sound similar, but their actual structural difference is shown in (25-26), where example (25) is control and (26) is ECM.

(25) Caesar<sub>i</sub> persuaded Pompeia<sub>j</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> to accept the divorce]

(26) Caesar<sub>i</sub> expected [Pompeia<sub>j</sub> to accept the divorce]

Some predicates, such as expect, can take either a control or an ECM complement. An example is in (27).

(27) a. Caesar<sub>i</sub> expected [PRO<sub>i</sub> to accept the divorce]

b. Caesar<sub>i</sub> expected [Pompeia<sub>j</sub> to accept the divorce]

Within the set of ECM predicates, clauses with verbs of saying, believing, and sensory perception are traditionally called *accusativus cum infinitivo*, ‘accusative with infinitive’ (AcI). Since these predicates form a natural class of bridge verbs, it is useful to maintain the distinction between AcI and non-AcI ECM. In this study, bridge verb complements are called AcI, and all other embedded accusatives are referred to as ECM. That is, AcI is a specific subset of ECM. Additional examples of AcI predicates are in (28).

(28) a. Marius<sub>i</sub> considered [Sulla<sub>j</sub>/him<sub>j</sub> to be the enemy]

b. Sulla<sub>i</sub> thought [the Roman citizens<sub>j</sub>/them<sub>j</sub> to be the enemy]

c. Caesar<sub>i</sub> believed [Julia<sub>j</sub>/her<sub>j</sub> to be a wonderful daughter]

Note that for some AcI predicates the embedded verb is restricted to the copula; compare the (a) and (b) examples in (29-31).

(29) a. Marius assumed [the soldiers/them to be eager for battle]

b. \*Marius assumed [the soldiers/them to fight]

c. Marius expected [the soldiers to fight]

- (30) a. Clodius believed [himself to be invincible]  
 b. \*Clodius believed [himself to prevail]<sup>2</sup>  
 c. Clodius needed [himself to prevail]
- (31) a. Marcia considered [Cicero to be a good orator]  
 b. ?Marcia considered [Cicero to speak well]  
 c. Marcia desired [Cicero to speak well]

While the (b) examples are either outright ungrammatical as in (29-30) or of mixed acceptability as in (31), the (c) sentences all work. These examples show that a non-copula embedded verb is readily acceptable in non-AcI ECM complements.

GB explains ECM as the assignment of accusative case across the clausal boundary. SVO word order is canonical in English. Given these two facts, it is reasonable to expect adjacency of matrix verb – embedded accusative in ECM. Some examples are in (32).

- (32) a. We truly believe [him to paint frescoes]  
 b. \*We believe truly [him to paint frescoes]  
 c. We believe [him to paint frescoes beautifully]  
 d. \*We believe [beautifully him to paint frescoes]

When the main-clause adjunct truly is positioned post-verbally, it blocks the ECM predicate. Similarly, when the lower-clause adjunct beautifully is positioned clause-initially, the infinitival complement also fails. In both instances the ECM structures fail because the accusative-assigned infinitival subject does not occur immediately after the main verb.

Another feature of ECM is that the distribution of overt NPs and PRO differs from what occurs in control. Earlier we saw that overt NPs are obligatory as subjects in finite clauses while

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<sup>2</sup> But cf. the grammaticality of Clodius believed [himself to have prevailed] and Clodius believed [himself to be prevailing]. Here the acceptable complements are not copulas but periphrastic (i.e. aspectual) forms.

PRO is prohibited, and PRO is required in non-finite clauses but overt NPs are not permitted at all. In ECM, the converse is true: An overt NP is required for the subject of the non-finite clause, as the examples in (33-35) illustrate.

(33) \*Caesar<sub>i</sub> wanted [PRO<sub>j</sub> to accept the divorce]

(34) \*Caesar<sub>i</sub> found [PRO<sub>j</sub> to be a good role model]

(35) \*Caesar<sub>i</sub> understood [PRO<sub>j</sub> to have destroyed Alesia]

In GB, the assignment of accusative case from beyond the local domain is exceptional, but in the MP an ECM structure is merely a derivation made for the purpose of feature checking. Since the NP infinitival subject cannot check its case feature with the infinitive, it is forced to raise to a higher landing site, the AgrO projection in the main clause. This is illustrated in Figure 3. At the AgrO projection the embedded subject NP can successfully check its case and the structure is saved from crashing. Thus, in the MP so-called exceptional case marking is not exceptional at all. It is not merely ordinary, but absolutely predictable under the requirement for feature checking.

Based on the examples above, it can be seen that English ECM involves five main characteristics: (a) the matrix verb is transitive but takes a clausal complement rather than an NP object; (b) the infinitive lacks an [agreement] feature and therefore its subject cannot be assigned nominative case; (c) the subject is obligatorily overt; (d) because an overt NP must have a case assignment and the infinitive cannot assign case, the infinitival subject receives case from the higher verb; and (e) the ECM subject is adjacent to the matrix verb. All five criteria are necessary for ECM to occur.

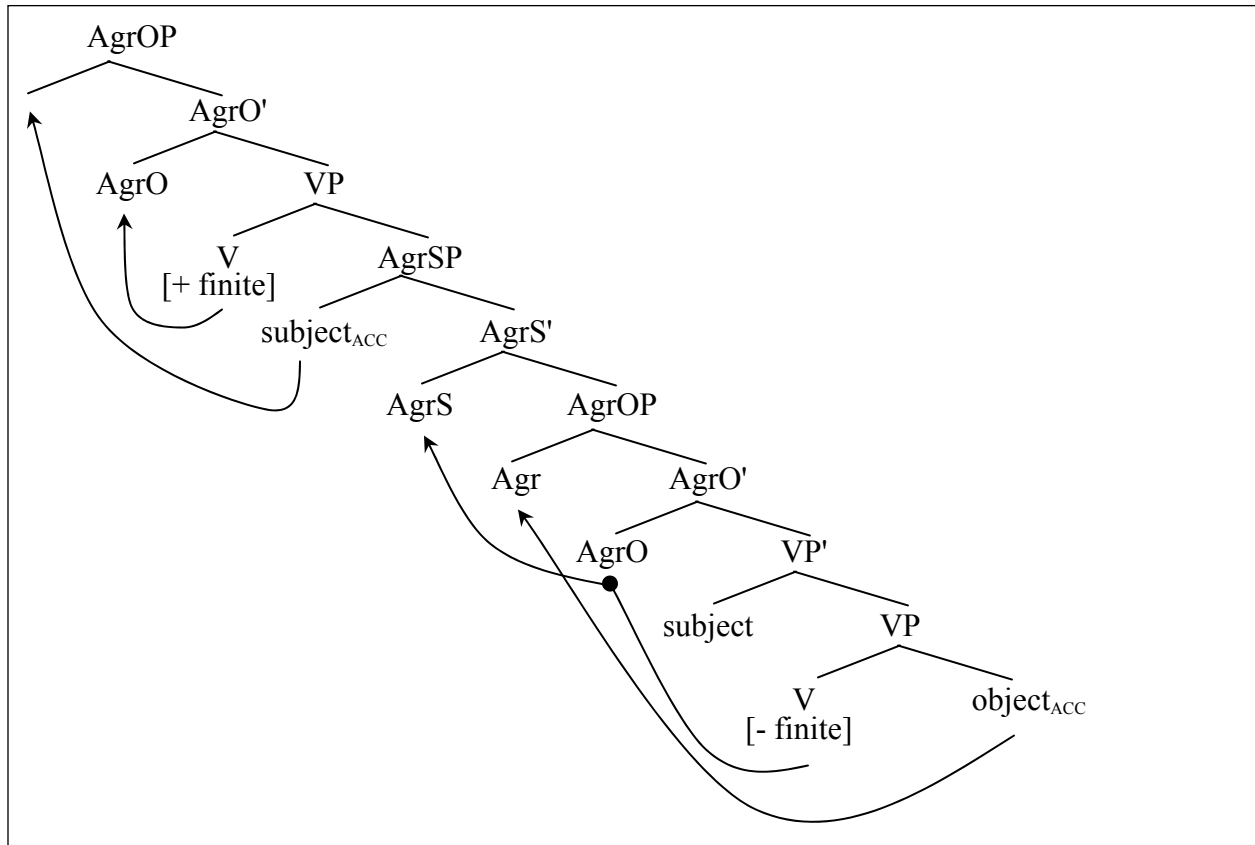


Figure 3: ECM in the MP.

## 2.5 RAISING

Some predicates lack an external argument (i.e. subject) and have only one internal argument, a clausal complement. The argument structure for these predicates is a theme argument. Examples are the verb seem in (36) and the adjective likely in (37).

- (36) a. \*the soldier seemed  
b. \*seemed [the soldier was angry]  
c. \*seemed [the soldier to be angry]
- (37) a. \*the father was likely  
b. \*(was) likely [the father would disinherit the son]  
c. \*(was) likely [the father to disinherit the son]

The invalid (a) sentences have a single argument, an overt NP rather than a clause. In the (b-c) examples, even the presence of a clausal complement does not rescue the sentences, and the finiteness of that clause does not affect the grammaticality of these failed sentences.<sup>3</sup> The (b) sentences fail because English requires an overt subject for tensed predicates under the Extended Projection Principle. Since seem and likely have no external  $\theta$ -role, the only possible subject to insert is an expletive, such as it in (38-39).

(38) It seemed [the soldier was angry]

(39) It was likely [the father would disinherit the son]

The (36-37c) examples can also be saved, but not by inserting an expletive subject. What they require is a movement derivation, promoting the NP clausal subject to the main subject position and leaving behind a trace (indicated by  $t_i$ ) in the lower clause. Examples are shown in (40-41).

(40) The soldier <sub>$i$</sub>  seemed [ $t_i$  to be angry]

(41) The father <sub>$i$</sub>  was likely [ $t_i$  to disinherit the son]

Because such verbs and adjectives must raise their embedded subjects with a non-finite complement, they are called raising predicates. This class of predicates also includes epistemic modals, which assign no  $\theta$ -role to the subject (Roberts, p. 50). Raising is necessary because otherwise the infinitival subject would get no case assignment or, in the MP, be able to check its case feature.

Since raising involves movement, it contrasts with ECM, as in (42-43).

(42) The soldier <sub>$i$</sub>  seemed [ $t_i$  to be angry]

(43) He believed [the soldier to be angry]

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<sup>3</sup> We leave aside the question of exactly how the tense-inflected modal would is selected as the finite counterpart of the infinitive in (37b) since that is not at issue here.

In both examples a structural case assignment is made to the infinitival subject, but with raising as in (42) that subject is assigned nominative case after it is promoted to SpecIP; in ECM in (43), the subject is assigned accusative from the main verb. Raising in (44) also contrasts with control in example (45), where the control predicate obligatorily assigns an external  $\theta$ -role (i.e. agent).

(44) a. Caesar<sub>i</sub> seemed [<sub>i</sub> to be in charge]

b. It seemed [Caesar was in charge]

(45) a. Caesar<sub>i</sub> tried [PRO<sub>i</sub> to win]

b. \*It tried [Caesar to win]

The inability of expletive it to act as subject in (45b) shows that try subcategorizes a  $\theta$ -role for its subject, while the acceptability of it in (44b) reveals the lack of a subject  $\theta$ -role in the matrix clause.

## 2.6 PASSIVIZATION

Passives have several properties that distinguish them from actives. In passivization the active subject is demoted, even to the point that it may be unexpressed; if overt, it is the object of a by-phrase in English and the equivalent in other languages (e.g. Latin *a/ab(s)* + ablative case, German *von* + dative case). The verb itself undergoes a morphological change, acquiring a passive participle; in English, the passive morphology is periphrastic: be + {en}. The passive morphology is said to absorb the verb's ability to assign case. As a result of passivization, the subject position empties and the underlying internal argument (i.e. object) no longer receives case assignment, so it moves up to occupy subject position. The underlying agent and theme argument retain their thematic roles in the passivized sentence, but they fulfill different grammatical relations. What was the subject with nominative case is demoted and only optionally expressed, and what was the direct object with accusative case is promoted to the

subject (i.e. with nominative case) of the passive verb. These behaviors of passives presuppose a verb which, in the active voice, selects the  $\theta$ -role of agent, experiencer, or theme (i.e. whichever is the highest-ranking thematic argument of the verb) for the external argument and an action-receiving role such as patient or theme for the internal argument; such verbs are traditionally called transitives. By definition, then, verbs like exist and seem cannot passivize because they lack one or more of the required  $\theta$ -roles.

In more formal terms of GB, the underlying object moves to SpecIP. That SpecIP was previously empty shows that the passive verb cannot have had an external argument. Rather, it is the internal argument that moves to SpecIP. This means that the passive verb does not assign any external  $\theta$ -role.

Rather than being completely erased, the external  $\theta$ -role in passivization is absorbed by (= remains with) the passive morpheme itself. Otherwise, the verb would have no internal  $\theta$ -role to complete its argument structure. Under passivization, the promoted NP leaves behind a trace in VP, but the verb does not structurally assign a case to the NP trace since non-overt NPs do not require a case assignment. The promoted NP receives cases from its new subject position, which can happen only if it did not already have a case assignment in its base position.

As with raising, passivization is a movement derivation. Its requirement for a transitive verb excludes raising predicates from passivization on the ground that they have no external  $\theta$ -role available for demotion. However, control predicates as well as AcI and ECM predicates can be passivized, with the effects shown in (46-48), respectively.

- (46) a. The dictator<sub>i</sub> had promised [PRO<sub>i</sub> to cancel all debts<sub>j</sub>]  
       b. \*Debts<sub>j</sub> had been promised [PRO<sub>i</sub> to cancel t<sub>j</sub>]  
       b. It had been promised [PRO<sub>i</sub> to cancel all debts<sub>j</sub>]

- (47) a. We<sub>i</sub> believed [him<sub>j</sub> to be in charge]  
 b. He<sub>j</sub> was believed [t<sub>j</sub> to be in charge]  
 c. \*It was believed [him<sub>j</sub> to be in charge]
- (48) a. We<sub>i</sub> expected [him<sub>j</sub> to call]  
 b. He<sub>j</sub> was expected [t<sub>j</sub> to call]  
 c. \*It was expected [him<sub>j</sub> to call]

When passivized, ECM verbs, including AcI, become raising verbs since the infinitival subject gets no case from its verb. Instead, it leaves an NP trace in the lower clause when it is promoted to the higher subject position. When the embedded clause is passivized, the derivational options are different for control structures as in (49b) than from those with raising as in (50b) and ECM as in (51b).

- (49) a. Caesar<sub>i</sub> hoped [PRO<sub>i</sub> to kill Pompey<sub>j</sub>]  
 b. \*Caesar<sub>i</sub> hoped [e<sub>j</sub> PRO<sub>i</sub> to be killed t<sub>j</sub> by Caesar<sub>i</sub>]
- (50) a. Caesar<sub>i</sub> seems [t<sub>i</sub> to have killed Pompey<sub>j</sub>]  
 b. Pompey<sub>j</sub> seems [t<sub>i</sub> to have been killed t<sub>j</sub> by Caesar<sub>i</sub>]
- (51) a. Caesar<sub>i</sub> expected [the Senate<sub>j</sub> to pass the bill<sub>k</sub>]  
 b. Caesar<sub>i</sub> expected [the bill<sub>k</sub> to be passed t<sub>k</sub> by the Senate<sub>j</sub>]

Raising and passives form a natural class of predicates based on subcategorization.

Verbs without an external argument do not assign (accusative) case to the internal argument, and vice versa. Known as Burzio's Generalization (1986), this observation captures the idea that accusative is assigned only in a dependent relation, when another argument links it with the verb. Burzio predicts three types of verb categories: transitives (external + internal argument), intransitives (external argument only), and unaccusatives (internal argument only). Of these,



only intransitives have no selection for accusative. Passives and raising predicates behave like unaccusatives in that they have no external argument subcategorization.

## **CHAPTER 3. CORPUS OF EARLY LATIN**

### **3.1 “EARLY LATIN” DEFINED**

To examine the various infinitival structures in Latin, the extant texts from the early Latin period were analyzed, electronically edited, and tagged to form an electronic corpus. Early Latin is defined here as the post-archaic stage of the language up to 102/101 BC, the date of the satirist Lucilius’ death (Bieler, 1980, p. 99).

Exactly what to call the stage of Latin before 100 BC is a matter of some debate. The main difficulty lies in the fact that the extant language is represented in two distinct stages. The archaic stage ends by 240 BC, when Greek literary influence began. Many archaic texts are barely understandable as “Latin” when compared with classical data or even with the other texts analyzed in this study. What survives from the archaic period is typically incomplete, such as a piece of a tombstone or a manuscript fragment of verse. Moreover, the texts themselves are often merely formulaic repetitions of religious chants, for example fertility rituals (Williams, 1982, pp. 53-57) or a one-line verse to cure gout, to be repeated the magical number of 27 times (Lockwood, 1962, p. 6). The syntax of archaic Latin offers little of interest to the study of infinitival complements because of its semantic context. The most common remains are inscriptions such as on tombstones or markers set up in public areas. Even when such documents go beyond a formulaic “here lies X,” the syntactic structure is generally parataxis (parallel) rather than hypotaxis (embedded). Overall, then, the surviving archaic texts are unhelpful because either unintelligible or, where understood, uninteresting from the syntactic viewpoint.

A noticeably different stage of the language begins in 240 BC, when Livius Andronicus adapted both a Greek comedy and a Greek tragedy into Latin, and both plays were publicly

performed that year (Conte, 1994, p. 13). Based on Livius' success, others also adapted works from Greek into Latin, including the playwrights Plautus and Terence, whose works are represented in this study. The Romans themselves credited Appius Claudius Caecus 'the Blind' with writing the first literary prose in Latin (Gratwick, 1982, p. 138), but his work does not now survive. The first surviving Latin author whose work is not modeled directly on Greek sources is Ennius, born in 239 BC (Conte, p. 75). Although he adapted earlier Greek literary works into Latin, Ennius also created works original to Latin, including his epic poem the *Annales*.

Beginning around 100 BC, surviving texts contain Latin that is qualitatively different from earlier. By 20 B.C., the poet Horace notes that contemporary schoolboys have great difficulty understanding Livius Andronicus' archaic language (*Ep.* 2.1.69ff.). Scholars generally agree that the so-called classical period of Latin begins around 100 BC (e.g. Palmer, 1954; Conte, 1984; Courtney, 1999). Regarding what to call the language before 100 BC, there is less agreement. Because the earlier period includes archaic language, some scholars categorize the entire pre-classical period as "archaic Latin" (e.g. Courtney), while others designate it all as "old Latin" (e.g. Warmington, 1940; Gratwick, 1982). To call the entire pre-classical stage of Latin "archaic" is misleading since the period can be separated into the two stages noted above, and the latter stage is not qualitatively different enough from classical Latin to merit the label "archaic." Rather, "archaic" is more descriptive of the earlier stage, up to about 240 BC. Since the archaic texts are excluded here, "early Latin" is a better description of what it is actually included rather than "archaic" or "old" Latin: It is not the oldest (i.e. archaic) stage of the language, but rather the intermediate period before the classical period.

Accordingly, the corpus developed here begins around 240 BC with the first known extant literary works – those of Livius Andronicus – and continues until Lucilius' death by 101

BC. One change between early and later Latin is a rising tendency toward hypotaxis (Hammond, Mack & Moskalew, 1963). A heavy reliance on syntactic subordination, often with multiple embedded clauses, can be considered a hallmark of the classical period as exemplified by renowned speaker/writers such as Caesar and Cicero. Two other main linguistic criteria also distinguish the early period from the later classical stage. The first difference is seen most obviously in phonetics and morphology, such as the reduction of certain diphthongs to a single vowel in classical Latin (Kieckers, 1930, p. 28ff.) and the intervocalic rhotacism of Indo-European /s/ (pp. 114-115) as in *quaesendum* in Ennius (*Trag.* 126, ca. 190 BC) for classical *quaerendum*.<sup>4</sup> Many of the early-Latin texts included in this study have /o/ for later /u/, for example nominative singular *servos* ‘slave’ and accusative singular *servom* for classical *servus/servum*. In morphology, one change noted by the Roman grammarian Varro around 46 BC is that the perfect tense of *solere* ‘to be accustomed’ has changed from *solui* in the time of Cato and Ennius to the periphrastic form *solitus sum* (Varro, 1938, p. 2:524).

### 3.2 CORPUS CONTENTS

To construct the electronic corpus used in this study, all sources in the relevant period were considered and reviewed. However, the data in this study generally exclude epitaphs, official inscriptions, and most laws. These public documents are problematic in several ways. First, their remains are scanty. Classical authors such as the historian Livy refer to many laws and other public documents from the early period of Latin which have since become lost; sometimes we know the general content of such documents but rarely more than a few words of the actual text. Second, even when a document is apparently complete (e.g. all the writing on a tombstone can be deciphered unambiguously and the monument itself remains in one piece), the

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<sup>4</sup> Non-rhotacized *quaesendum* may be intentionally archaizing (i.e. rhotacization could have been complete in the language by then), but Ennius does sometimes use deliberate archaisms.

discourse topic typically does not include a verb that licenses an infinitival complement. Third, the one document that is most representative of prose in the archaic period is the Laws of the Twelve Tables (originally codified ca. 490-450 BC). The Laws contain numerous examples of infinitival complements, but the text we have includes the interpolations of later classical writers (Courtney, p. 13), often including even the presumed matrix verb. The infinitival phrases are generally considered the earlier (i.e. not the interpolated) text, but even that part of the text may well postdate when (ever) the laws were actually first written down (Warmington, 1940, p. IV:xxx). The result is that we cannot rely on the purported antiquity of the Laws as valid evidence of early Latin. Thus, however tempting to include a body of text considerably older than the other corpus data, it is clearly dangerous to rely on the Laws' syntax except as corroboration for constructions found elsewhere. For these reasons, the Laws are omitted from this study.

One brief exception to the lack of reliable texts from monuments is the well-known epitaph of L. Cornelius Scipio (consul in 259 BC). This inscription contains an instance of AcI, shown in (52); the actual inscription is in (52a) and the later, classical equivalent is given in (52b).

- (52) a. *Honc oino ploirume cosentiont R[omai] duonoro*  
 this-M-S-ACC one-M-S-ACC most-M-PL-NOM agree-3-PL Rome-F-S-LOC good-M-PL-GEN  
*optumo fuisse viro Luciom Scipione.* (Warmington, p. IV:4)  
 best-M-S-ACC be-1NF1N-PERF man-M-S-ACC Lucius-M-S-ACC Scipio-M-S-ACC
- b. *Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt R[omae] bonorum*  
 this-M-S-ACC one-M-S-ACC most-M-PL-NOM agree-3-PL Rome-F-S--LOC good-M-PL-GEN  
*optimum fuisse virum Lucium Scipionem.* (Lockwood, p. 8)  
 best-M-S-ACC be-1NF1N-PERF man-M-S-ACC Lucius-M-S-ACC Scipio-M-S-ACC

‘Most agree this man, Lucius Scipio, was one of the best men at Rome.’

The main verb is *consentire* ‘to agree’, realized as *cosentiont* in (52a) and as the classical form *consentiunt* in (52b), reflecting phonological changes between the early and classical period.

The subordinate clause is the infinitive *fuis(s)e* ‘to have been’ headed by the NP subject *hono oino ~ hunc unum*. The basic structure of (52) is shown in (53), where it is assumed that *hono oino* is moved up through topicalization since ‘this one’, Scipio, is the subject of the epitaph itself.

- (53) *plorume cosentiont [hono oino fuise optumo]*  
 most agree [this one to have been best]

This early example with *cosentiont* represents the most frequent type of AcI found in the early Latin period and thus confirms that such a construction developed early in the language. A few other inscriptions provide corroborating evidence for the same structure, with the result that we do not expect different syntax for verbs that elsewhere in early Latin take AcI complements. No such examples from monuments are included in the corpus data or numerical results cited herein.

While not nearly as old as the original Laws of the Twelve Tables, the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* ‘Senate Decree on the Rites of Bacchus’ dates definitively from 186 BC. Its language is deliberately archaizing rather than contemporary (Ernout, 1947, pp. 60-68), which provides important diachronic evidence. Moreover, although the complete text is less than 350 words, it contains 19 infinitival complements and is therefore critical to the present study as corroboration of the various infinitival structures.

Of the remaining texts from early Latin, the corpus comprises all that survives of the poets Ennius<sup>5</sup>, Accius, Lucilius, Caecilius Statius, Livius Andronicus, Pacuvius, and Naevius; the prose agricultural treatise and fragmentary orations of Cato<sup>6</sup>; and five of the 20 extant plays of Plautus plus three of Terence’s six plays. All told, these works comprise a corpus of over

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<sup>5</sup> The prose *Euhemerus* is attributed to Ennius (Courtney, p. 27), but brief as it is the text we have appears to be modernized by later writers (Warmington, pp. 1:414-416).

<sup>6</sup> The so-called *Monosticha* and *Disticha Catonis* actually date from several hundred years later (Bieler, 1980, p. 77), while unfortunately the genuine (prose) *Origines* on Rome’s earliest history survives only in tiny fragments.

200,000 words, including over 3,800 instances of infinitival complements of various types. A summary of the corpus contents is in Table 3. Of these, 52 (1%) of the corpus infinitives lack sufficient context for proper classification of the complement type (see chapter 6). In addition to the 3,828 infinitival complements, the corpus also contains 129 instances of finite complements in contexts where the infinitive more often occurs. Such variants are discussed in further detail in chapters 6 and 7.

Table 3: Corpus Contents.

Author	Approx. No. of Words	No. of Infinitives	Rate of Infinitives	% of Total Words	% of Total Infinitives
Accius	5,500	175	.032	3%	5%
<i>Bacch.</i>	350	19	.059	<1%	<1%
Caecilius	2,000	55	.028	1%	1%
Cato	18,500	495	.027	8%	13%
Ennius	8,900	198	.022	4%	5%
Livius	700	4	.006	<1%	<1%
Lucilius	8,900	320	.036	4%	8%
Naevius	2,000	39	.020	1%	1%
Pacuvius	3,100	91	.029	1%	2%
Plautus	126,600	1,421	.011	58%	37%
Terence	42,700	1,011	.024	19%	26%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>219,250</b>	<b>3,828</b>	<b>.017</b>		

The complete list of authors, their works, and abbreviations for those works appears in Appendix A. Given this set of texts, the extant early Latin data provide a reasonable mixture of poetry and prose, as well as a sampling of discourse registers: Cato's treatise on managing a farm, excerpts from his forensic speeches, the exuberant dialog in the various comic plays, the high-blown style in tragic dialog, the epic poetry of Ennius and others, and the witty satirical verse of Lucilius. Thanks to the prolific and relatively well-preserved playwrights, the corpus

data also offer the closest glimpse we have of ordinary conversation from the early Latin period.<sup>7</sup>

For instance, despite being conveyed in metered verse, examples (54-55) feature topics and wording uniquely associated with the register of conversation.

- (54) *Poti -n a me abeas, nisi me vis vomere?*  
able-M-S-NOM -Y/N from I-S-ABL go away-2-S-SUBJ unless I-S-ACC wish-2-S vomit-1-ACC

‘Can’t you go away from me – unless you want me to throw up?’ (Pl. *Cas.* 731)

- (55) *Filium unicum adulescentulum habeo – ah, quid dixi? –*  
son-M-S-ACC sole-M-S-ACC youth-M-S-ACC have-1-S ah INTERROG-N-S-ACC say-1-S-PERF  
*[habere me], immo habui.*  
have-INFIN I-S-ACC but have-1-S-PERF

‘I have one son, a teenager. Ah, what did I say – that I have a son? Actually, I had one.’ (Ter. *Hea.* 94-95)

Note from Table 3 that the rate of infinitival complements varies considerably by author.

The lowest rate is .006 for Livius, but the mere 700 words of surviving text from him make this infinitival rate statistically invalid since a larger sample could well yield a different value.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, the five sampled works of Plautus account for 58% of the total words in the corpus but only 37% of the infinitives; his rate of .011 infinitives is significantly lower than the other authors’ except that of the poorly represented Livius. In contrast, Terence is represented by only one third as many words as Plautus, but he uses infinitival complements at more than twice the other playwright’s rate. Ennius and Lucilius each have approximately the same number of words surviving, but Ennius’ infinitival rate of .022 is similar to that of Terence – even though he provides only about one fifth as many words. Lucilius employs infinitives at an even higher rate (.036), approximately 1.5 times that of Ennius and Terence, or 3.5 times that of

<sup>7</sup> Gratwick (1982, p.154) asserts that Cato’s style in *De Agri Cultura* has “the same speech patterns as we hear in Terence’s narrative and dialogue.” Put another way, Cato approaches the tone of ordinary conversation: It is direct in its hypotaxis rather than being stylized for literary purposes. Such simplicity also happens to fit neatly into Cato’s purpose, which is essentially to glorify the unpretentious values attributed to the earliest Romans.

<sup>8</sup> As archaeological and philological work continues on deciphering the remains from Piso’s library at the Villa of the Papyri near Pompeii (Casson, 2001, pp. 74-75), it is always possible that additional works from the early Latin period may come to light.



Plautus. Interestingly, the shortest text (*Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*) yields the highest rate of infinitival complements (0.059). These variations help balance out the corpus, compensating for the fact that the surviving texts are inherently unequal in terms of the number of words they contain.

The differences in infinitival rate also show that within a particular genre, the individual variations are probably due more to personal style than to register. For instance, Terence has always had the reputation of being more highbrow (and thus less commercially successful) than Plautus (Conte, 1994, pp. 99-102). His higher rate of infinitival usage suggests overall greater use of subordination, and hypotaxis is certainly one element of a more elevated style. On the other hand, the two texts of Cato's prose yield significantly different infinitival rates. In the treatise, infinitives occur at the rate of .024, while the speeches feature nearly double that rate (.045). Yet this difference is tempered by the qualitative distinction in the two texts: *De Agri Cultura* is complete except for a few apparently brief lacunae, while the speeches are only fragments collected from quotations in later authors, and many known speeches have no surviving text at all. The complete set of speeches might yield an infinitival rate more similar to that in the farming manual – or else the remaining difference would be due to register rather than authorial style.

While the findings described in this study are based on the corpus data, sometimes it was necessary to delve further into the complete extant set of the works of Plautus and Terence to examine low-frequency syntactic patterns. All numerical results presented here are based only on the selected works summarized in Table 3, but some descriptive analysis is necessarily presented with the inclusion of examples from beyond those works.

Significantly, the 160-year period of early Latin chosen for the corpus is internally consistent with respect to infinitival complements. That is, no one construction is found one way in a particular author but not in any others; when a construction occurs at all, it is generally found in several, or even all, of the surveyed authors. This cross-author, cross-style consistency also provides evidence that “early Latin” is a single – albeit variable – dialect, not the diglossic distinction sometimes claimed between a highly stylized formal register (i.e. the canonical or literary language) and the vernacular. The same types of infinitival clauses occur in the didactic prose of Cato, the high-blown poetry of Ennius and Accius, the comic verse of Lucilius, the lively dialog of the playwrights, and the sober language of a law banning certain religious rituals. Across registers, then, early Latin is stable with respect to infinitival syntax, even as it shows some variations (noted in the following chapters). Moreover, where variants occur they are generally not constrained to a single author. We can thus feel confident that the variant forms are options freely available in the grammar, not merely authorial idiosyncrasy.

This is ultimately a significant point since one of the authors in the corpus is definitively known not to be a native speaker of Latin: *P. Terentius Afer* ‘the African’ (went to Rome in childhood or early youth as a slave), probably = ‘Berber’ (Bieler, p. 66) or ‘Libyan’ (Norwood, 1923, p. 132). Two others (Livius and Caecilius) were Roman war prisoners when they were young adults, so they too were possibly not native speakers. (Born near Milan, Caecilius may have previously known some Latin or even grown up bilingual, and Livius’s linguistic background is even less clear.) The sociolinguistic perspective on Latin literature, both synchronically and diachronically, has been little explored, although for early Latin too little is known for serious study.

### 3.3 METHODOLOGY

Clauses with infinitival complements from the selected works were entered electronically into the Systematic Analysis of Language Transcripts (SALT) software, research version 6.1 (Miller & Chapman, 2000), based on the texts of the standard Loeb series of print editions of classical works.<sup>9</sup> Although the Loeb works feature a side-by-side Latin text with English translation, the translations shown here in citations are original to this study. The aim was for verbatim translations in order to preserve the original meaning as much as possible, although when otherwise too stilted the translations are rendered in more idiomatic language. Whenever possible, instances of ambiguity were resolved by consulting multiple printed English translations. Deviations from standard translations are noted where they occur.

The general methodology of corpus linguistics was used in accordance with the principles outlined by Biber (2000) as a way to examine patterns of language in use. Biber models language based on empirical findings in various corpora comprising multiple sociolinguistic registers. This study aimed to corroborate syntactic theory on infinitival complements with data from the early Latin period. For that purpose, 863 different tags were added to the electronic texts to track the various syntactic issues of interest in this study. The total number of tagged syntactic items was 12,755, equivalent to approximately one tag for every 17 words in the corpus. A printout of the tagged corpus in SALT format is in Appendix B.

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<sup>9</sup> For the fragments of Cato's orations Loeb has no edition, so Malcovati's edition (1955) was used instead. Only direct quotations from Cato were counted, not the (Greek) citations compiled from Plutarch's biography of Cato or the Latin allusions or indirect quotes made by later authors.

## CHAPTER 4. THE INFINITIVE, THE COPULA, AND WORD ORDER IN EARLY LATIN

### 4.1 THE INFINITIVE

The infinitive differs from a finite verb in lacking the inflection feature [+ finite] tense. Since the infinitive is unrealized, it indicates a “possible future” (Stowell, 1982, p. 562) but is not contrary-to-fact (i.e. irrealis) like the subjunctive. The infinitive’s features are [+ tense, - finite], where the [tense] setting is infinitival rather than temporal. For English, this feature matrix is straightforward since infinitives do not have any temporal marking. In contrast, Latin explicitly marks infinitives for three temporal tenses: present, past, and future. Voice (active or passive) as well as gender and number features are also morphologically marked on some infinitives, as discussed below. A simple paradigm for the six infinitives of the verb *amare* ‘to love’ appears in Table 4. For simplicity, macrons for long vowels are shown to indicate phonemic distinctions among forms in the tables but not in the textual citations.

Table 4: Overview of Infinitive Forms.

Tense	Active	Passive
Past	<i>amāvisse</i>	<i>amātus esse</i>
Present	<i>amāre</i>	<i>amāri</i>
Future	<i>amāturus esse</i>	<i>amātum iri</i>

#### 4.1.1 Origin and Development

The Latin infinitive apparently originated as a deverbal noun that could take two cases: dative and locative (Palmer, 1954, p. 278). Evidence for a nominal infinitive also exists in other Indo-European languages that are roughly contemporary with early Latin (Coleman, 1985a, pp. 308-309). In the classical period, the present tense forms of the infinitive are *-re* for active voice and *-ri* for passive. The *-re* form reflects the earlier locative case, while the *-(r)i* form is dative

(Bennett, 1910, p. 2:366).<sup>10</sup> Evidence from archaic Latin shows the classical *–re* form as *–se* and the later *–ri* form as *–sai* (Kieckers, pp. 2:233-234). After intervocalic rhotacism developed, the /s/ changed to /r/ in both infinitival forms. Similarly, the long diphthong /ai/ became the long vowel /ī/ (e.g. earlier *amase/amasai* > *amare/amarī*). Note that a few verbs have a different infinitival, including *esse* ‘to be’ and *velle* ‘to wish’.

That the deverbal noun took dative and locative cases illustrates how abstract case relates to case assignment. Both the dative and the locative encode the semantic concept of movement towards. The dative is typically the case for the thematic role of goal (i.e. the end point of movement), and the locative is where something is after it has perhaps moved to that location, so that movement is implied or presupposed. From the locative concept, Bennett argues (p. 366) it was a natural development to an infinitive of purpose as a metaphorical movement towards a goal. Similarly, control verbs (“infinitive as object of auxiliary verbs”) reflect the notion of psychological movement toward a goal, in that the higher clause controls the action of the lower clause (i.e. the main verb ‘moves toward’ the action in the lower verb). At some time predating the corpus texts, the infinitive’s nominal sense with morphological and semantic distinction of dative/locative case marking was lost. That is, the earlier infinitive form was [+ N, + V], which then developed into [– N, + V]. While the basic formal distinction (from earlier case) between *–re* and *–ri* remained, those forms were reanalyzed as full verbs that could take appropriate thematic arguments (e.g. a patient or theme role marked as accusative case) like any full-fledged verb.

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<sup>10</sup> While Bennett does not claim the analogy, a locative inflection with *–re* would correlate with ablative forms for nouns and adjectives in the so-called third declension, where the case ending is *–e* (e.g. *canis*<sub>NOM</sub>/*cane*<sub>ABL</sub> ‘dog’). From Proto Indo-European the distinct locative case is generally merged in Latin with the ablative, with only a few exceptions remaining distinct (e.g. names of towns and cities). For the infinitive in *–ri*, the relationship to the third-declension dative is also clear, as without exception all dative singular forms take the ending *–i* (see Appendix C).

The distinction between an earlier deverbal noun and a true verb can be shown by comparison with the Latin supines, gerunds, and gerundives, which are also non-finite. All three of these deverbal forms are inflected for case. However, only gerundives can occur in any case; gerunds have no nominative form<sup>11</sup> and supines have only accusative and ablative. Likewise, only gerundives have a plural form and they alone also inflect differently for the three genders (see section 5.2). These restrictions show that supines, gerunds, and gerundives are not full-fledged nominals. Their [+V] nature is revealed in the fact that they can assign accusative case to a direct object, for example with the supine *emptum* ‘to buy’ and its internal object *ancillulam* ‘little maid servant’ in example (56). Disjoint embedded constituents are indicated by ellipsis (...).

(56)	<i>Ego</i>	[ <i>me</i>	<i>ire...</i> ]	<i>senibus</i>	[... <i>Sunium...</i> ]	<i>dicam</i>	[... <i>ad</i>	<i>mercatum,</i>
	I-S-NOM	I-S-ACC	go- <small>INFIN</small>	old-M-PL-DAT	Sunium-N-S-ACC	say-1-S-FUT	to	market-M-S-ACC
	[ <i>ancillulam</i>		<i>emptum</i> ]]	<i>dudum</i>	<i>quam</i>	<i>dixit</i>	<i>Geta.</i>	
	maid-DIMIN-F-S-ACC		buy-SUPINE-N-S-ACC	just now	REL-F-S-ACC	say-3-S-PERF	Geta-M-S-NOM	

‘I’ll tell the old men I’m going to Sunium to the market to buy the little maid servant that Geta promised just now.’ (Ter. *Phor.* 837-838)

Supines occur mainly with verbs of motion to express purpose (i.e. figurative movement toward a purpose), while the ablative of the supine is typically used with adjectives analogous to the English construction John is easy to please. An example is the adjective ‘laughable’ in *ridicula auditu, iteratu* ‘laughable to hear, to repeat’ (Pl. *Cas.* 880).

A gerund taking an internal direct object is shown in (57) with the gerund *eludendi* ‘of eluding’ and its object *senes* ‘old men’.

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<sup>11</sup> Traditionally, the gerund (equivalent to *-ing* in English Exercising is good for your health) is said to be the inflected form of the infinitive since it has no nominative form and the (historical-era) infinitive has no overt oblique cases (Gildersleeve and Lodge, 1895:1997, p. 278). Such a description is misleading, though, because infinitives and gerunds differ most significantly in whether they inflect for temporal tense. Still, what the traditionalists capture is a real generalization about infinitives as nouns, e.g. as the object of a verb in a control structure (*volo audire si est quem exopto* ‘I want to hear if he’s the one I’m expecting’, Acc. *Trag.* 140-1).

- (57) *Summa* *[eludendi...]* *occasio* *'st* *mihi* *nunc* *[...senes]*  
highest-F-S-NOM elude-GERUND-N-S-GEN occasion-F-S-NOM be-3-S I-S-DAT now old-M-PL-ACC
- et* *[Phaedriae* *curam* *adimere* *argentariam]*.  
and Phaedria-M-S-DAT care-F-S-ACC take away-INFIN related to silver-F-S-ACC

‘Now I have the best opportunity to elude the old men and take away from Phaedriae any monetary worry.’ (Ter. *Phor.* 885-886)

Note that the gerund clause is coordinated through *et* ‘and’ with the more usual infinitival clause, *Phaedriae curam adimere argentariam*. For the passive voice, the gerundive is used. The gerundive is formed as a present passive participle in {*-ndus*} + ‘be’, as with *praebendam* in example (58).

- (58) *Ad* *aquam* *praebendam* *commodum* *adveni* *domum*.  
to water-F-S-ACC offer-GERUNDIVE-F-S-ACC opportunely come to-I-S-PERF home-F-S-ACC
- ‘I came home at the right time to offer water [lit. ‘to water to be offered’]’. (Pl. *Amph.* 669-670)

#### 4.1.2 Tenses

What distinguishes the infinitive from supines, gerunds, and gerundives is its unique ability to mark temporal tense. The infinitive also developed a separate form for active and passive voice. While infinitives do carry tense and thus are [+V], the available tenses for infinitives – present, future, and perfect – represent only half of those available for finite verbs: traditionally named (a) present, (b) imperfect, (c) future, (d) perfect, (e) pluperfect, and (f) future perfect. A useful way to categorize the six-tense system is to recognize the fundamental distinction between complete (“perfect”) and incomplete actions. Within that main classification, each type has additional parameters marking [ $\pm$  past] and [ $\pm$  future]. Following Jensen (1983, p. 10), the tense features of finite verbs can be categorized as in Table 5, using their traditional names.

It is interesting to note that the binary semantic distinction between [- perfect] and [+ perfect] has morphological correlates, as Varro (1938, p. 2:570) accurately observes just about

two generations following the end of the early-Latin period. Within the [- perfect] system, the three tenses are formed morphologically from the stem of the present infinitive (i.e. the base lexeme + vowel stem – infinitival morpheme {-re}). For example, the present infinitive *hab-ē-re* ‘to have’ has finite counterparts including present-tense *hab-e-o* ‘I have’, imperfect *hab-e-bam* ‘I used to have’, and future *hab-e-bo* ‘I will have’. The three tenses in the [+ perfect] system are morphologically based on the stem of the indicative perfect tense. *Habēre*’s perfect-tense analog is *hab-u-isse*, and the perfective finite forms include perfect *hab-u-i* ‘I (have) had’, pluperfect *hab-u-eram* ‘I had had’, and future perfect *hab-u-ero* ‘I will have had’. In short, morphology mirrors meaning in tense marking.

Table 5: Finite Tenses.

Tense	[- perfect]	[+ perfect]
[- past, -future]	present	perfect
[+ past, -future]	imperfect	pluperfect
[- past, + future]	future	future perfect

Unlike finite verbs, the infinitive has only present, future, and perfect tenses, as shown in Table 6. While morphologically limited, these three tenses are sufficient to locate the infinitive’s action in relative sequence with the matrix verb, and a conventional sequence of tenses correlates event times of the main verb and infinitive. Thus, the present infinitive encodes an event that is incomplete or [- perfect] and is [- past, - future] (i.e. occurs neither in the past nor in the future); it is therefore co-temporal with the main verb, as *dormire* in (59).

- (59) *Credo* [*edepol*<sup>12</sup> *quidem* *dormire* *solem*].  
 believe-1-S indeed indeed sleep-INFIN sun-M-S-ACC

‘Yes, indeed, I certainly believe the sun is sleeping.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 282)

<sup>12</sup> *Edepol* is a mild oath derived from the name of the god Pollux.



Table 6: Non-Finite Tenses.

Tense	[- perfect]	[+ perfect]
[- past, -future]	present	perfect
[+ past, -future]	–	–
[- past, + future]	future	–

A future infinitive is also [- perfect, - past] but as [+ future] occurs after the main verb's action, as *venturum* in (60).

- (60) *Censet* *[eo* *venturum* *obviam* *Poenum]*.  
 believe-3-S to there come-INFIN-FUT in the way Phoenician-M-S-ACC  
 'He believes the Phoenician [i.e. Hannibal] will come there to meet him.' (Naev. *Bell.* 40)

A perfect infinitive is [+ perfect] and thus represents completed action, and like the present infinitive is set in neither the past nor the future. Rather, like a (finite) pluperfect it indicates that the infinitive's action precedes that of the main verb, as *obdormivisse* in (61).

- (61) *Credo* *ego* *[hac* *noctu* *Nocturnum* *obdormivisse]*.  
 believe-1-S I-S-NOM this-F-S-ABL night-F-S-ABL night-M-S-ACC go to sleep-INFIN-PERF  
 'I believe Night (has) gone to sleep tonight.' (Pl. *Amph.* 272)

The present-tense infinitive is morphologically the base lexeme + vowel stem + voice morpheme. Verbs are traditionally classified into four paradigmatic groups (the so-called first, second, third, and fourth conjugations) according to the thematic vowel (and other morphological criteria). For the active voice, the morpheme is {-re}, and for the passive it is {-ri}, with the common early-Latin variant {-ier}. In the passive infinitive, third-conjugation verbs drop the stem vowel and have only {-i} as the termination (e.g. the i-stem *capio* > *capere* has the passive infinitive *capi*, and *rego* > *regere* has passive *regi*). The present-tense infinitive forms for the four conjugation classes based on vowel stems are in Table 7. Phonemically long vowels, indicated by macrons, are shown here only where significant to conjugation groups.

Table 7: Present-Tense Infinitive.

Vowel Stem	Indicative	Infinitive	
		Active	Passive
-ā	<i>amo</i> ‘I love’	<i>amāre</i> ‘to love’	<i>amāri</i> ~ <i>amārier</i> ‘to be loved’
-ē	<i>teneo</i> ‘I keep’	<i>tenēre</i> ‘to keep’	<i>tenēri</i> ~ <i>tenērier</i> ‘to be kept’
-Ø -i	<i>rego</i> ‘I rule’ <i>capio</i> ‘I take’	<i>regere</i> ‘to rule’ <i>capere</i> ‘to take’	<i>regi</i> ~ <i>regier</i> ‘to be ruled’ <i>capi</i> ~ <i>capier</i> ‘to be taken’
-ī	<i>audio</i> ‘I hear’	<i>audīre</i> ‘to hear’	<i>audīri</i> ~ <i>audīrier</i> ‘to be heard’

While the present infinitive forms from the present-tense stem and distinguishes voice by the final vowel, the perfect infinitive is formed from two different stems according to voice (active or passive). The active voice of the perfect infinitive is formed inflectionally from the perfect active stem of the indicative + {-isse}, with counterparts for the four vowel-terminating conjugations shown in Table 8.

Table 8: Perfect Active Infinitive.

Vowel Stem	Indicative	Infinitive	
		Active	Meaning
-ā	<i>amāvi</i> ‘I (have) loved’	<i>amāvisse</i>	‘to have loved’
-ē	<i>tenui</i> ‘I (have) kept’	<i>tenuisse</i>	‘to have held’
-Ø -i	<i>rexī</i> ‘I (have) ruled’ <i>cepi</i> ‘I (have) taken’	<i>rexisse</i> <i>cepisse</i>	‘to have ruled’ ‘to have taken’
-ī	<i>audīvi</i> ‘I (have) heard’	<i>audīvisse</i>	‘to have heard’

Some verbs terminate in consonantal /v/ in the perfect-tense stem, so that their infinitive ends in -visse (e.g. *complēvi* ‘I have filled in’ > *complēvisse* ‘to have filled in’). Verbs with -visse for the perfect infinitive frequently syncopate the /vi/ syllable (e.g. *amāvisse* > *amāsse*, *complēvisse* > *complēsse*, *audīvisse* > *audīsse*). In addition, a few verbs ending in a consonantal stem with two

segments including an /s/ may elide the *-iss-* part of the perfect infinitival morpheme, apparently through haplology. For example, the /ks/ sequence (spelled <x>) triggers elision in *dixisse* > *dixe*, /ps/ in *sumpsisse* > *sumpse*, and /ss/ in *iussisse* > *iusse*.

### 4.1.3 Periphrastic Tenses

The perfect passive infinitive comes from a different verb stem than the perfect active and is formed periphrastically, not through inflection. It includes the perfect passive participle (PPP) + present-tense infinitive of the copula (*esse*). Examples are in Table 9.

Table 9: Perfect Passive Infinitive.

Vowel Stem	Participle	Infinitive	
		Passive	Meaning
-ā	<i>amātus</i> ‘having been loved’	<i>amātus esse</i>	‘to have been loved’
-ē	<i>tentus</i> ‘having been kept’	<i>tentus esse</i>	‘to have been held’
-Ø -i	<i>rectus</i> ‘having been ruled’ <i>captus</i> ‘having been taken’	<i>rectus esse</i> <i>captus esse</i>	‘to have been ruled’ ‘to have been taken’
-ī	<i>audītus</i> ‘having been heard’	<i>audītus esse</i>	‘to have been heard’

Since the copula is frequently omitted especially in its present tense (see section 4.2), the perfect passive infinitive (formed with the present tense of the copula) is often realized as the bare participial form such as *amātus*, *tentus*, *rectus*, *captus*, or *audītus*.

Some verbs, called deponents, have passive morphology but an active or middle meaning; the so-called semi-deponents have passive morphology only in the [+ perfect] system. For these verbs, the form like the PPP actually has an active rather than passive meaning. An example of a deponent with past participle is *conor* ‘I try’ > *conatus* ‘having tried’ (i.e. \*‘having been tried’), and a common semi-deponent is *audeo* ‘I dare’ > *ausus* ‘having dared’ (i.e.\*

‘having been dared’. As with PPPs, these [+ perfect] participles take the copular infinitive, and only their meaning with respect to [voice] is different from the PPP.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to the features of [tense] and [- finite], the PPP also includes two nominal agreement features, [gender] and [number]. That is, the PPP actually consists of four morphemes: stem + perfect passive morpheme + [gender] + [number]. For example, in Table 9 the form *captus* is analyzable as *cap-* ‘take’ + perfect passive {-t-} + {-us}. The morpheme {-us} is itself a fusional inflection, expressing (a) masculine gender, (b) singular number, and (c) nominative case inseparably. Given the possible combinations of three grammatical genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter) and two numbers (singular and plural), the PPP represents six possible meanings. In the nominative case it has five overtly distinct forms, shown in Table 10. The form *capta* in is syncretized for feminine singular and neuter plural. Other agreement features (such as [number] on a finite verb) or context are needed to disambiguate between the two potential meanings.

Table 10: Nominative PPPs.

Gender	Singular	Plural
Masculine	<i>captus</i>	<i>capti</i>
Feminine	<i>capta</i>	<i>captae</i>
Neuter	<i>captum</i>	<i>capta</i>

In addition to present- and perfect-tense forms, the Latin infinitive also marks [+ future] tense. For this tense, both the active and passive voices are morphologically formed from the PPP stem + {-ur-}, an inchoative morpheme generally translated as ‘about to’, + [gender] +

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<sup>13</sup> There is also a small set of verbs one could call reverse deponents, verbs whose meaning is passive or middle but which take active morphology only. One of the most frequently occurring of these is *vapulare* ‘to be beaten’. The verb *cluere* ‘to be called’ is discussed below in section 7.1.

[number]. As with the examples in Table 10, the resulting form actually represents three possible genders × two grammatical numbers. The future active infinitive consists of the inchoative participle + present-tense infinitive of the copula (*esse*), with forms appearing in Table 11.

Table 11: Future Active Infinitive.

Vowel Stem	Participle	Infinitive	
		Active	Meaning
-ā	<i>amātus</i> ‘having been loved’	<i>amāturus esse</i>	‘to be about to love’
-ē	<i>tentus</i> ‘having been kept’	<i>tenturus esse</i>	‘to be about to hold’
-Ø -i	<i>rectus</i> ‘having been ruled’ <i>captus</i> ‘having been taken’	<i>recturus esse</i> <i>capturus esse</i>	‘to be about to rule’ ‘to be about to take’
-ī	<i>audītus</i> ‘having been heard’	<i>audīturus esse</i>	‘to be about to hear’

The early-Latin corpus contains 11 instances of an inflectionally formed future active infinitive in {-ssere}, for example *impetrassere* in (62).

- (62) *Credo* [te facile impetrassere].  
believe-1-S you-S-ACC easily obtain-1NF-FUT

‘I believe you’ll easily obtain [it].’ (Pl. *Mil.* 1128)

This inflectional future active infinitive is not lexical, since the more usual periphrastic form *capturum* occurs in (63).

- (63) *Credo* [ad summos bellatores acrem fugitorem<sup>14</sup> fore]  
believe-1-S to highest-M-PL-ACC warrior-M-PL-ACC fierce-M-S-ACC fleer-M-S-ACC be-1NF-FUT
- et [capturum spolia ibi illum] qui meo  
and take-PART-FUT-M-S-ACC spoil-N-PL-ACC there that-M-S-ACC REL-M-S-NOM my-M-S-DAT
- ero adversus venerit.  
master-M-S-DAT against come-3-S-FUTPERF

<sup>14</sup> This is ironic, playing upon the expected collocation of a fierce *bellator* ‘warrior’ rather than a fierce *fugitor* ‘fleer’.

‘I believe that one who will come up against my master will be a fierce deserter among the greatest warriors.’ (Pl. *Tri.* 723-724)

When infinitives occur with overt NP subjects, the synthetic forms for perfect passive (shown in Table 10) and future active (in Table 11) mark agreement with their accusative subject.<sup>15</sup> That is, the nominative forms shown in Tables 9-11 inflect for accusative case, with the appropriate ending for [gender] as well as [number]. For example, the accusative counterparts for *captus esse* of Table 10 are shown in Table 12.

Table 12: Accusative PPPs.

Gender	Singular	Plural
Masculine	<i>captum</i>	<i>captos</i>
Feminine	<i>captam</i>	<i>captas</i>
Neuter	<i>captum</i>	<i>capta</i>

As with the nominative forms in Table 10, five overt forms represent six grammatical possibilities. However, the syncretization is not with the feminine singular and neuter plural as in the nominative case, but with masculine singular and neuter singular, both ending in *-um*. Thus, the perfect passive and future active infinitives are more like finite verbs than the three morphological infinitives because they show overt [number] agreement with their grammatical subject. Unlike finite verbs they also mark agreement for [gender], but they do not show agreement for [person]. This means the perfect passive and future active infinitives have similar same agreement features to pronouns – which also do not mark person agreement – plus [gender] and the verbal feature of temporal tense.

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<sup>15</sup> A thorough treatment of the periphrastic infinities and implications for agreement features is in Embick (2000).

The future passive infinitive is formed from the PPP + *iri*. Morphologically, *iri* is the present passive infinitive of *ire* ‘to go’, but since this verb is nontransitive<sup>16</sup> the form *iri* does not take literal meaning. Instead, it serves as the morphological marker of passive voice for the future infinitive. This periphrastic form developed diachronically from a structure with direct object<sub>acc</sub> + *ire* + supine<sub>acc</sub>. Since the supine is neutral as to voice (i.e. both transitive active and deponent verbs take a supine form), the only way to grammaticalize into an unambiguous marker of passivity was as direct object<sub>acc</sub> + supine<sub>acc</sub> + *iri* (Coleman, 1985b, p. 212). The construction with *iri*, illustrated in Table 13.

The form of the future passive infinitive undergoes grammaticalization just after the early Latin period. Out of 4 instances found in the corpus, all 4 (100%) agree in [number] with their accusative infinitival subject. One example, in (64), also shows [gender] agreement between the embedded subject and the periphrastic infinitive.

Table 13: Future Passive Infinitive.

Vowel Stem	Supine	Infinitive	
		Passive	Meaning
-ā	<i>amātus</i> ‘to love/loving’	<i>amātum iri</i>	‘to be about to be loved’
-ē	<i>tentus</i> ‘to keep/keeping’	<i>tentum iri</i>	‘to be about to be held’
-Ø -i	<i>rectus</i> ‘to rule/ruling’ <i>captus</i> ‘to take/taking’	<i>rectum iri</i> <i>captum iri</i>	‘to be about to be ruled’ ‘to be about to be taken’
-ī	<i>audītus</i> ‘to hear/hearing’	<i>audītum iri</i>	‘to be about to be heard’

(64) *Quid* *ego* *cum* *illo* *dissertem* *amplius*, *[quem...]*  
INTERROG-N-S-ACC I-S-NOM with that-M-S-ABL discuss-I-S-SUBJ large-COMPAR-N-S-ACC REL-M-S-ACC

<sup>16</sup> It does nonetheless occasionally occur in the passive, e.g. *Quidnam est, obsecro te, adiri abnutas?* ‘Why, I beg you, do you refuse to be approached?’ lit. ‘to be come toward’ (Ennius *Trag.* 361). Perhaps the least transitive verb in Latin (Pieroni, 2000, p. 300), *ire* is thus available without ambiguity for this special use in the periphrastic infinitive.

<i>ego</i> I-S-NOM	<i>denique</i> finally	<i>credo</i> believe-I-S	[... <i>in</i> in	<i>pompa</i> parade-F-S-ABL	<i>vectitatum</i> carry-SUPINE-M-S-ACC	<i>iri</i> go-INFIN-PASS
<i>ludis</i> game-M-PL-ABL	<i>pro</i> in front of	<i>citeria</i> ], effigy-F-S-ABL	<i>atque</i> and	[ <i>cum</i> with	<i>spectatoribus</i> spectator-M-PL-ABL	<i>sermocinaturum</i> ]? discuss-PART-FUT-M-S-ACC

‘Why should I discuss any more with him, since I believe he’ll be carried in a parade with the games, in front of his effigy, and he’ll discuss [it] with the spectators?’ (Cato *Or.* 116)

In (64) the AcI subject is *quem*, the relative pronoun marked for [+ masculine, + singular] in agreement with *vectitatum iri*.

However, in (65-67) the infinitival subjects are [+ feminine], yet the future passive infinitive has the same {-um} ending as for [+ masculine] in (64).

(65)	<i>Qui</i> REL-M-S-NOM	<i>postquam</i> after	<i>audierat</i> hear-3-S-PLUPERF	[ <i>non</i> not	<i>datum</i> give-SUPINE-M-S-ACC	<i>iri</i> go-INFIN-PASS	<i>filio</i> son-M-S-DAT
	<i>uxorem</i> wife-F-S-ACC	<i>suo</i> ], own-M-S-DAT	<i>numquam</i> never	<i>quoiquam</i> INDEFIN-M-S-DAT	<i>nostrum</i> I-PL-GEN	<i>verbum</i> word-N-S-ACC	<i>fecit</i> make-3-S-PERF
	<i>neque</i> nor	<i>id</i> ANA-N-S-ACC	<i>aegre</i> sickly	<i>tulit.</i> carry-3-S-PERF			

‘Ever since he’d heard a wife wouldn’t be given to his son, he never said a word to any of us and he didn’t take it badly.’ (Ter. *And.* 177-178)

(66)	<i>Negat</i> deny-3-S	[ <i>ponere</i> place-INFIN	<i>alio</i> other-M-S-ABL	<i>modo</i> manner-M-S-ABL	<i>ullo</i> INDEFIN-M-S-ABL	<i>profecto</i> ], absolutely	<i>nisi</i> unless
	[ <i>se...</i> ] ANA-ACC	<i>sciat</i> know-3-S-SUBJ	[... <i>vilico</i> bailiff-M-S-DAT	<i>non</i> not	<i>datum</i> give-SUPINE-M-S-ACC	<i>iri</i> ]. go-INFIN-PASS	

‘She absolutely refuses to put [the swords] down unless she knows she won’t be handed over to the bailiff.’ (Pl. *Cas.* 698-699).

(67)	<i>Hanc</i> this-F-S-ACC	<i>fidem</i> faith-F-S-ACC	<i>sibi</i> ANA-DAT	<i>me</i> I-S-ACC	<i>obsecravit</i> plead-3-S-PERF	[ <i>qui</i> REL-S-ABL	<i>se...</i> ] ANA-ACC
	<i>sciret</i> know-3-S-IMPERF-SUBJ	[... <i>non</i> not	<i>desertum</i> desert-SUPINE-M--S-ACC	<i>iri</i> ] go-INFIN-PASS	<i>ut</i> COMP	<i>darem.</i> give-I-S-IMPERF-SUBJ	

‘She begged me to give her this pledge, so that she’d know she won’t be deserted.’ (Ter. *And.* 401-402)

In (65) the infinitival subject is *uxorem* ‘wife’, which has both natural and grammatical gender of [+ feminine]. In (66-67) the infinitival subject is the anaphor *se*, and in both examples the antecedent (not overtly shown here) is unambiguously a woman.



The fact that (most) future infinitives and the perfect passive infinitive are morphologically analytical rather than synthetic suggests that they were later to develop, being supplied as speakers felt a need to express such notions. Indeed, diachronic evidence shows that the [+ present] infinitive has a [+ future] sense in many complements (Leumann & Hofmann, 1928, 586-587). Specifically, with both ‘promise’ and AcI verbs, the present-tense infinitive was the first to develop (Iordache, 1995, p. 120). Example (68) with *sperare* ‘to hope’ also has a morphologically [+ present] infinitive with a [+ future] meaning.

- (68) *Et qui [se<sub>i</sub>...] sperat<sub>i</sub> [...Romae regnare Quadratae]*  
 and how ANA-ACC hope-3-S Rome-F-S-GEN rule-INFIN square-F-S-GEN

‘And how does he hope to rule Square Rome?’ (Enn. *Ann.* 123)

This evidence from Ennius is revealing because his contemporary Plautus does use a [+ future] infinitive with *sperare*, as in (69-70).

- (69) *Speravi ego [istam tibi parituram filium].*  
 hope-1-S-PERF I-S-NOM that-F-S-ACC you-S-DAT give birth-F-S-ACC-PART-FUT son-M-S-ACC

‘I hoped she would bear you a son.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 718)

- (70) *Et ego [idem...] spero [...fore].*  
 and I-S-NOM same-N-S-ACC hope-1-S be-1-ACC-FUT

‘And I hope the same thing will occur.’ (Pl. *Men.* 1094)

Moreover, even Naevius, who was probably even older (exact dates are uncertain), use a [+ future] infinitive with *sperare*, as illustrated in (71).

- (71) *quae sperat [se nupturam viridulo adolescentulo]*  
 REL-F-S-NOM hope-3-S ANA-ACC marry-F-S-ACC-PART-FUT green-M-S-DAT youth-M-S-DAT

‘who hopes she will marry a green young lad’ (Naev. *Inc.* 7-8)

This tense variation in the infinitive with *sperare* could indicate synchronic change as the [+ future] infinitive developed, or merely that Ennius prefers archaic forms in his vast epic on the earliest Roman history. How the other early-Latin authors use *sperare* with infinitives is discussed below in section 6.5.1.2.

## 4.2 THE COPULA

The copula is a stative predicate representing a durative condition, and – in common with many other languages – Latin does not require it to be overt (Leumann & Hofmann, pp. 624-625). An adjective or other marker of stativity suffices, as shown in (72-74).

- (72) *Cum -que hic tam formosus homo ac te*  
since -and this-M-S-NOM so shapely-M-S-NOM human-M-S-NOM and you-S-ABL  
*dignus puellus*  
worthy-M-S-NOM little boy-M-S-NOM

‘and since he [is] such a shapely person and a boy worthy of you’ (Luc. *Sat.* 166)

- (73) *virago, cui par imber et ignis spiritus*  
female warrior-F-S-NOM REL-S-DAT equal-S-NOM rain-M-S-NOM and fire-M-S-NOM breath-M-S-NOM  
*et gravis terra*  
and heavy-S-NOM earth-F-S-NOM

‘a female warrior, to whom rain and fire and breath and heavy earth [are] equal’ (Enn. *Ann.* 260-261)

- (74) *Sed ego stolidus; gratulatum med oportebat*  
but I-S-NOM stupid-M-S-NOM congratulate-SUPINE -M-S-ACC I-S-ACC behoove-3-S-IMPERF  
*prius.*  
before

‘But I [am] stupid; I should have congratulated [you] earlier.’ (Caec. *Fab.* 8)

Although not required, the copula does often occur, as in examples (75-78).

- (75) *Acontizomenos<sup>17</sup> fabula est prime bona.*  
‘javelined’ play-F-S-NOM be-3-S first(ly) good-F-S-NOM  
‘Javelined is a first-rate play.’ (Naev. *Fab.* 1)

- (76) *Est ibi sub eo saxo penitus strata harena*  
be-3-S there under that-N-S-ABL rock-N-S-ABL deep strew-PPP-F-S-ABL sand-F-S-ABL

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<sup>17</sup> This is a transliteration of a Greek perfect passive participle; it is unclear whether its morpheme-by-morpheme (or even the composite) meaning was transparent to the typical Roman audience.

*ingens*      *specus*<sup>18</sup>.  
 huge-S-NOM      cave-M-S-NOM

‘Under that rock is a huge cave with a stretch of sand deep within.’ (Pac. *Trag.* 87)

- (77) *Servorum*      *est*      *festus*      *dies*      *hic*      *quem*      *plane*  
 slave-M-PL-GEN      be-3-S      holiday-M-S-NOM      day-M-S-NOM      this-M-S-NOM      REL-M-S-ACC      plainly
- hexametro*      *versu*      *non*      *dicere*      *possis*.  
 hexameter-M-S-ABL      verse-M-S-ABL      not      say-INFIN      be able-2-S-SUBJ

‘This is a slaves’ holiday which you simply couldn’t say in a hexameter verse.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 252-253)

- (78) *Deicerent*      [*necesus*      *ese*      [*Bacanal*      *habere*]].  
 decide-3-PL-IMPERF-SUBJ      necessary-N-S-ACC      be-INFIN      Bacchic rite-N-S-ACC      have-INFIN

‘They should it was necessary to have a Bacchic rite.’ (*Bac.* 4-5)

Since generally not required, the copula is also optional in the periphrastic infinitive constructions of the future and perfect tenses. This optional rule of copula omission with infinitives contrasts with English, where the ability to omit the copula infinitive in a small clause appears to be a lexical feature.<sup>19</sup> For example, while understand and believe in (79-80) are both bridge verbs that can take ECM with an infinitival complement, copula omission (i.e. a small clause) is not allowed with understand in (79b) but is acceptable with believe in (80b).

- (79) a. I understand [him to be a student of German]  
 b. \*I understand [him \_\_\_\_ a student of German]
- (80) a. I believe [him to be a student of German]  
 b. I believe [him \_\_\_\_ a student of German]

<sup>18</sup> *Specus*, -ūs appears in all three genders in different citations (Simpson, 1968, p. 565), so the exact interpretation in this example is ambiguous. I classify *specus* as an inherently masculine noun simply because the vast majority of nouns with genitive in -ūs are masculine; the rest are neuter. By this interpretation, *strata* can agree only with *harena* and is therefore ablative, so that the phrase *strata harena* ‘strewn sand’ is a condition (because it is in the ablative case, i.e. a so-called ablative of material or respect) applicable to the subject *specus*. However, since *specus* does sometimes occur as a feminine noun (e.g. in Enn. *Ann.* 427, although Ennius elsewhere has it as masculine), *strata* may possibly mean the cave itself is strewn with sand (see Warmington, 1940, p. 4:197). Either way, the copula is present and unambiguously agrees grammatically in [number] with *specus*.

<sup>19</sup> Rytting (1999) claims to find semantic and pragmatic differences between small clauses and full complements (i.e. with an overt copula) in infinitival clauses in classical Latin, but the claimed distinctions do not hold at all for early Latin.

In early Latin, similar constructions with semantically equivalent verbs may omit the copula and still produce a grammatical sentence. Thus, we find *intelligere* ‘to understand’ and *credere* ‘to believe’ both with and without the copula in the lower clause, resulting in no apparent difference in meaning. Sentences (81a-b) have *intelligere* and (82a-b) have *credere*; the (b) sentences have no overt copula.

- (81) a. *Quanto* *magis* [*te* *isti* *modi* *esse*] *intellego*,  
 how much-N-S-ABL more you-S-ACC that-S-GEN measure-M-S-GEN be-INFIN understand-1-S  
*tanto*, *Antigona*, *magis* [*me...*] *par* *est* [...*tibi*  
 so much-N-S-ABL Antigone-F-S-VOC more I-S-ACC equal-N-S-NOM be-3-S you-S-DAT  
*consulere* *et* *parcere*].  
 counsel-INFIN and spare-INFIN

‘The more I understand you to be in this mood, so much more, Antigone, it’s right for me to counsel you and spare you.’ (Acc. *Trag.* 88-89)

- b. *quia* [*temeti* *nihil* *allatum*] *intellego*.  
 because wine-N-S-GEN nothing-N-S-ACC carry toward-PPP-N-ACC understand-1-S

‘because I understand no wine has been brought in’ (Pl. *Aul.* 355)

- (82) a. *Credidi* [*silicernium* *eius* *me* *esse* *esurum*].  
 believe-1-S-PERF funeral feast-N-S-ACC ANA-M-S-GEN I-S-ACC be-INFIN eat- PART-FUT- M-S-ACC

‘I believed I was going to eat his funeral feast.’ (Cae. *Fab.* 120)

- b. [*Deum* *-que* *de* *consilio* *hoc* *itiner...*] *credo*  
 god-M-PL-GEN -and from advice-N-S-ABL this-N-S-ABL journey-N-S-ACC believe-1-S  
 [...*conatum* *modo*].<sup>20</sup>  
 attempt-PPP-M-S-ACC recently

‘I think [you] recently attempted this journey because of the gods’ advice.’ (Enn. *Trag.* 344)

The corpus contains one instance of an embedded clause that appears to be a true small clause, since it is coordinated with a deverbal noun. This example is shown in (83).

- (83) *Ille* [*navem* *salvam*] *nuntiat* *aut* [*irati* *adventum*]  
 that-M-S-NOM ship-F-S-ACC safe-F-S-ACC announce-3-S or angry-M-S-GEN arrival-M-S-ACC

<sup>20</sup> Given the context of this line within the play, it is clear that the speaker Agamemnon is addressing Telephus, the understood AcI subject (= *te* if overt).

*senis*].  
old-M-S-GEN

‘He announces the safe ship or the angry old man’s arrival.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 988)

The first embedded clause could be AcI with a non-overt copula *esse*, meaning ‘he announces the ship is safe’, but then it would not coordinate properly with the other part, *irati adventum senis*.

The copula has several compounds formed from a preposition + copula, which together account for 25 (6%) of 431 overt instances of the copula not in a periphrastic construction (see Table 14). These copular compounds include *adesse* ‘to be near’, *abesse* ‘to be away from’, *prodesse* ‘to be of benefit for’, *inesse* ‘to be in, on’, *conesse* ‘to be with’, *interesse* ‘to be between’, and *obesse* ‘to be in the way of’. The most frequently occurring is *adesse*, represented in 13 corpus examples with infinitival complements. Some examples of the copular compounds are shown in (84-89).

- (84) *Nunc fores pultabo, [adesse...] ut [...me] sciat.*  
now door-F-PL-ACC knock-1-S-FUT be near-INFIN COMP I-S-ACC know-3-S-SUBJ

‘Now I’ll knock on the door so he’ll know I’m here.’ (Pl. *Men.* 987)

- (85) *Neve inter ibei virei plous duobus, mulieribus plous*  
nor among there man-M-PL-NOM more two-M-PL-ABL woman-F-PL-ABL more  
*tribus [arfuise] velent.*  
three-F-PL-ABL be near-INFIN-PERF wish-3-PL-IMPERF-SUBJ

‘Nor should more than two men [or] more than three women want to be present at the same time.’ (*Bac.* 20-21)

- (86) *Atque [haud longe abesse] oportet, verum longe hinc afuit.*  
and not long be away-INFIN be fitting-3-S but long from here be away-3-S-PERF

‘And it shouldn’t be far away, but it was far away from here.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 322)

- (87) *Hoc dolet, [med obesse], [illos prodesse], [me*  
this-N-S-NOM pain-3-S I-S-ACC be in the way-INFIN that-M-PL-ACC be of benefit-INFIN I-S-ACC  
*obstare], [illos obsequi].*  
stand in the way-INFIN that-M-PL-ACC follow after-INFIN-DEPON

‘This is painful, that I am in the way and they are useful, that I stand in the way and they follow after.’ (Enn. *Trag.* 64-65)

- (88) *Ut pueri infantes credunt [signa omnia aenea*  
as boy-M-PL-NOM infant-M-PL-NOM believe-3-PL sign-N-PL-ACC all-N-PL-ACC bronze-N-PL-ACC  
*vivere et esse homines], sic isti [somnia ficta*  
live-INFIN and be-INFIN human-M-PL-ACC thus that-M-PL-NOM dream-N-PL-ACC create-PPP-N-PL-ACC  
*vera] putant, credunt [signis cor inesse in aenis].*  
true-N-PL-ACC think-3-PL believe-3-PL sign-N-PL-ABL heart-N-S-ACC be in-INFIN in bronze-N-PL-ABL

‘As young boys believe all bronze images are alive and are human, so those people think the stuff of dreams is real, they believe a heart exists in bronze images.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 526-528)

- (89) [*Inter orbem et miliarium unum digitum interesse*]  
between wheel-F-S-ACC and mill column-N-S-ACC one-M-S-ACC finger-M-S-ACC be between-INFIN  
*oportet.*  
be fitting-3-S

‘There should be one finger’s width between the wheel and the mill column.’ (Cato *Agr.* 22)

Note that although *posse* ‘to be able’ is a transparent compound from the adjective *potis* ‘powerful, able’ + *esse*, it is not considered as a copula here since it licenses subject control (see section 6.4.1) and is thus distinct from all other *esse* compounds.

In the corpus, whether or not the copula is overt varies according to tense and the type of infinitive. A summary of the copula’s occurrence by tense and form is in Table 14.

Table 14: Occurrences of Infinitival Copula.

Infinitival Form	Overt		Non-Overt		Total
Copula – Present Tense	403	72%	159	28%	562
Copula – Perfect Tense	17	100%	0	0%	17
Copula – Future Tense	<u>36</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>36</u>
	456	74%	159	26%	615
Periphrastic – Perfect Passive	77	42%	106	58%	183
Periphrastic – Perfect Deponent	24	52%	22	48%	46
Periphrastic – Future Active	<u>15</u>	<u>17%</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>83%</u>	<u>86</u>
	116	37%	199	63%	315
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>572</b>	<b>62%</b>	<b>358</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>930</b>

First, for the infinitival copula itself (i.e. not the copula as part of a periphrastic infinitive of another verb), 403 (72%) of 562 contexts are overt in the present tense as *esse*. The perfect-tense form *fuisse* is overt in 17 (100%) of 17 contexts, and the future forms *futurum esse* or *fore*<sup>21</sup> occurs in 36 (100%) of 36 contexts. Overall, the bare infinitival in the corpus is overt in 456 (74%) of 615 contexts, with a complementary distribution in overtness between [+ present] and [- present] tenses.

Second, the other group of copular infinitives consists of the two periphrastic infinitival tenses that include a form of the copula. The perfect passive infinitive, which is formed from the perfect passive participle + copula, has an overt *esse* in 77 (42%) of 183 contexts. The perfect deponent, formed from the perfect (morphologically passive form but active/middle meaning) participle + *esse*, has the overt copula in 24 (52%) of 46 contexts. The future active infinitive, formed from the future active participle + copula, includes overt *esse* in 15 (17%) of 86 contexts. In the periphrastic forms combined, the copula is overt in 116 (37%) of 315 instances. Unlike the bare copula, the periphrastic copula does not occur in complementary distribution with respect to tense. However, nearly two thirds of all instances occur with non-overt *esse*, and this trend is the opposite of what happens with the bare copula. The periphrastic contexts reveal that the copula itself is less essential than when the context is copula alone. This results from the overt agreement features of [gender] and [number] that the periphrastic forms overtly mark on the participles.

Overall, the infinitival copula is overt in 572 (62%) of 930 total contexts, or in about two out of every three times expected. There are no significant differences in the copula's overtness according to type of infinitival complement.

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<sup>21</sup> The actual future infinitive of the copula is *fore*, but the periphrastic form *futurum* (the future active participle) + *esse* also occurs; the two forms are treated together here.

### 4.3 WORD ORDER

In general, Latin allows relatively free order of words (Del Vecchio, 1989), although overall patterns are SOV and SVO diachronically up to Late Latin (Panhuis, 1984). Given Latin's rich inflectional morphosyntax, strict word order is not required since syntactic relationships are generally marked morphologically. This contrasts sharply with English syntax, where for instance NP → (Det) (Adj) N, as in the new governor but \*governor the new. Even more critical is the difference in meaning between Dog bites man and Man bites dog, where the order of subject and object NPs makes a significant difference in English (but would not in Latin). While there are occasional exceptions to NP constituent order in English, such as the postposed adjective in French-influenced phrases like attorney(s) general, English overwhelmingly conforms to a fixed linear order of constituents. Latin, however, permits considerably looser word order which is nonetheless syntactically constrained (Elerick, 1989, pp. 569-570), and scrambling is common.

Unfixed word order often results in disjoint constituents. In (90) the NP *eo exemplo* is separated by the NP *ego*, and in (91) the verb *possum* separates the two constituents of the NP *nullo remedio*.

- (90) *Eo*            *ego*            *exemplo*            *servio,*            [*tergo...*]            *ut*            [...*in*            *rem*  
ANA-N-S-ABL    I-S-NOM    example-N-S-ABL    serve-1-S    back-N-S-DAT    as            into            affair-F-S-ACC  
  
esse]            *arbitror.*  
be-1-DEON    think-1-S-DEON

‘I serve by this guideline: however I think [something] is useful for my hide.’ (Pl. *Men.* 985)

- (91) *Ego*            *nullo*            *possum*            *remedio*            [*me*            *evolvere*            *ex*            *his*  
I-S-NOM    no-N-S-ABL    be able-1-S    remedy-N-S-ABL    I-S-ACC    roll out-1-DEON    out of            this-F-PL-ABL  
  
*turbis*].  
disturbance-F-PL-ABL

‘I cannot extricate myself from these troubles in any way.’ (Ter. *Phor.* 825)



Even greater scrambling occurs in (92) with the NP *hunc metum*, which is separated by the NP goal *mi* as well as the verb *expediat*.

- (92) *Nil* *satis* *firmi* *video* *quam* *ob* *rem*  
 nothing-N-S-ACC enough-N-S-ACC firm-N-S-GEN see-I-S INTERROG-F-S-ACC because of affair-F-S-ACC  
*[accipere hunc...]* *mi* *expediat* *[...metum]*.  
 take-INFIN this-M-S-ACC I-S-DAT benefit-3-S-SUBJ fear-M-S-ACC  
 ‘I don’t see any strong enough reason why it should benefit me to take on this fear.’ (Ter. *Heau.* 337)

Even a proper name is subject to having its constituents separated, as with *Decimus Sura* in (93).

- (93) *[Sit [me scire]...] volo [...Decimus mihi conscius Sura]*  
 be-3-S-SUBJ I-S-ACC know-INFIN want-I-S Decimus-M-S-NOM I-S-DAT aware-M-S-NOM Sura-M-S-NOM  
*ne damnum faciam.*  
 lest harm-N-S-ACC do-I-S-SUBJ  
 ‘I want Decimus Sura to be aware with me that I know [this], so I won’t do anything wrong.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 1142-1143)

The genitival NP object *litigi* is also separated from its head NP *aliquid* in (94).

- (94) *Nam ego [aliquid contrahere...] cupio [...litigi inter eos]*  
 for I-S-NOM INDEFIN-N-S-ACC draw together-INFIN wish-I-S quarrel-N-S-GEN between ANA-M-PL-ACC  
*duos].*  
 two-M-PL-ACC  
 ‘For I want to cause a quarrel between those two.’ (Pl. *Cas.* 561)

In (95) the PP *cum uno viro* is disjoint, with most of the main and subordinate elements intervening before the noun *viro*.

- (95) *vobis cum uno semel ubi aetatem agere decretum*  
 you-PL-DAT with one-M-S-ABL at same time when age-F-S-ACC do-INFIN decide-PPP-N-S-NOM  
*’st viro*  
 be-3-S man-M-S-ABL  
 ‘when once you have decided to live out your live with one man’ (Ter. *Heau.* 392)

Similarly, the noun *deos* of the PP *per omnis deos* is separated by the NP goal *tibi* and the matrix verb *adiuro* in (96).

- (96) *Per omnis tibi adiuro deos [numquam eam me]*  
 through all-M-PL-ACC you-S-DAT swear to-I-S god-M-PL-ACC never ANA-F-S-ACC I-S-ACC

*deserturum*].  
desert-PART-FUT-M-S-ACC

‘I swear to you by all the gods that I will never desert her.’ (Ter. *And.* 694)

Example (97) is particularly interesting because both the NP *quo pacto* and the NP *urbem Romanam* are separated, and their individual constituents even overlap each other.

- (97) *quo* [ *populum* *atque* *urbem...* ] *pacto* [...*servare...*]  
INTERROG-N-S-ABL people-M-S-ACC and city-F-S-ACC means-N-S-ABL save-INFIN  
*potisset* [...*amplius* *Romanam*]  
be able-3-S-IMPERF-SUBJ more Roman-F-S-ACC

‘by what means he might be better able to save the [Roman] people and the Roman city.’  
(Luc. *Sat.* 6-7)

The fact that scrambling and other word-order variation occurs in early Latin means adjacency is not required in ECM structures. Sometimes adjacency does occur, as in (98-100).

- (98) *Donicum* *videbis* [ *me* *carpento* *vehentem* *en* *domum* ]  
when see-2-S-FUT I-S-ACC carriage-N-S-ABL ride-S-ACC-PART lo home-F-S-ACC  
*venisse*]  
come-INFIN-PERF

‘when you see I’ve come home riding in a carriage’ (Liv. *Ody.* 20-21)

- (99) *Hic* *tu* *apte* *credis* [ *quemquam* *latrina* *petisse* ]?  
here you-S-NOM aptly believe-2-S INDEF-M-S-ACC latrine-F-S-ABL seek-INFIN-PERF

‘Do you really believe someone here has gone to the latrines?’ (Luc. *Sat.* 283)

- (100) *Adsimulabo*<sub>i</sub> [ *me*<sub>i</sub> *esse* *ebrium*<sub>i</sub> ].  
pretend-I-S-FUT I-S-ACC be-INFIN drunk-M-S-ACC

‘I’ll pretend I’m drunk [lit. ‘pretend myself to be drunk’].’ (Pl. *Amph.* 999)

However, unfixed word order frequently occurs with infinitival clauses. The result is that an overt infinitival subject is separated from its infinitive and the clause itself may also be disjoint. Some examples are in (101-108).

### 4.3.1 Adjacency

One important issue in ECM structures in Latin is adjacency. Although required in English, adjacency is merely optional in Latin. In fact, word-order variation frequently occurs

with infinitival clauses, with the result that an overt infinitival subject is separated from its infinitive and the clause itself may be disjoint. Some examples are in (101-108).

- (101) [*Quem* -*nam* *te* *esse*] *dicam?*  
 INTERROG-M-S-ACC -for you-S-ACC be-INFIN say-1-S-FUT

‘Then who will I say you are?’ (Enn. *Trag.* 355)

- (102) [*Alcumenam* *ante* *aedis* *stare* *saturam*] *intellego.*  
 Alcmena-F-S-ACC before wall-F-PL-ACC stand-INFIN full-F-S-ACC understand-1-S

‘I understand the pregnant Alcmena is standing in front of the house.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 667)

- (103) [*Omnes* *cinaedos* *esse*] *censes* *quia* *tu* *es?*  
 all-M-PL-ACC lecher-ACC-M-PL be-INFIN believe-2-S because you-S-NOM be-2-S

‘Do you believe everyone is a lecher because you are?’ (Pl. *Men.* 513)

- (104) *Ne* [*tibi* *me* *esse* *ob* *eam* *rem* *obnoxium*]  
 not you-S-DAT I-S-ACC be-INFIN because of ANA-F-S-ACC thing-F-S-ACC subject-M-S-ACC

*reare.*  
 think-2-S-SUBJ

‘Don’t think I’m under your control for that reason.’ (Caec. *Com.* 20-21)

- (105) *At* *vereor* *cum* [*te* *esse* *Alcmeonis* *fratrem*] *factis*  
 but fear-1-S since you-S-ACC be-INFIN Alcmeon-M-S-GEN brother-M-S-ACC deed-N-PL-ABL

*dedicat.*  
 give out-3-S

‘But I’m afraid, since he claims with facts that you’re Alcmeon’s brother.’ (Acc. *Trag.* 43)

- (106) [*Pariter* *te* *esse* *erga* *illum*] *video* *ut* [*illum* *ted*]<sup>22</sup>  
 equally you-S-ACC be-INFIN towards that-M-S-ACC see-1-S as that-M-S-ACC you-S-ACC

*erga* *scio.*  
 towards know-1-S

‘I see you feel the same about him as I know he feels about you.’ (Pac. *Trag.* 270)

- (107) [*Eam* *nunc* *esse* *inventam* *probris* *conpotem*] *scis.*  
 ANA-F-S-ACC now be-INFIN found-PPP -S-F-ACC bad deed-N-PL-ABL sharing in-F-S-ACC know-2-S

<sup>22</sup> *Ted* is an allomorph of *te*, frequently occurring before a vowel or /h/. However, unlike English *an*, it is not mandatory before a word beginning with a vowel, as shown by the sequence *te esse* in the first clause in (106). Here the two variants can probably be attributed to poetic meter. (With a /d/, *te esse* would not elide into /tesse/, and without the /d/ *ted erga* would elide; those forms would not fit properly into the verse.) Possibly, Pacuvius chooses the two allomorphs to formally represent the different grammatical roles played by *te* in the sentence. Notably, *ted* appears often in early Latin but disappears by the classical period.

‘You know she has been found participating in bad behavior.’ (Naev. *Trag.* 10-11)

(108) *Scito*                      [*pro*              *ratione*              *fructum*              *esse*].  
                                          know-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT    according to    reckoning-F-S-ABL    use-M-S-ACC    be-INFIN

‘Realize that the result is in accordance with what you find.’<sup>23</sup> (Cato *Agr.* I)

No matter whether SVO or SOV is the presumed underlying word order, some movement has occurred in each of these examples in (101-108). In (101), the AcI subject is *quemnam*, but since interrogative words are typically extracted clause-initially, *quemnam*’s initial position still does not address the issue of adjacency requirements.

By contrast, in sentences (102-108) the infinitive is positioned between the AcI subject and the matrix verb, regardless of the main verb’s location in the sentence. For example, in (105) the adjunct *factis* occurs after the appositive *Alcmeonis fratrem*, which has agreement features [singular, masculine/feminine, accusative] with and semantically refers to the AcI subject *te*. If we assume the copula’s underlying structure is literal (i.e. it occurs between the two elements that it links), then the word order of the infinitival clauses in (100), (105), and (107) is basic, while in (103) the element linked by the copula has moved up from the default position at the right of the infinitive. The result is a greater distance between the AcI subject or appositive and the matrix verb, showing that adjacency is not required. The basic copula word order assumed can also account for the greater distance in (106), where the AcI subjects *te* in the first IP clause and *illum* in the second are necessarily separated from an SOV matrix verb because of the copula and what it links to (the *erga*-phrases).

However, for (107) no such explanation can account for the distance between the main verb and the AcI subject *fructum*. Topicalization may play a role – for instance, by postponing the new information until late in the clause Cato emphasizes it. Yet what follows the AcI subject

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<sup>23</sup> Cato here advises the prospective owner to inspect the quantity of produce and wine jars on a farm before purchasing it; according to the volume of stored goods, one can judge how profitable the farm will likely be.

is weak because as a mere copula it is optional, especially in the early period of Latin (Draeger, p. 1:195). To follow the pragmatically significant information with the weakest constituent in the sentence – especially one that is optional anyway – appears to contradict the notion of topicalization. Whatever pragmatic considerations may affect the word order in these sentences, it is clear that adjacency is not required in the assignment of accusative case to AcI subjects in Latin.

### 4.3.2 Syntactic Ambiguity

Not only does word-order variation remove an adjacency requirement for ECM, but it also may result in syntactic ambiguity. For example, in (109) the NP *haec* could be either the matrix subject as [+ feminine, + singular] in agreement with *ait* or the embedded object of *novisse* (with *te* and *me* the embedded subjects). Only the discourse context can disambiguate the two possible meanings.

- (109) *Nam* [ *nec* *te* *neque* *me* *novisse* ] *ait* *haec*.  
 for nor you-S-ACC nor I-S-ACC know-INFIN-PERF say-3-S this-F-S-NOM

‘For this woman says she knows neither you nor me.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 430)

Word-order variation can also result in garden-path sentences. In (110) the position of the NP *statum* ‘standing’ after the PP *in med* yields a garden-path interpretation of a coordinated PP because of *et* ‘and’. However, the meaning is clearly a coordinated (but variant-order) NP *formam et statum* instead.

- (110) *Et* *enim* *vero* *quoniam* *pro* *formam* *cepi* *huius* *in* *med*  
 and for truly since shape-F-S-ACC take-1-S-PERF that-M-S-GEN into I-S-ACC  
*et* *statum*<sup>24</sup>, *decet* [ *et* *facta* *mores* *-que* *huius* ]  
 and standing-M-S-ACC be fitting-3-S and do-PPP-N-PL-ACC custom-M-PL-ACC -and that-M-S-GEN  
*habere* *me* *similis* *item*].  
 have-INFIN I-S-ACC alike-M-PL-ACC likewise

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<sup>24</sup> Although the cognate ‘stature’ seems an appropriate translation here, *status* does not develop that meaning until the Augustan age, or nearly two centuries afterward (Andrews, p. 1456).

‘And truly, since I took upon myself his shape and standing, it’s likewise right for me to have his actions and behaviors.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 266-267)

Not only does syntactic ambiguity result from unfixed word order, but in ECM clauses the effect is stronger since both embedded subject and object are marked for accusative case.

For example, in (111) both *te* and *Romanos* are unambiguously accusative.

- (111) *Aio*     [*te*     *Aiacida*     *Romanos*     *vincere*     *posse*].  
           say-I-S    you-S-ACC    son of Aeacus-M-S-ACC    Roman-M-PL-ACC    conquer-INFIN    be able-INFIN

‘I say you, son of Aeacus, can conquer the Romans’ / ‘I say the Romans can conquer you, son of Aeacus’ (Enn. *Ann.* 174)

The infinitival subject is AcI and the direct object of the subordinate verb *vincere* ‘to conquer’ is also accusative. The sentence contains two NPs marked as accusative, *te Aiacida* and *Romanos*. The result is that either accusative NP can be interpreted as the subject of the infinitive. In (112), only one accusative form is overt even though the infinitive does take an (at least implied) object; given Latin’s parametric availability of both null subjects and null objects (see section 5.4), syntactic ambiguity also results.

- (112) *Edico*     [*vicisse*     *Oresten*].<sup>25</sup>  
           announce-I-S    conquer-INFIN-PERF    Orestes-M-S-ACC

‘I announce Orestes has conquered [it/him]’ / ‘I announce [it/he] has conquered Orestes’ (Enn. *Trag.* 155)

The syntactic ambiguity that is possible from these structures was actually attributed to the ancient oracles as a linguistic strategy. Both sentences in (111-112) are cited in the classical period as examples of syntactic ambiguity to illustrate how readily the oracles could be

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<sup>25</sup> Again, context supplies the missing subject of the infinitive. The goddess Minerva expresses her judgment of Orestes’s moral guilt or innocence in killing his mother. Minerva replies either that he *vicisse* ‘has prevailed’ or that ‘something’ (a non-overt NP = the case, the event, the fact) has prevailed over him (i.e. he is guilty). Since the play is modeled on a Greek original and the content itself is thus well known, Ennius intends *Oresten* as the AcI subject of *vicisse*, but without such background knowledge the accusative is syntactically ambiguous.

interpreted according to one's wishes (Warmington, p. 1:67). An early-Latin comment on the oracles' ambiguity is shown in (113).

- (113) [*Flexa*            *non*            *falsa*            *autumare*]    *dictio*            *Delphis*  
 bend-PPP-N-PL-ACC   not            deceive-PPP-N-PL-ACC   say-INFIN            speaking-f-S-NOM   Delphi-M-PL-LOC  
*solet.*  
 be accustomed-3-S

'The oracle at Delphi is accustomed to saying contorted [but] not false words.' (Pac. *Trag.* 334)

Note that one reasonable interpretation of *flexa* is 'non-linear'.

Given the availability of word-order variation, linear order does not necessarily correlate with two accusatives' structural assignment: the first one is not always the embedded subject. An oracular edict as in (111) can be intentionally ambiguous, but in other contexts there is usually just one intended meaning. In (111) the linear order of the accusative NPs is first *te* then *Romanos*, so the "natural" interpretation is that *te* is the ECM subject of the infinitive *vincere*. However, what appears natural unambiguously fails in some sentences, where the second accusative must be interpreted as the infinitival subject. One such example is in (114).

- (114) *Philocomasium* ... [*quam*    *in proxumo*            *vidisse...*]    *aiebas*            [...*te*  
 Philocomasium-N-S-ACC   REL-F-S-ACC   in   close-SUPER-N-S-ABL   see-INFIN-PERF   say-2-S-IMPERF   you-S-ACC  
*osculantem*    *atque*    *amplexantem*    *cum*    *altero*]  
 kiss-PART-S-ACC   and            embrace-PART-S-ACC   with            another-M-S-ABL

'Philocomasium ... whom you said you saw next door kissing and embracing some man' (Pl. *Mil.* 319-320)

The relative pronoun *quam* is clause-initial but the play's plot clearly excludes it as the subject of the infinitive *vidisse*; rather, *te* is AcI and *quam* is *vidisse*'s direct object in the accusative. In example (115) the second accusative is merely in apposition, not a separate thematic argument, so that caution must be applied in attempting to link NP order with structural relation.

- (115) *Porro* [*eunuchum...*]    *dixti*            [...*velle*    *te*].  
 then            eunuch-M-S-ACC            said-2-S-PERF            want-INFIN            you-S-ACC

'Then you said you wanted a eunuch.' (Ter. *Eun.* 167)

The meaning of (115) would be quite different if *eunuchum* were the intended subject of the infinitive *velle*. Although the irony in such meaning is exactly the lynchpin of the play's plot, immediate context makes it clear that *te* is actually the subject of its clause. Plautus exploits the syntactic ambiguity to underscore the irony of what really happened compared with the behavior (not) expected from a (real) eunuch. This is superb comedy in the hands of a highly skilled author, one who manipulates the syntactic ambiguities for their dramatic possibilities.

Incredulous emphasis apparently causes *men* to occur first in (116) even though it is clearly the object, not the subject, of the AcI clause. The sentence that follows resolves the syntactic ambiguity.

- (116) [[*Me -n* *hodie* *usquam* *convenisse* *te*...], *audax*, *audes* [...*dicere*],  
 I-S-ACC -Y/N today ever meet-*INFIN*-*PERF* you-S-ACC daring-M-S-VOC dare-2-S say-*INFIN*  
*postquam* *advorsum* *mi* *imperavi* [*ut* *huc* *venires*]?  
 after opposite I-S-DAT order-1-S-*PERF* COMP to here come-2-S-*IMPERF*-*SUBJ*

‘Do you dare say you meet me some time today, after I ordered you to come here to meet me? (Pl. *Men.* 1050-1051)

In *Miles Gloriosus*, a play about a self-deluded soldier, Plautus clues us in to how he subverts the linear order for comic effect in (117).

- (117) *Ill'* *est* *miles* *meus* *erus*, *qui* *hinc* *ad*  
 that-M-S-NOM be-3-S soldier-M-S-NOM my-M-S-NOM master-M-S-NOM REL-M-S-NOM from here to  
*forum* *abiit*, *gloriosus*, *impudens*, *stercoreus*, *plenus*  
 forum-N-S-ACC go away-3-S-*PERF* boastful-M-S-NOM shameless-M-S-NOM-PART foul-M-S-NOM full-M-S-NOM  
*periuri* *atque* *adulteri*. *Ait* [*sese* *ultro* *omnis* *mulieres*  
 perjury-N-S-GEN and adultery-N-S-GEN say-3-S REFLEX-ACC beyond all-F-PL-ACC woman-F-PL-ACC  
*sectarier*], *is* *deridiculo* *'st* *quaqua* *incedit* *omnibus*.  
 follow-*INFIN* ANA-M-S-NOM object of ridicule-N-S-DAT be-3-S wherever go in-3-S all-M-PL-DAT

‘That soldier is my master, who went from here to the forum, a boastful, shameless, foul man, full of lies and adultery. He even says all the women follow him around. He’s an object of ridicule to all wherever he goes.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 88-92)

The lead-in line openly declares the title character a liar and a braggart, so that when he is indirectly quoted in the following line we are forced to take the second accusative as the



infinitival subject (otherwise there would be no boast in his statement). At the same time, through the linear word order<sup>26</sup> Plautus subtly suggests what is actually true – that Pyrgopolynices himself follows all the women but in his deluded self-image believes he is the object, not the subject, of that following.

In some examples, varied word order is iconic. For instance, in (118) the disjoint NPs imitate the act of fleeing.

- (118) *Nulla* -n *ego* *Chremetis* *pacto* *adfinitatem*  
no-N-S-ABL -Y/N I-S-NOM Chremes-M-S-GEN means-N-S-ABL relationship by marriage-F-S-ACC  
*effugere* *potero?*  
flee from-INFIN be able-1-S-FUT

‘Will I be unable to flee a relationship by marriage with Chremes by any means at all?’  
(Ter. *And.* 245)

In (119) the preposition *clam* ‘unknown to, in secret from’ is disjoint from its NP *alteros*, which mimics the idea that ‘others’ will not know about it.

- (119) *Nam* *ea* *oblectat* *spes* *aerumnosum* *hospitem* *dum*  
for ANA-F-S-NOM please-3-S hope-F-S-NOM full of hardship-M-S-ACC stranger-M-S-ACC while  
*[illud...]* *quod* *miser* *est* [...*clam* *esse* *alteros*]  
that-N-S-ACC REL-N-S-ACC wretched-M-S-NOM be-3-S in secret be-INFIN other-M-PL-ACC  
*censet.*  
believe-3S

‘For this hope pleases the stranger beset with hardship while he believes that for which he is wretched is unknown to others.’ (Acc. *Trag.* 338-339)

The rhetorical figure of chiasmus (i.e. word structure representing the Greek letter X, chi) also accounts for some instances of non-linear word order, for example in (120) where the two infinitives *trahere* and *immittere* form the outer part of the X and the direct objects *classis* and *vela* form the inner part.

- (120) *trahere* *in* *salum* *classis* *et* *vela* *ventorum* *animae*  
pull-INFIN into sea-N-S-ACC fleet-F-PL-ACC and sail-N-PL-ACC wind-M-PL-GEN spirit-F-S-DAT

<sup>26</sup> The form of the infinitive *sectari* may also contribute to the irony: The deponent verb (i.e. active/middle in meaning but passive in morphology) literally encodes an ambiguity of meaning as well.

*immittere*  
send in-INFIN

‘to pull the fleets into the sea and send the sails into the rush of the winds’ (Acc. *Trag.* 463-464)

Finally, topicalization is evident in some instances where linear order does not render the intended meaning. In (121) Sceledrus insists he saw Philocomasium kissing someone, not that she saw him – as linear order would suggest. The effect of having the object before the subject (*me*) is the same as an *it*-cleft in English.

- (121) *Per. Et ibi [osculantem meum hospitem cum ista hospita]*  
Per. And there kiss-PART-S-ACC my-M-S-ACC guest-M-S-ACC with that-F-S-ABL guest-F-S-ABL  
*vidisti?*  
see-2-S-PERF  
*Scel. Vidi (cur negem quod viderim?), sed [Philocomasium]*  
Scel. see-1-S-PERF why deny-1-S-SUBJ REL-N-S-ACC see-1-S-PERF-SUBJ but Philocomasium-N-S-ACC  
*me vidisse] censui*  
I-S-ACC see-INFIN-PERF believe-1-S-PERF

‘Per. And there you saw my male guest kissing that female guest?’

Scel. I saw it (why should I deny what I saw?), but I believed it was Philocomasium that I saw.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 555-557)

Altogether, the corpus contains 442 instances of two distinct overt NPs marked for accusative case. A summary of their order within the sentence (i.e. in processing order) appears in Table 15. The relative word order of two overt accusative NPs within a particular embedded clause is discussed in chapter 8.

Table 15: Linear Order in Embedded Clauses with Two Accusative NPs.

First NP	Frequency	%
Subject	269	58%
Object	190	41%
Ambiguous	2	<1%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>461</b>	

Of the infinitival clauses with two overt accusative NPs, 190 (41%) occur in the order object – subject, and two additional instances are ambiguous. This means that linear order does not correctly predict grammatical function in well over one third of instances. The issue of linear order in relation to syntactic ambiguity is discussed further below in chapter 8.

In the instances of non-linear order, the most common reason (30 of the 190 cases) is the fronting of the anaphor *is* as a direct object. *Is* commonly links back an entity or proposition just mentioned (see section 5.3.3.1), so this effect is not surprising in embedded clauses with two accusative NPs. The next most common reason for fronting is a relative pronoun, which typically occurs clause-initially. Demonstratives are also a frequent cause of non-linear word order (24 occurrences), as a form of textual deixis (see section 5.3.1). Examples of these three types of non-linear word order are in (122-124).

- (122) *Atque* *[id me dedisse]* *intellego.*  
 but ANA-N-S-ACC I-S-ACC give-*INFIN-*PERF** understand-1-S

‘But I understand I gave that.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 497)

- (123) *Nil* *equidem,* *nisi* *[quod illum...]* *audivi* *[...dicere].*  
 nothing-N-S-NOM indeed except REL-N-S-ACC that-M-S-ACC here-1-S-*PERF* say-*INFIN*

‘[That’s] nothing indeed, except what I heard him say.’ (Ter. *And.* 858)

- (124) *[Haec me curaturum]* *dicito.*  
 this-N-PL-ACC I-S-ACC take care of-PART-FUT-M-S-ACC say-2-S-*IMPERAT-FUT*

‘Say I’ll take care of these things.’ (Pl. *Men.* 548)

Note also in (125a-b) that the demonstrative *hanc* is non-linear, but the other constituents are ordered differently in the two sentences, apparently in a desire for variety.

- (125) a. *[Hanc mane esse...]* *oportet* *[...ieiunum].*  
 this-F-S-ACC morning eat-*INFIN* be fitting-3-S fasting-M-S-ACC

‘The fasting person should eat this [cabbage] in the morning.’ (Cato *Agr.* 157)

- b. *[Hanc...]* *oportet* *[...mane ieiunum esse].*  
 this-F-S-ACC be fitting-3-S morning fasting-M-S-ACC eat-*INFIN*

‘The fasting person should eat this [cabbage] in the morning.’ (Cato *Agr.* 157)

While these three types of NP are the most common stimuli for non-linear word order, their occurrence does not usually cause non-linear order. Out of 52 instances of linear order with one of the accusatives as a demonstrative, 41 (79%) have the demonstrative as the second embedded element. This linear order for demonstratives is nearly twice the rate as in non-linear clauses. (The number of cases with *is* or the relative pronoun is only 15 total, too few to claim any pattern.) An example of a demonstrative as the second NP element in linear order is shown in (126).

- (126) [*clanculum*    *te*            [*istaec*        *flagitia*        *facere*]...] *censebat*  
           in secret        you-S-ACC        that-N-PL-ACC    disgrace-N-PL-ACC    do-INFIN        believe-2-S-IMPERF
- [...*potis*]?  
           able-S-ACC

‘Did you believe you could do those wrong deeds of yours in secret?’ (Pl. *Men.* 605)

Note that while the demonstrative *istaec* does not get promoted to non-linear order, it does remain adjacent to the personal pronoun *te*, to which it is semantically linked. The combination of the overt *te* pronoun and the medio-distal demonstrative *istaec* reinforces the speaker’s emotional stance of distancing himself from the *flagitia*.

#### 4.4 SUMMARY

Three syntactic characteristics of early Latin affect infinitival complements. These characteristics are the formal structure of infinitives, the copula, and word order. Infinitives occur in three tenses: present, perfect, and future. All [+ present] infinitives are formed morphologically (i.e. with an inflectional ending), while only some of the [+ perfect] and [+ future] tense forms are morphological. The [+ perfect] passive and [+ future] are always formed periphrastically with a participle + copula. The [+ future] active infinitive can be formed either morphologically or periphrastically, although the periphrastic form occurs more often and with a much wider range of lexemes. The significance of the periphrastic forms is that the

participial component of the infinitive conveys enough grammatical information for [gender] and [number] features so that no overt NP subject is required in an infinitival phrase. That is, the form of the infinitive itself includes an inflectional syncretized morpheme that overtly encodes both [gender] and [number], and those features can be matched with some entity in the discourse.

Another characteristic of early Latin grammar is the copula. The copula itself, any form of the linking verb *esse* ‘to be’, is optional in the [+ present] tense, and this optionality carries over to the infinitive form as well. In the other infinitival tenses, the standalone copula is always overt. The copula is also one component of the periphrastic infinitive forms (i.e. perfect passive, future passive, and some future-active tense forms). When used periphrastically, the copula tends to be non-overt in approximately two thirds of contexts, regardless of the infinitival tense. Thus, the copula patterns differently according to whether it is the standalone (i.e. inherent) copula or a periphrastic component. As part of a periphrastic infinitive, the copula always occurs as the present-tense infinitival form *esse*. Because the [+ present] infinitive is optionally null, in the periphrastic forms it is not needed because the participial part of the two-part infinitival form (e.g. *paratus* ‘having been readied’ in the perfect-passive infinitive *paratus esse*) overtly conveys the grammatical features needed for coreferencing. As a result, even in the tenses other than [+ present], the copula itself is frequently omitted, and an embedded infinitival clause can consist of just the PPP – with no overt NP and no overt infinitive of the copula.

The third important characteristic of early Latin syntax is word order. Because of rich overt morphological marking, Latin does not rely on word order to convey meaning. Instead, word order is relatively free. Word order is variable with respect to subject, verb, and object, so that all six possible combinations are possible. In addition, phrase constituents need not be adjacent; for example, a noun could occur at the beginning of a sentence that includes several

embedded clauses and the noun's modifying adjective or a demonstrative could be sentence-final. Given this flexibility, early Latin allows great variation in the order of clause constituents. As a result, it is not possible to predict which NP within a given clause is the subject and which is the object. There is a slight tendency for subjects to occur before objects in infinitival clauses, but that trend is relatively weak at only 58%. Scrambling of definite entities such as demonstratives accounts for some, but not most, of the word-order variation.

The combined effect of these three characteristics of Latin syntax is a relatively high processing load on the listener/reader. The listener must check off the NP entities against the possible subject and object of an infinitive. If the infinitival form is periphrastic, the inflectional ending overtly distinguishes [gender] and [number], which can select possible discourse NPs as referents for the infinitive's subject or object. However, if the most accessible entities share the same [gender] and [number] features, syntactic ambiguity is a potential result.

## CHAPTER 5. BINDING AND TYPES OF NPs IN EARLY LATIN

Within the category of overt NPs, early Latin has referring expressions and reflexive pronouns, but true (i.e. non-anaphoric) personal pronouns only for first and second person. Referring expressions can be full NPs or any NP constituent by itself or in combination with other NP constituents. For example, adjectives and demonstratives can function both adnominally (i.e. with other NP constituents) and pronominally (i.e. as the sole NP constituent). They can also co-occur and thereby constitute a valid NP (e.g. *haec pulchra* ‘this pretty’ [+ feminine] = ‘this pretty woman’). All these varieties are possible because nouns, adjectives, and determiners explicitly mark the grammatical features of [case], [number], and [gender]; pronouns lack marking for [gender], and anaphor-only forms lack [number].

### 5.1 GENDER

Gender is grammatical rather than natural, although it generally coincides with sex of animate nouns as in *vir* ‘man (masculine)’ and *puella* ‘girl’ (feminine). Exceptions are in the names of certain animals, where either [+ masculine] or [+ feminine] is canonically assigned (e.g. *canis* ‘dog’ is always masculine, regardless of natural gender of a particular referent). Natural gender also applies towards those inanimate entities that are gender-marked as neuter (< *neuter* ‘neither’), as in *crus* ‘leg’ (neuter) and *bellum* ‘war’ (neuter). However, both masculine and feminine gender forms also include many entities that are not animate, for example *res* ‘affair, thing’ (feminine) and *portus*, *-ūs* ‘harbor’ (masculine).<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> The inflectional suffix (indicated by the terminal morpheme) represents the genitive case ending. Since nouns, adjectives, and all pronoun-like words are morphologically classified according to their nominative/genitive suffixes, this ending is significant. Macrons are shown here where vowels are phonemically distinctive.

One traditional Latin grammarian describes the relationship between natural gender and grammatical form as follows: “For the names of animate beings, the gender is determined by the signification [i.e. sex]; for things and qualities, by the termination” (Gildersleeve & Lodge, 1895:1997, p. 10). While this generalization correctly predicts the grammatical gender of many nouns, it does not always work in reverse: Morphological termination is ambiguous. Different inflectional paradigms may appear similar in certain forms, for instance *amicus*, *-i* ‘friend’ (masculine), *corpus*, *-oris* ‘body’ (neuter), and *manus*, *-ūs* ‘hand’ (feminine). These all end in {-us} in the nominative singular, but they represent three different genders (and indeed three distinct inflectional paradigms).<sup>28</sup>

An example of natural rather than grammatical [gender] agreement is in (127), where the NP *Glycerium* (< Gk. ‘sweet one’) is [+ neuter] and used as a proper name. The corresponding adjective *Atticam* is [+ feminine] because the referent is a woman.

- (127) *Quid*                      *ait*                      *tandem*,                      [*Glycerium*                      *se*                      *scire*                      *civem*  
INTERROG-N-S-ACC                      say-3-S                      at length                      Glycerium-N-S-ACC                      ANA-ACC                      know-INFIN                      citizen-F-S-ACC  
  
*esse*                      *Atticam*].  
be-INFIN                      Athenian-F-S-ACC  
  
‘What does he say then, that Glycerium knows she’s an Athenian citizen.’ (Ter. *And.* 859)

## 5.2 CASE

Case marking is another significant feature on nouns and other nominal forms. Traditionally, nouns and adjectives are classified into five sets of paradigms, called declensions, according to their inflectional morphology (suffixes); these five declensions are shown in Appendix C. Case assignments generally correspond to particular thematic roles. For example,

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<sup>28</sup> The grammarian Varro, writing just after the early-Latin period, provides (pp. 2:424-428) lists of various nouns with identical endings in the nominative singular but with different morphological paradigms and/or grammatical genders. Varro’s point is to resolve the conflict between morphological analogy and the inconsistent, seemingly illogical reality of what one finds in (any) language.



the grammatical subject of a verb inflects for the nominative case, which corresponds to the role of agent or experiencer with an active verb. What the nominative form *puer* ‘boy’ represents in *Puer Marcum spectat* ‘the boy is looking at Marcus’ is the role of agent, but *puer* is experiencer in *Puer Marcum videt* ‘the boy sees Marcus’. In both sentences, the nominative case is the used for the structural assignment to the subject of a finite verb.

Less-central thematic roles like goal and instrument prototypically receive an inherent case other than nominative or accusative. For example, the  $\theta$ -role of goal is assigned dative case inherently, and instrument is assigned the ablative case (with some variation, e.g. according to whether the entity is animate or inanimate). These lower-ranking thematic roles are illustrated in examples (128-131).

- (128) *Iovi*                      *dapali*                      *culignam*                      *vini*                      *quantam*                      *vis*  
Jupiter-M-S-DAT      of the feast-M-S-DAT      cup-F-S-ACC      wine-N-S-GEN      how much.-F-S-ACC      wish-2-S  
*polluceto.*  
offer-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT

‘To Jupiter of the feast offer a cup of wine of any size you wish.’ (Cato *Agr.* 143)

- (129) *Ait*                      [*sese*                      [*Athenas*                      *fugere*]                      *cupere*].  
say-3-S                      ANA-ACC                      Athens-F-PL-ACC                      flee-INFIN                      wish-INFIN

‘He says he wants to flee to Athens.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 126)

- (130) *sacra*                      *quae*                      [*Cronia*                      *esse*]                      *iterantur*                      {*ab*  
sacrifice-N-PL-ACC                      REL-N-PL-NOM                      Cronia-N-PL-NOM                      be-INFIN                      repeat-3-PL-PASS                      by  
*illis*}<sub>ABL</sub>/\* $\emptyset$  *illis*<sub>ABL</sub>  
that-PL-ABL

‘sacrifices that are said by them to be the Cronia [i.e. for Cronus]’ (Acc. *Ann.* 3)

- (131) *Illum*                      *dicis*                      *cum*                      *armis*                      *aureis,*                      *cuius*                      *tu*                      *legiones*  
that-M-S-ACC                      say-2-S                      with                      weapon-N-PL-ABL                      golden-N-PL-ABL                      REL-S-GEN                      you-S-NOM                      legion-F-PL-ACC  
*difflavisti*                      *spiritu*<sub>ABL</sub>/\**ex, ab spiritu*<sub>ABL</sub>.  
blow away-2-S-PERF                      breath-M-S-ABL

‘You mean that one with golden weapons, whose legions you blew away with a breath’ (Pl. *Mil.* 16-17)

In (128) the dative goal ‘Jupiter’ is animate as an anthropomorphic deity, while in (97) the end point of the movement of *fugere* ‘to flee’ is the inanimate *Athenas* in the accusative case. Similarly, in a passive clause an agent (i.e. a human semantically analogous to the  $\theta$ -role of instrument) is realized in the ablative case with the obligatory preposition *a(b)*<sup>29</sup> lit. ‘(away) from’, as with *ab illis* in (130). An inanimate NP in the instrument role takes ablative case, obligatorily without any preposition as with bare *spiritu* in (131).<sup>30</sup> While the goal role in (129) is expressed in the accusative case, *Athenas* is clearly not the direct object of a verb (*fugere* ‘to flee’ is semantically incapable of taking an object<sup>31</sup>) even though *Athenas* is unambiguously marked as accusative. Because the meaning of the thematic arguments is clear and certain morphological cases are associated with particular thematic roles, no confusion results from the accusative case syncretism of goal in (129) and the more typical use of accusative case for the direct object, as with *culignam* in (128). The use of the accusative case for both structures also shows the difference between inherent case assignment in (129) and structural assignment in (128).

The genitive case is prototypically assigned for possession or source, but it also marks the NP object of another NP (i.e. a so-called objective genitive), as in (132).

(132)	<i>Non</i> not	<i>ego</i> I-S-NOM	<i>[illam</i> that-F-S-ACC	<i>mi</i> I-S-DAT	<i>dotem...</i> dowry-F-S-ACC	<i>duco</i> lead-I-S	<i>[...esse...]</i> be-INFIN	<i>quae</i> REL-F-S-NOM
	<i>dos</i> dowry-F-S-NOM	<i>dicitur</i> say-3-S-PASS	<i>[...sed</i> but	<i>pudicitiam</i> chastity-F-S-ACC	<i>et</i> and	<i>pudorem</i> modesty-M-S-ACC	<i>et</i> and	

<sup>29</sup> The variation between *a* and *ab(s)* for this preposition is phonologically conditioned similarly to English *a ~ an*, with the addition that the allomorph *abs* can occur epenthetically before an alveolar (e.g. *abs te* ‘from you’ in Pl. *Mil.* 974 and Ter. *And.* 489, *abs tergo* ‘from the back’ in Acc. *Trag.* 610).

<sup>30</sup> The ablative as found from early Latin on includes the literal sense of ‘separation’ (< *ablatum* ‘carried away from’) as well as syncretism from several cases that were earlier distinct in PIE including the locative and the instrumental (Draeger, 1878, p. 1:495). Note that in example (131) the preposition *cum* in the PP *cum armis aureis* cannot mean ‘with’ as an instrument; rather, it means ‘together with, accompanied by’.

<sup>31</sup> English *flee* can express a source with or without a preposition (e.g. *They fled (from) the hurricane*); without the preposition, such a thematic role occurs in the same position as a direct object since it typically follows the verb. But Latin expresses the source in the ablative or genitive, never in the accusative.

<i>sedatum</i> calm-PPP-M-S-ACC	<i>cupidinem,</i> desire-M-S-ACC	<i>deum</i> god-M-PL-GEN	<i>metum,</i> fear-M-S-ACC	<i>parentum</i> parent-M-PL-GEN	<i>amorem</i> love-M-S-ACC	<i>et</i> and
<i>cognatum</i> relative-M-PL-GEN	<i>concordiam].</i> harmony-F-S-ACC					

‘I don’t believe my dowry is that which is said [to be] a dowry, but rather chastity, modesty, calm desire, fear of the gods, love of one’s parents and harmony among one’s relatives.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 839-842)

The three objective genitives are *deum*, *parentum*, and *cognatum*, each the direct object of a head NP.

Notably, the vocative case has no role in syntax since it is used only for direct address. However, the vocative form is a unique morpheme for second-declension masculine singular nouns and adjectives. For all other nouns and adjectives, the vocative is morphologically identical with the nominative. In addition, a distinct locative case exists for a few nouns such as city names (e.g. *Athenis* ‘in/at Athens’, *Romae* ‘in/at Rome’), *domi* ‘at home’, and *ruri* ‘in the countryside’.

The general correspondence between morphological form and semantic function was apparent to native speakers of Latin. Describing this form-function relationship, the Roman grammarian Varro writes what is excerpted in (133) about two generations following the early Latin period.

- (133) *Propter eorum qui dicunt usum declinati casus, uti is qui de altero diceret, distinguere posset, cum vocaret, cum daret, cum accusaret*<sup>32</sup>, *sic alia eiudem discrimina, quae nos et Graecos ad declinandum duxerunt. . . Nos vero sex [casus] habemus, Graeci quinque: qui vocetur, ut Hercules; quemadmodum vocetur, ut Hercule; quo vocetur, ut ad Herculem; a quo vocetur, ut ab Hercule; cui vocetur, ut Herculi; cuius vocetur, ut Herculis.*

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<sup>32</sup> In translating his Greek sources, Varro inadvertently renders Greek αἰτιατική = *aitiatikē* ‘effective, causative’ as *accusativus* instead of the semantically correct *causativus*. (The two words are related in the legal sense of a ‘cause’.) In the 6th century AD the Roman grammarian Priscianus corrected the terminology, but by then Varro’s had long become fixed in the grammatical lexicon. The original meaning is significant, as it refers to structural rather than inherent case assignment. In mistranslating the word, Varro changes the description to include only inherent case meanings.

‘The cases were derived for the use of those who speak, so that whoever spoke of another could distinguish when he was calling, when he was giving, when he was accusing, and similarly other distinctions of the same kind, which led us as well as the Greeks to the notion of declension. . . . Anyway, we have six cases, the Greeks five: whoever is called, as *Hercules* [nominative]; how he is called, as *Hercule* [vocative]; to where he is called, as to *Herculem* [accusative]; by whom he is called, as by *Hercule* [ablative]; to [or, for] whom he is called, as *Herculi* [dative]; of whom [or, of what] he is called, *Herculis* [genitive].’ (Varro 8.6.16)

Even without using the now-familiar traditional case names, Varro clearly distinguishes between the thematic roles of the different cases. It is interesting to note that he mentions the inherent cases as well as the nominative for the subject (in his example, with a passive verb) but not the accusative as the structural assignment for a direct object.

Finally, it is important to note that accusative case is inherently or structurally assigned to a further range of meanings. Structurally, certain verbs take a so-called double accusative, assigning accusative case to both the person and thing affected. These include specific verbs meaning ‘ask’, ‘teach’, ‘warn’, and ‘hide’. Inherently, accusative case is also assigned to express extent, time, and distance (Bennett, 1894:2001, pp. 125-129).

### 5.3 OVERT NPs

Overt NPs include the three types shown in Table 1: personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, and referring expressions. The discussion below focuses on how NPs in early Latin differ from English.

#### 5.3.1 Demonstratives

A pronominal demonstrative is a determiner in that it specifies the particular entity intended by the referent of the noun in its NP. For example, in This dog doesn’t bark much, the demonstrative this signifies a – perhaps the only – dog near the speaker. When used pronominally, a demonstrative is an obviative (i.e. deictic) pronoun, as recognized by Varro in excerpt (134).

- (134) *Appellandi partes sunt quattuor, e quis dicta a quibusdam provocabula quae sunt ut quis, quae; vocabula ut scutum, gladium; nomina ut Romulus, Remus; pronomina ut hic, haec. Duo media dicuntur nominatus; prima et extrema articuli. Primum genus est infinitum, secundum ut infinitum, tertium ut finitum, quartum finitum.*

‘The kinds of naming are four, of which the words that are like *quis, quae* [‘which’] are called provocables by some; those like *scutum* ‘shield’ and *gladium* ‘sword’ are called vocables; those like *Romulus* and *Remus*, names; those like *hic, haec* ‘this’, pronouns. The two middle ones are called nouns; the first and last are articles. The first type is indefinite, the second is as if indefinite, the third is as if definite, the fourth definite.’  
(Varro 8.45)

Demonstratives, or ‘articles’ when used adnominally, are thus classified as markers of definiteness. Demonstratives are separate from the system of personal pronouns because they represent an entity absent from the dialog, in effect a “third person” that is neither the speaker (i.e. first person) nor the second-person addressee (Carvalho, 1991, p. 225).

One of the main distinctions in demonstratives is the separation between near and far – an egocentric representation of the distinction between speaker and the rest of the world. For instance, English has two demonstratives, the proximal form this and the distal form that. Both can function in obviative and proximate (i.e. anaphoric) roles, as in (135-136), respectively.

- (135) (Salesperson, pointing<sub>i</sub>) This<sub>i</sub>/That<sub>i</sub> is our latest model, available in a wide range of sizes and colors.

- (136) Uh oh. {It’s storming and the lights just went out}<sub>i</sub>. This<sub>i</sub>/That<sub>i</sub> is spooky.

The obviative forms this and that in (135) refer to some particular entity in the real world such as an appliance or a vehicle; they are deictics. The choice of demonstrative form often depends subtly on the context including such factors as spatial distance between speaker and/or listener and the object being pointed out. Spatial indexicality may also occur metaphorically as social deixis. For example, the distal form that could represent greater social distance between speaker and addressee than would the proximal form this, or could be used as a subtle way to suggest that

the customer might find the product too expensive, too ‘remote’ from an economic or budgetary standpoint.

When the demonstrative is logophoric as in (136), the choice of form reveals something about the speaker’s attitude. Since it refers back to the entire proposition of the previous sentence, the demonstrative represents an emotional stance toward that event or situation. The use of the distal form that signals that the speaker perceives the events as external to him- or herself, that he/she is affected by them but not materially altered by them. In contrast, the proximal this reveals the speaker’s perception of the events as nearby in both time and space: a clear and present danger. The difference between the two distance references – proximal and distal – is analogous to what distinguishes the thematic roles of theme and patient.

The Latin proximal demonstrative is *hic*, and the distal form is *ille*. For both words, the etymology is uncertain because Italic is the only branch of Indo-European with anything like these words for demonstratives. In general, Proto Indo-European (PIE) demonstratives are thought to have descended from two main forms. One of those is the anaphoric pronoun (see section 5.3.3). The other source is the stem *\*so-/\*sa-*, which has a general deictic meaning; in some reflexes, it means ‘this’, in others ‘that’ (Beekes, 1995, p. 202). A variant form apparently from the same stem has a homorganic onset with an alveolar stop instead of the fricative, in the form *\*to-/\*tā-* and with the same meaning. The PIE daughter languages roughly contemporary with early Latin all have demonstratives deriving from these forms, including Sanskrit, various dialects of Greek, and Old Church Slavonic (Szemerényi, 1996, pp. 203-206).

In contrast, the Latin form *hic* appears to follow a regular derivation from presumed PIE *\*gho-* (Watkins, 2000, p. 31), for example just as *\*ghosti-* ‘stranger, guest’ becomes *hostis* ‘guest, enemy’ in Latin. The unusual ending of *hic* in *-c* (i.e. /k/) is an epideictic particle from

PIE *\*ko-* ‘here’. Thus, the complete form *hic* represents two historical morphemes (cf. modern French *celui-ci*, comprised of *ce* ‘this’ + *lui* ‘it, one’ + *ci* ‘here’ = ‘this one here’ vs. *celui-là* ‘that one there’). The declension of *hic*, shown in Table 16, includes the final /k/ in most singular forms and in the plural, uniquely in the neuter nominative and accusative.

Though the *-c* ending is unusual (note from Appendix C that it does not occur with any nouns or adjectives), regular phonology is observed. For instance, where all noun and adjective masculine and feminine accusative singular forms end in *-m*, nasal assimilation with *hic* always results in forms such as *hunc* (instead of *\*humc*) and *hanc* (instead of *\*hamc*).

Examples of the proximal demonstrative with the features [+ pronoun, - anaphor] are in (137-138). Multiple-word NPs are shown together in curly braces. For consistency and ease of interpretation, matrix subjects are indexed with subscript *i* and lower-ranking arguments, including embedded ones, are indexed sequentially thereafter.

Table 16: Proximal Demonstrative.

Case	Singular			Plural		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
Nominative	<i>hic</i>	<i>haec</i>	<i>hoc</i>	<i>hī</i>	<i>hae</i>	<i>haec</i>
Genitive	<i>huius</i>			<i>hōrum</i>	<i>hārum</i>	<i>hōrum</i>
Dative	<i>huic</i>			<i>hīs</i>		
Accusative	<i>hunc</i>	<i>hanc</i>	<i>hoc</i>	<i>hōs</i>	<i>hās</i>	<i>haec</i>
Ablative	<i>hōc</i>	<i>hāc</i>	<i>hōc</i>	<i>hīs</i>		

- (137) *Haec*     *urbs*     *est*     *Thebae.*     *In*     *illis*     *-ce*     *habitat*  
           this-F-S-NOM    city-F-S-NOM    be-3-S    Thebes-F-PL-NOM    in    that-F-PL-ABL-INTENSIF    live-3-S
- aedibus*     *Amphitruo.*  
           wall-F-PL-ABL    Amphitryon-M-S-NOM

‘This city is Thebes. In those walls over there lives Amphitryon.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 97-98)

- (138) *Hic habitat mulier, nomen quoi, est Phronesium; haec<sub>i</sub>*  
 here live-3-s woman-F-S-NOM name-N-S-NOM REL-F-S-DAT be-3-S Phronesium-N-S-NOM this-F-S-NOM  
*{huius saecli}<sub>j</sub> mores in se<sub>i</sub> possidet.*  
 this-N-S-GEN generation-N-S-GEN habit-M-PL-ACC in ANA-ABL possess-3-S

‘Here resides a woman whose name is Phronesium; this one has the habits of this generation.’ (Pl. *Tru.* 12-13)

Example (136) includes three different types of deixis: (a) locative in *hic* ‘here’, (b) personal in *haec* ‘this (feminine)’ = ‘she’, and (c) temporal in *huius saecli* ‘of this generation’. Similarly, sentences (139-140) have multiple types of deixis indicated by various forms of the proximal demonstrative including the allative adverb *huc* ‘to here’ and its elative counterpart, *hinc* ‘from here’.

- (139) *Neque ego<sub>i</sub> {hunc hominem}<sub>j</sub> [huc hodie ad aedis has...]*  
 nor I-S-NOM this-M-S-ACC human-M-S-ACC to here today to wall-F-PL-ACC this-F-PL-ACC  
*sinam umquam [...PRO<sub>j</sub> accedere].*  
 allow-1-S-FUT ever approach-INFIN

‘And I’ll never allow this man to come here to this house today.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 264)

- (140) *Quo modo haec [hinc huc transire] potuit.*  
 REL-M-S-ABL means-M-S-ABL this-F-S-NOM from here to here go across-INFIN be able-3-S-PERF

‘In that way this woman was able to go across from here to here.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 418)

The three sequential demonstrative forms *haec*, *hinc*, and *huc* in (139) are obviously used as deixis on the stage. Note how in (139) the proximal demonstrative is overtly linked with the first-person pronoun *me*.

In (141) the same lexeme, *hic*, is indexed to distinct entities.

- (141) *Novi equidem hunc<sub>i</sub> erus<sub>i</sub> est meus<sub>i</sub>. Ego -quidem huius<sub>i</sub>*  
 know-1-S-PERF indeed this-M-S-ACC master-M-S-NOM be-3-S my-M-S-NOM I-S-NOM -indeed this-M-S-GEN  
*servos sum, sed [med esse huius<sub>j</sub>] credidi. Ego [hunc<sub>j</sub>...]*  
 slave-M-S-NOM be-1-S but I-S-ACC be-INFIN this-M-S-GEN believe-1-S-PERF I-S-NOM this-M-S-ACC  
*censebam [...ted<sub>i</sub> esse] huic<sub>j</sub> etiam exhibui<sub>i</sub> negotium.*  
 consider-1-S-IMPERF you-S-ACC be-INFIN this-M-S-DAT and hold out-1-S-PERF business-N-S-ACC

‘Yes, I certainly know this man: he is my master. In fact, I am his slave, but I believe I was this man’s. I used to believe this one was you; I even carried out business for this man.’ (Pl. *Men.* 1070-1072)



Here, even though the two referents of *hic* are identical twins, the two men can be distinguished deictically, most likely through pointing on the stage. The use of the same lexeme to refer to the two entities forms a linguistic parallel to the confusion caused by their identical appearance and name, and only through physical context is it possible to distinguish them.

An intensifying form of *hoc* reduplicates the suffix *-ce*, with a result akin to non-standard English this here (man). In the plural, this intensive form terminates in *-c* or *-ce*, which distinguishes it from simple *hoc*. Some examples are in (142-144).

- (142) *Quid*<sub>i</sub>      *illuc*<sub>i</sub>      *est*      *quod*<sub>i</sub>      [*med*<sub>k...</sub>]      {*hisce*      *homines*}<sub>j</sub>  
INTERROG-N-S-NOM      that-N-S-NOM      be-3-S      REL-N-S-ACC      I-S-ACC      this-M-PL-NOM      human-M-PL-NOM
- [...*insanire*]<sub>j</sub>      *praedicant*<sub>j</sub>?  
be insane-*INFIN*      say before-3-PL-SUBJ

‘Why is that, that these men here claim I’m insane?’ (Pl. *Men.* 958)

- (143) *Iam*      [*hos*<sub>j</sub>      *-ce*      *absolutos*<sub>j</sub>]      *censeas*<sub>i</sub>.  
now      that-M-PL-ACC -*INTENSIF*      loose from-PPP-M-PL-ACC      believe-2-S-SUBJ

‘Now you’d think those were paid for.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 517)

- (144) *Sperabit*<sub>i</sub>      [*sumptum*<sub>j</sub>      *sibi*<sub>i</sub>...]      *senex*<sub>i</sub>      [...*levatum*<sub>j</sub>      *esse*  
hope-3-S-FUT      expense-M-S-ACC      ANA-DAT      old-M-S-NOM      lighten-PPP-M-S-ACC      be-*INFIN*
- harun*<sub>k</sub>      *-c*      *abitu*].  
this-F-PL-GEN      -*INTENSIF*      departure-M-S-ABL

‘The old man will hope the expense will be lessened for him [lit. ‘for himself’ by the departure of these women here.’ (Ter. *Heau.* 746)

In (145) *hic* is [+ anaphor], referring back to a ‘proximate’ entity in the text.

- (145) {*Omnium*      *primum*      *iste*      *qui*      *sit*      *Sosia*}<sub>i</sub>,      [*hoc*<sub>i</sub>  
all-N-PL-GEN      first-N-S-ACC      that-M-S-NOM      INTERROG-M-S-NOM      be-3-S-SUBJ      Sosia-M-S-NOM      this-N-S-ACC
- dici*]<sub>j</sub>      *volo*.  
say-*INFIN-PASS*      want-1-S

‘First of all, what I want explained is who that Sosia is.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 609)

The neuter form *hoc* in (145) refers back to the indirect question expressed in the first clause. It is proximal because the antecedent occurs immediately before it, and it also conveys an

emotional stance of urgency, something very important to the speaker. In (146) the proximate demonstrative occurs as *hunc*, referring back to *Megadorus*.

- (146) *Sed* {*Megadorus* *meus* *affinis*}<sub>i</sub> *eccum* *incedit*<sub>i</sub> *a*  
 but Megadorus-M-S-NOM my-M-S-NOM related by marriage-M-S-NOM behold go in-3-S from  
*foro.* *Iam* *hunc*<sub>i</sub> *non* *ausim*<sub>j</sub> *praeterire,* *quin* *consistam*<sub>j</sub>  
 forum-N-S-ABL now this-M-S-ACC non dare-1-S-SUBJ go past-1-IMPFIN but that stand still-1-S-SUBJ  
*et* *conloquar*<sub>j</sub>.  
 and speak with-1-S-SUBJ-DEPON

‘But my son-in-law is coming in from the forum. Now I wouldn’t dare pass him without stopping and speaking with him.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 471-472)

Note that *hunc* not anaphorically refer back to the nearest NP entity (*foro*), but rather to the highest ranking nearby entity. In (147) *hunc* skips over the nearest entity, the indefinite *nemo* and the relative pronoun *quem* referring to it, to refer back to the definite NP *Davom*.

- (147) *Davom*<sub>j</sub> *video*<sub>i</sub>. *Nemo*<sub>k</sub> *’st*<sub>k</sub> *quem*<sub>k</sub> *malem*<sub>i</sub> *omnium*  
 Davus-M-S-ACC see-1-S no one-M-S-NOM be-3-S REL-M-S-ACC prefer-1-S-IMPERF-SUBJ all-M-PL-GEN  
*nam* [*hunc*<sub>j</sub>...] *scio*<sub>i</sub> [*mea* *solide* *solum*<sub>j</sub> *gavisurum*<sub>j</sub>  
 for this-M-S-ACC know-1-S my-N-PL-ACC solidly alone-M-S-ACC rejoice-PART-FUT-M-S-ACC  
*gaudia*].  
 joy-N-PL-ACC

‘I see Davus. There’s no one out of them all that I’d rather [see], for I know he alone will completely rejoice at my joys.’ (Ter. *And.* 963-964)

Finally, in (148) *haec* is cataphoric.

- (148) *Haec* *erunt* *vilici* *officia.* *Disciplina* *bona* *utatur.*  
 this-N-PL-NOM be-3-PL-FUT overseer-M-S-GEN duty-N-PL-NOM discipline-F-S-ABL good-F-S-ABL use-3-S-SUBJ-DEPON  
*Feriae* *serventur.* . .  
 holiday-F-PL-NOM guard-3-PL-PASS-SUBJ

‘These will be the overseer’s duties. He should use good discipline. The holy days should be observed.’ (Cato *Agr.* V)

For the distal demonstrative *ille*, the probable PIE stem is *\*al-/ol-* ‘beyond’, also found in the Latin reflex *ultra* (Buck, 1976, p. 225). Cognates includes English else and eldritch, as well as Latin *alius* ‘(an)other’ and Greek ἄλλος = *allos* ‘other’, but apparently no other PIE

daughter language (including other members of the Italic branch) used the same stem to develop a demonstrative form (Watkins, pp. 2-3). The Latin forms are in Table 17.

In (149) the demonstratives *illaec* and the locative *illic* point to entities distant from the speaker.

- (149) *Nimis*      *demiror,*      *Sosia,*      *qui*      *illaec*      [*illic*      *me*  
too much      wonder at-1-S-DEPON      Sosia-M-S-VOC      how      that-F-S-NOM      there      I-S-ACC
- donatum*      *esse*      *aurea*      *patera]*      *sciat,*      *nisi*      *tu*      *dudum*  
give-PPP-M-S-ACC      be-INFIN      golden-F-S-ABL      bowl-F-S-ABL      know-3-S-SUBJ      unless      you-S-NOM      just now
- hanc*      *convenisti*      *et*      *narravisti*      *haec*      *omnia.*  
this-F-S-ACC      meet-2-S-PERF      and      tell-2-S-PERF      this-N-PL-ACC      all-N-PL-ACC

‘I really wonder, Sosia, how she should know I was given the golden bowl there, unless you met her just now and tell her all these things.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 765-767).

Table 17: Distal Demonstrative.

Case	Singular			Plural		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
Nominative	<i>ille</i>	<i>illa</i>	<i>illud</i>	<i>illī</i>	<i>illae</i>	<i>illa</i>
Genitive	<i>illīus</i>			<i>illōrum</i>	<i>illārum</i>	<i>illōrum</i>
Dative	<i>illī</i>			<i>illīs</i>		
Accusative	<i>illum</i>	<i>illam</i>	<i>illud</i>	<i>illōs</i>	<i>illās</i>	<i>illa</i>
Ablative	<i>illō</i>	<i>illā</i>	<i>illō</i>	<i>illīs</i>		

In (150) the distal demonstratives *illaec* and *illum* linguistically encode the speaker’s distancing stance from the propositions indexed by *illaec*, a stance emphasized by the intensified first-person pronoun *egomet*.

- (150) *Ego<sub>i</sub>*      *-met*      *mihi<sub>i</sub>*      *non*      *credo<sub>i</sub>,*      *quom*      [*illaec<sub>k</sub>*      *autumare*      *illum<sub>j</sub>]*  
I-S-NOM      -INTENSIF      I-S-DAT      not      believe-1-S      when      that-N-PL-ACC      say-INFIN      that-M-S-ACC
- audio<sub>i</sub>.*  
hear-1-S

‘I don’t trust myself when I hear that one say those things.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 416)

In example (151) *ille* also serves to distance from the explicit first-person pronouns *ego*, *mihi*, and *me*, and in the final clause that distancing is intended to become literal.

- (151) *Quid* *mihi* *melius* *'st* *quam,* *quando* *illi* [*me*  
 INTERROG-N-S-NOM I-S-DAT better-N-S-NOM be-3-S than when that-M-PL-NOM I-S-ACC  
*insanire*] *praedicant*<sub>i</sub>, *ego*<sub>j</sub> [*med*<sub>j</sub>...] *adsimulem*<sub>j</sub> [...*insanire*]<sub>j</sub>, *ut*  
 be insane-*INFIN* say before-3-PL-SUBJ I-S-NOM I-S-ACC pretend-1-S-SUBJ be insane-*INFIN* COMP  
*illos*<sub>i</sub> *a* *me*<sub>j</sub> *absterream*<sub>j</sub>?  
 that-M-PL-ACC from I-S-ABL frighten away-1-S-SUBJ

‘What’s better for me than, when they claim I’m insane, I pretend I’m insane in order to frighten them away from me?’ (Pl. *Men.* 831-832)

Sentence (152) shows how *illud* can be used for social deixis, distinguishing the speaker from the common crowd.

- (152) *Aut* *illud*<sub>i</sub> *falsum*<sub>i</sub> *'st* [*quod*<sub>i</sub> *volgo...*] *audio*<sub>j</sub>  
 or that-N-S-NOM deceive-PPP-N-S-NOM be-3-S REL-N-S-ACC crowd-M-S-ABL hear-1-S  
 [...*dici*]<sub>j</sub>, [*diem* *adimere* *aegritudinem* *hominibus*]<sub>j</sub>.  
 say-*INFIN*-PASS day-F-S-ACC take away-*INFIN* sickness-F-S-ACC human-M-PL-DAT

‘Or that which I hear said among the common masses is false, that time takes away pain from men.’ (Ter. *Heau.* 421-422)

As with the proximal demonstrative, *ille* can also function anaphorically. In (153) *illi* in the last clause has as its antecedent the most distant NP, *Cliniam*. This long-distance linking is the literal function of the distal demonstrative when used anaphorically.

- (153) *Cliniam*<sub>j</sub> *orat*<sub>i</sub> *sibi*<sub>i</sub> *uti* *id*<sub>k</sub> *nunc* *det*<sub>j</sub>, [*illam*<sub>i</sub>  
 Cliniam-M-S-ACC beg-3-S ANA-DAT COMP ANA-N-S-ACC now give-3-S-SUBJ that-F-S-ACC  
*illi*<sub>j</sub> *tamen* *post* *daturam*<sub>i</sub>].  
 that-M-S-DAT however afterward give-PART-FUT-F-S-ACC

‘She begs Cliniam that he give it to her, however [she says] [she] will then give him the girl.’ (Ter. *Heau.* 605-606)

In (154) there are two distinct referents of a distal demonstrative, *illa* and *illum*.

- (154) *Quae* *illi* *ad* *legionem* *facta* *sunt* *memorat* {*pater*  
 REL-N-PL-NOM there to legion-F-S-ACC do-PPP-N-PL-NOM be-3-pl tell-3-S father-M-S-NOM  
*meus*]<sub>i</sub> *Alcumenae*<sub>j</sub>. *Illa*<sub>j</sub> [*illum*<sub>i</sub>...] *censet* [...*virum* *suom* *esse*],  
 my-M-S-NOM Alcmena-F-S-DAT that-F-S-NOM that-M-S-ACC believe-3-S man-M-S-ACC own-M-S-ACC be-*INFIN*

*quae<sub>j</sub>*      *cum*      *moecho*      *est.*  
REL-F-S-NOM    with      adulterer-M-S-ABL    be-3-S

‘My father is telling Alcmena what happened to the troops there. She believes he is her husband, when in fact she’s with an adulterer.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 133-135)

In the first sentence of (154), the last two NPs are the masculine NP *pater meus* ‘my father’ and the feminine NP *Alcumenae* ‘to Alcmena’. When referred to anaphorically in the second sentence, each NP takes the appropriately gendered form of *ille*. Because [gender] is encoded distinctly in the feminine nominative form *illa* and masculine accusative *illum*, no ambiguity results about their respective antecedents.

In (155) anaphoric *illam* has a clear third-person (i.e. distancing) meaning, which encodes the speaker’s stance toward the woman and is reinforced by the fact that he intends to throw her out.

(155) *Nisi*      *tu<sub>i</sub>*      *properas<sub>i</sub>*      [*mulierem<sub>j</sub>*      *abducere*],      *ego<sub>k</sub>*      *illam<sub>j</sub>*  
unless    you-S-NOM    hasten-2-S    woman-F-S-ACC    lead away-INFIN    I-S-NOM    that-F-S-ACC  
  
*eiciam<sub>k</sub>*.  
throw out-1-S-FUT

‘Unless you hasten to lead the woman away, I’ll throw her out.’ (Ter. *Phor.* 436-437)

The intensifying suffix *-c* is also used with *ille*, as in the form *illisce* in (156).

(156) *Tu*      *-n,*      *senex,*      *ais*      [*habitare*      *med*      *in*      *illis*      *-ce*  
you-S-NOM    -Y/N    old-M-S-NOM    say-2-S    LIVE-INFIN    I-S-ACC    in    that-F-PL-ABL    -INTENSIF  
  
*aedibus*]?  
wall-F-PL-ABL

‘Old man, are you saying I live in that house there?’ (Pl. *Men.* 820)

In (157) the intensive form *illanc*, plus the interrogative morpheme *-n* (with an epenthetic vowel) which is often used in interjections. These layers of intensification linguistically reinforce the idea of how preposterous the suggestion is.

(157) *Illan*      *-c*      *-in*      *mulierem*      *alere*      *cum*      *illa*      *familia!*  
that-F-S-ACC    -INTENSIF    -Y/N    woman-F-S-ACC    nourish-INFIN    with    that-F-S-ABL    family-F-S-ABL

‘The very idea of supporting that woman with that family of hers!’ (Ter. *Heau.* 751)

Similarly, in (158) *illoc* encodes the speaker’s stance toward the manner of joking.

- (158) *Solet iocari saepe me -cum illoc modo.*  
 be accustomed-3-S joke-INFIN-DEPON often I-S-ABL -with that-M-S-ABL manner-M-S-ABL

‘He’s used to joking with me often in that manner of his.’ (Pl. *Men.* 317)

In summary, *hic* is lexically mapped onto the first-person pronouns, and *ille* to third-person forms. Thus, *hic* means ‘this one’ because it is closest to the speaker, while *ille* means ‘that one’ which is further from the speaker and thus closer to another (i.e. third) entity that is not the addressee. By metaphorical extension, *hic* can also refer to an entity accessible in the shared knowledge of speaker and addressee. Similarly, *ille* sometimes also refers to well-known entities such as famous persons in history (Bolkestein, 2000, p. 116). An example of *ille* in reference to the same Cato included in the present corpus is in (159).

- (159) *Num*<sup>33</sup> {*vetus ille Cato*} [*laccessisse*] *consciis non*  
 N old-M-S-NOM that-M-S-NOM Cato-M-S-NOM provoke-INFIN-PERF aware-M-S-NOM not  
*erat ipse sibi?*  
 be-3-S-IMPERF INTENSIF-M-S-NOM ANA-DAT

‘Surely that famous old Cato wasn’t himself unaware that he provoked [people] , was he?’ (Luc. *Sat.* 487-488)

The contrast between proximal and distal demonstratives in deixis shown in (160).

- (160) *Hinc ego et huc et illuc potero quid agant*  
 from here I-S-NOM and to here and to there be able-1-S-FUT INTERROG-N-S-ACC do-3-PL-SUBJ  
*arbitrarier.*  
 think-INFIN-DEPON

‘From here I’ll able to think about what they’re going from both here and there.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 607)

In (161) *illum* refers back to the man last mentioned six clauses earlier, while *hunc anulum* is apparently accompanied with a stage gesture showing the ring.

- (161) *Ego ad forum illum conveniam atque illi hunc*  
 I-S-NOM to forum-N-S-ACC that-M-S-ACC meet-1-S-FUT and that-M-S-DAT this-M-S-ACC

---

<sup>33</sup> *Num* is an interrogative that presupposes the answer ‘no’.

<i>anulum</i> ring-M-S-ACC	<i>dabo</i> give-I-S-FUT	<i>atque</i> and	<i>praedicabo</i> say before-I-S-FUT	<i>a</i> by	<i>tua</i> your-F-S-ABL	<i>uxore</i> wife-F-S-ABL	<i>mihi</i> I-S-DAT
<i>datum</i> give-PPP-M-S-ACC	<i>esse</i> be-INFIN	<i>eam</i> ANA-F-S-ACC	<i>-que</i> -and	<i>illum</i> that-M-S-ACC	<i>deperire.</i> perish-INFIN		

‘And I’ll give this ring to him and say it was given to me by your wife and she’s dying [with love] for him.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 931-932)

In addition to *hic* and *ille*, the Latin demonstrative system includes an intermediate-distance form, *iste*. The medio-distal form *iste* likely derives from the combination of two morphemes: PIE *\*i-*, a pronominal stem (Watkins, p.35), and the standard PIE demonstrative form *\*so-/\*sa-* or perhaps from its variant form *\*to-/\*ta-* (Buck, p. 226). The inflectional paradigm of this demonstrative is in Table 18.<sup>34</sup>

Table 18: Medio-Distal Demonstrative.

Case	Singular			Plural		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
Nominative	<i>iste</i>	<i>ista</i>	<i>istud</i>	<i>istī</i>	<i>istae</i>	<i>ista</i>
Genitive	<i>istīus</i>			<i>istōrum</i>	<i>istārum</i>	<i>istōrum</i>
Dative	<i>istī</i>			<i>istīs</i>		
Accusative	<i>istum</i>	<i>istam</i>	<i>istud</i>	<i>istōs</i>	<i>istās</i>	<i>ista</i>
Ablative	<i>istō</i>	<i>istā</i>	<i>istō</i>	<i>istīs</i>		

As Table 18 shows, the declension of *iste* follows that of *ille*, shown in Table 17 above.

In (162) the medio-distal *istam* is overtly linked with the second-person pronoun *tibi*.

<sup>34</sup> Latin’s ternary demonstrative system survives in modern Spanish, where the forms *éste*, *ése*, and *aquél* maintain the same deictic relationships as, respectively, *hic*, *iste*, and *ille*. Note that formally, *éste* ‘this (near the speaker)’ derives from Latin *iste*, the medio-distal demonstrative, while *ése* ‘that (near the addressee)’ and *aquél* ‘that (distal, near neither speaker nor addressee)’ are not transparently derived from any part of the Latin demonstrative system. Rather than surviving in their original formal structure, the Spanish forms merely encode the same three-way distinction as their earlier counterparts in Latin. No other Romance language has a ternary demonstrative system.

- (162) *Amphitruo*<sub>i</sub>, *speravi*<sub>j</sub> *ego*<sub>j</sub> [*istam*<sub>i+k</sub> *tibi*<sub>i</sub> *parituram*<sub>k</sub>  
 Amphitryon-M-S-VOC hope-1-S-PERF I-S-NOM that-F-S-ACC you-S-DAT give birth-PART-FUT-F-S-ACC  
*filium*<sub>l</sub>], *verum* *non* *est*<sub>k</sub> *puero*<sub>l</sub> *gravida*<sub>k</sub>.  
 son-M-S-ACC but not be-3-S boy-M-S-ABL heavy-F-S-NOM

‘Amphitryon, I hoped that [wife] of yours was going bear you a son, but she’s not pregnant with a boy.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 718-719)

When Amphitryon asks what Alcmena is pregnant with, Sosia replies, “with insanity!” The disdainful effect of *iste* is also seen in (163), where *isti* refers to the wife’s *parasitus* ‘parasite’ (< Gk. *παρά* ‘alongside’ + *αἷτος* ‘food’, one who dines alongside at the other’s expense).

- (163) *Per* *Iovem* *deos* *-que* *omnis* *pro* *adiuro*, *uxor*,  
 through Jupiter-M-S-ACC god-M-PL-ACC -and all-M-PL-ACC swear to-I-S wife-F-S-VOC  
*sati* *-n* *hoc* *est* *tibi?*, [*me* *isti* *non* *nutasse*].  
 enough-N-S-NOM -Y/N this-N-S-NOM be-3-S you-S-DAT I-S-ACC that-N-S-DAT not nod-1-IMP-3-S

‘I swear, wife, by Jupiter and all the gods – isn’t this enough for you? – I did not nod to that [parasite] of yours.’ (Pl. *Men.* 616-617)

A pejorative connotation of *iste* is common (Gildersleeve & Lodge, p. 192), perhaps most (in)famous in Cicero’s Catilinarian speeches, where it is downright sneering. Such a distancing emotional stance is iconically represented by the fact that the second-person form is morphologically similar to the distal (not the proximal) demonstrative. The effect of *iste* is often a metaphorical moue of distaste, expressed with *istos* in (164) and *istam* in (165).

- (164) *Oculos* *hercle* *ego*<sub>i</sub> *istos*<sub>j</sub>, *improba*<sub>j</sub>, *ecfodiam*<sub>i</sub> *tibi*<sub>j</sub>, *ne*  
 eye-M-PL-ACC indeed I-S-NOM that-M-PL-ACC wicked-F-S-VOC dig out-I-S-FUT you-S-DAT lest I-S-ACC  
 [PRO]<sub>j</sub> *me*<sub>i</sub> *observare*] *possis*<sub>j</sub> *quid* *rerum* *geram*<sub>i</sub>.  
 I-S-ACC observe-1-IMP-3-S be able-2-S-IMP-3-S INTERROG-N-S-ACC affair-F-PL-GEN bear-1-S-SUBJ

‘Indeed I’ll rip out those eyes of yours, you wicked woman, so you can’t observe what I’m doing.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 53-54)



- (165) *Iam quidem hercle<sup>35</sup> ego tibi istam scelestam, scelus,*  
 now indeed by Hercules I-S-NOM you-S-DAT that-F-S-ACC wicked-F-S-ACC crime-N-S-VOC  
*linguam abscidam.*  
 tongue-F-S-ACC cut off-I-S-FUT

‘Now I swear I’ll cut off that evil tongue of yours, you scoundrel.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 556-557)

Like the other two demonstratives, *iste* also has the form with the intensifying suffix *-c*.

In (166) the negative connotation of *istuc* is made explicit.

- (166) *Vi<sub>i</sub> -n [me<sub>j</sub> istuc<sub>k</sub> tibi<sub>i</sub>...], etsi incredibile<sub>k</sub> ’st<sub>k</sub>,*  
 wish-2-S -Y/N I-S-ACC that-N-S-ACC you-S-DAT although unbelievable-N-S-NOM be-3-S  
*[...credere]?*  
 believe-INFIN

‘Do you want me to believe you about that, even though it’s unbelievable?’ (Ter. *Heau.* 624)

Similarly, in (167) *istoc* is explicitly linked to shame.

- (167) *Non te<sub>i</sub> pudet [PRO<sub>i</sub> prodire in conspectum meum...],*  
 not you-S-ACC shame-3-S [come forth-INFIN into sight-M-S-ACC my-M-S-ACC]  
*{flagitium hominis}<sub>i</sub>, [...cum istoc<sub>i</sub> ornatu]?*  
 disgrace-N-S-VOC human-M-S-GEN with that-M-S-ABL ornamentation-M-S-ABL

‘Aren’t you ashamed, you disgrace of a man, to come into my sight with that clothing?’ (Pl. *Men.* 708-709)

Other examples with a clearly disdainful connotation of *istuc* are in (168-169).

- (168) *Qui [istuc<sub>j</sub>...] in mentem ’st tibi<sub>i</sub> [...ex me<sub>k</sub>...],*  
 how that-N-S-ACC into mind-F-S-ACC be-3-S you-S-DAT out of I-S-ABL  
*{mi vir}<sub>i</sub>, [...percontarier]?*  
 my-M-S-VOC man-M-S-VOC investigate-INFIN-DEPON

‘How has it entered your mind, my husband, to question that of me?’

- (169) *[ecquid<sub>j</sub>...] audes<sub>i</sub> [...de tuo<sub>i</sub> istuc<sub>i+j</sub> addere]?*  
 INDEF-N-S-ACC dare-2-S from your-N-S-ABL that-N-S-ACC add-INFIN

‘Do you dare add something of yours from your own?’ (Pl. *Men.* 149)

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<sup>35</sup> *Heracle* ‘by Hercules’ is a common mild oath, but its use in this play about the god Jupiter’s fathering Hercules is humorously ironic since only a god or demi-god would have an oath named after him. If Hercules’ father were the mortal Amphitryon, there would be no such oath. Thus, when Amphitryon – his supposed mortal father – speaks this, line the audience must be laughing at the irony of situation.

Although the Latin demonstrative system is ternary, not all three forms are equally available for use. First, one frequent usage of the demonstrative as [+ anaphor] is a two-way distinction between something recently mentioned and something else more remote in the discourse. For this kind of referential contrast, the two forms are always *hic* and *ille*, never *iste* (Gildersleeve & Lodge, p. 194). In that sense, *iste* is not available as a proximate anaphor. Next, the distribution of the three demonstratives is markedly unequal. In the classical period, *hic* occurs much more frequently than *ille* (Pennell Ross, 1996, p. 516). Overall, *iste* occurs even less than *ille* (Carvalho, p. 228), which is not surprising given its unavailability as an anaphor. Finally, it has been claimed that *hic* serves as anaphor only when an overt noun occurs in the immediately preceding context (Orlandini, 1989, p. 471), which suggests that *hic*'s anaphoric function is merely a metaphorical extension of deictic proximity, not a true functional specialization. In this function *hic* is at or near the beginning of a clause. According to Bolkestein (2000, p. 118), this initial position results in part from the fact that *hic* contrasts – at least implicitly – with *ille*, while *iste* has no such counterpart.

However, true spatial deixis appears to override anaphoric function in (154), repeated here as (170). *Illa* refers to *Alcumenae*, the NP immediately before it.

(170)	<i>Quae</i> REL-N-PL-NOM	<i>illi</i> there	<i>ad</i> to	<i>legionem</i> legion-F-S-ACC	<i>facta</i> do-PPP-N-PL-NOM	<i>sunt</i> be-3-pl	<i>memorat</i> tell-3-S	<i>{pater</i> father-M-S-NOM
	<i>meus</i> } <sub>i</sub> my-M-S-NOM	<i>Alcumenae</i> <sub>j</sub> Alcmena-F-S-DAT	<i>Illa</i> <sub>j</sub> that-F-S-NOM	<i>[illum</i> <sub>i</sub> ...] that-M-S-ACC	<i>censet</i> believe-3-S	<i>[...virum</i> man-M-S-ACC	<i>suom</i> own-M-S-ACC	<i>esse</i> ] be-INFIN
	<i>quae</i> <sub>j</sub> REL-F-S-NOM	<i>cum</i> with	<i>moecho</i> adulterer-M-S-ABL	<i>est.</i> be-3-S				

‘My father is telling Alcmena what happened to the troops there. She believes he is her husband, when in fact she’s with an adulterer.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 133-135)

If *hic* is the preferred anaphor in such contexts, as Orlandini argues, then we should expect the form *haec* instead of *illa*. Rather, what seems to be meant is a deictic reference to the character of Alcmena on stage as ‘that woman over there’ – all in the context of Mercury’s explanatory

prologue to the audience. It may also be the case that preference for *hic* as anaphor may have increased after the period of early Latin.

Overall, the demonstrative systems of Latin and English are similar. Both have near and far forms, but Latin also has an intermediary form. Both languages use the demonstratives as deictics as well as anaphors, with the one exception of the medio-distal *iste* not being used anaphorically. A comparison summary of the two systems of demonstratives is in Table 19.

Table 19: Comparison of Demonstratives.

Latin	English	Reference
<i>hic</i>	this	proximal / anaphor
<i>iste</i>	—	intermediate, deictic only
<i>ille</i>	that	distal / anaphor

### 5.3.2 Pronouns

Personal pronouns in Latin differ from English in two main ways. First, overt pronouns occur less in Latin since both null subjects and null objects are licensed (see section 5.4). Second, Latin has first- and second- but no third-person forms of the pronoun. The first- and second-person pronouns function as deictics in the “obviative” form. That is, with the binding features [- anaphor, - pronoun] their co-indexing must be inferred pragmatically (Chomsky, 1981, p. 186).

The inflectional paradigms of first- and second-person pronouns are in Tables 20-21.

The variant forms in the genitive plural depend on the function. The  $\{-um\}$  ending is for a partitive sense, and  $\{-i\}$  is for possession (although possessive adjectives morphologically formed from these pronouns are much more usual). The accusative singular forms with

allomorphic ending  $\{-d\}$  usually (but not obligatorily) occur before a word beginning with a vowel or /h/.

Table 20: First-Person Pronoun.

Case	Singular			Plural		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
Nominative	<i>ego</i>			<i>nōs</i>		
Genitive	<i>meī</i>			<i>nostrum / nostrī</i>		
Dative	<i>mihi</i>			<i>nōbīs</i>		
Accusative	<i>mē(d)</i>			<i>nōs</i>		
Ablative	<i>mē</i>			<i>nōbīs</i>		

Table 21: Second-Person Pronoun.

Case	Singular			Plural		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
Nominative	<i>tū</i>			<i>illī</i>	<i>illae</i>	<i>illa</i>
Genitive	<i>tuī</i>			<i>illōrum</i>	<i>illārum</i>	<i>illōrum</i>
Dative	<i>tibi</i>			<i>illīs</i>		
Accusative	<i>tē(d)</i>			<i>illōs</i>	<i>illās</i>	<i>illa</i>
Ablative	<i>illō</i>	<i>illā</i>	<i>illō</i>	<i>illīs</i>		

When they occur, overt subject pronouns indicate emphasis or serve to disambiguate.

For example, in (171) the first-person pronoun *ego* plus the NP *pater* clarify who is meant by the first-person plural ending on *meruimus* ‘we have deserved’.

- (171) *Meruimus et ego et pater de vobis et re publica.*  
earn-1-PL-PERF and I-S-NOM and father-M-S-NOM from you-PL-ABL and affair-F-S-ABL public-F-S-ABL

‘We – my father and I – have earned [something] from you and from the republic.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 39-40)

Another function of overt personal pronouns is for contrast. In (172) contrast is made between *nemo horum familiarium* and *vos* ‘you’, the audience.

- (172) *Ea*            *signa*            *nemo*            *horum*            *familiarium*            *videre*  
 ANA-N-PL-ACC    sign-N-PL-ACC    no one-M-S-NOM    this-M-PL-GEN    household member-M-PL-GEN    see-1NFIN  
*poterit:*            *verum*            *vos*            *videbitis.*  
 be able-3-S-FUT    but            you-PL-NOM            see-2-PL-FUT

‘Those marks no one in the household will be able to see, but you will see [them].’ (Pl. *Amph.* 146-147)

Most typically, overt personal pronouns indicate emphasis, as in examples (173-174).

- (173) *Atque* *ego*            *quoque*            *etiam,*            *qui*            *Iovis*            *sum*            *filius,*            *contagione*  
 but            I-S-NOM            and            also            REL-M-S-NOM            Jupiter-M-S-GEN            be-1-S            son-M-S-NOM            contact-F-S-ABL  
*mei*            *patris*            *metuo*            *malum.*  
 my-M-S-GEN            father-M-S-GEN            fear-1-S            bad-N-S-ACC

‘But even I too, who am the son of Jupiter, fear something bad from contact with my father.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 30-31)

- (174) *Age*            *i*            *tu*            *secundum.*  
 drive-2-S-IMPERAT            go-2-S-IMPERAT            you-S-NOM            following

‘Go on, you go behind.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 551)

In both (175) and (176) two overt forms of the first-person pronoun help fulfill the felicity conditions for making a confession and are thereby pragmatically satisfying. Note that in (175) the confession is of a crime, and thus it is appropriate to provide the details that are stated; it has the effect of an apology.

- (175) *Ego*<sub>i</sub>            [*me*<sub>i</sub>            *iniuriam*<sub>j</sub>            *fecisse*            *filiae*<sub>k</sub>...]            *fateor*<sub>i</sub>            [...*tuae*<sub>k</sub>  
 I-S-NOM            I-S-ACC            wrong-F-S-ACC            do-1NFIN-PERF            daughter-F-S-DAT            confess-1-S-DEPON            your-F-S-DAT  
*Cereis*            *vigiliis*            *per*            *vinum*            *atque*            *impulsu*            *adulescentiae*].  
 of Ceres-F-PL-ABL            watch-F-PL-ABL            through            wine-N-S-ACC            and            impulse-M-S-ABL            youth-F-S-GEN

‘I confess I did wrong to your daughter during the festival of Ceres, [led] by wine and the impulse of youthfulness.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 794-795)

- (176) *Ego*<sub>i</sub>            [*me*<sub>i</sub>            *amare*            *hanc*<sub>j</sub>]            *fateor*<sub>i</sub>.  
 I-S-NOM            I-S-ACC            love-1NFIN            this-F-S-ACC            confess-1-S-DEPON

‘I confess I love her.’ (Ter. *And.* 896)

An emphatic effect also occurs with the second-person pronouns *tu* and *te* in (177).

(177) *Tu<sub>i</sub>* -*que* [*te<sub>i</sub>...*] *desidere<sub>i</sub>* [...*residem<sub>i</sub>* *nos<sub>j</sub>* *hic* *esse*].  
 you-S-NOM -and you-S-ACC desire-2-S-SUBJ-DEPON calm-M-S-ACC I-PL-ACC here be-INFIN

‘And you would desire yourself to be calm towards us here.’ (Pac. *Trag.* 34-35)

In (178) the *ego me* sequence encodes strong moral indignation at the charge of wrong.

(178) *Ego<sub>i</sub>* [*me<sub>i</sub>* *non* *pecasse*] *plane* *ostendam<sub>i</sub>* *aut* *poenas<sub>j</sub>*  
 I-S-NOM I-S-ACC not do wrong-1-ACC-DEPON plainly show-1-S-FUT or punishment-F-PL-ACC  
*sufferam<sub>i</sub>*.  
 undergo-1-S-FUT

‘I’ll clearly show I didn’t do wrong, or I’ll undergo punishment.’ (Acc. *Trag.* 462)

A similar indignation is coded in (179). The fact that the speaker is the god Mercury in the guise of the real Sosia makes the indignation ironic, even as it is all the more emphatic.

(179) *Tu* -*n* [PRO [*te...*] *audes* [...*Sosiam* *esse*] *dicere*], *qui*  
 you-S-NOM -Y/N you-S-ACC dare-2-S Sosia-M-S-ACC be-1-ACC say-1-ACC REL-M-S-NOM  
*ego* *sum?*  
 I-S-NOM be-1-S

‘Do you dare say you are Sosia, when I’m the one who’s Sosia?’ (Pl. *Amph.* 373-374)

Example (180) shows even stronger emphasis through the addition of the reduplicative intensifying suffix *-met* on *ego*.

(180) *Deinde* *ego<sub>i</sub>* -*met* [PRO<sub>i</sub> *me<sub>i</sub>* -*cum* *cogitare*] *intervias* *occepi<sub>i</sub>*.  
 then I-S-NOM -INTENSIF I-S-ABL -with think-1-ACC meanwhile begin-1-S-DEPON

‘Then meanwhile I began to think about [it] [lit. ‘with myself’]. (Pl. *Aul.* 379-380)

A similar emphasis occurs in (181) with the reduplicated *tute* and the bare *tu*.

(181) *Scis<sub>i</sub>* *tu<sub>i</sub>* -*te* [*facta* *velle* *me<sub>j</sub>*] *quae* *tu<sub>i</sub>* *velis<sub>i</sub>*,  
 know-2-S you-S-NOM -INTENSIF do-PPP-N-PL-ACC wish-1-ACC I-S-ACC REL-N-PL-ACC you-S-NOM wish-2-S  
*et* [*istuc...*] *confido<sub>j</sub>* [...*a* *fratre* *me<sub>j</sub>* *impetrassere*].  
 and that-N-S-ACC trust-1-S from brother-M-S-ABL I-S-ACC obtain-1-ACC-FUT

‘You yourself know I want done what you want, and I’m confident I’ll obtain that from my brother.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 686-687)

In (182) two overt forms of the second-person pronoun are used along with *unum* ‘the one’ as an ironic homage to the egotistical Pyrgopolynices.

(182) *Quid* *tibi<sub>j</sub>* *ego<sub>i</sub>* *dicam*, *quod<sub>i</sub>* {*omnes* *mortales*}<sub>k</sub>  
 INTERROG-N-S-ACC you-S-DAT I-S-NOM say-1-S-SUBJ REL-N-S-ACC all-M-PL-NOM mortal-M-PL-NOM

<i>sciunt<sub>k</sub></i>	<i>[Pyrgopolynicem<sub>j</sub></i>	<i>te<sub>j</sub></i>	<i>unum<sub>j</sub></i>	<i>in</i>	<i>terra</i>	<i>vivere</i>
know-3-PL	Pyrgopolynices-M-S-ACC	you-S-ACC	one-M-S-ACC	in	earth-F-S-ABL	live-INFIN
<i>virtute</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>forma</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>factis</i>	<i>invictissumis]</i> ?	
excellence-F-S-ABL	and	appearance-F-S-ABL	and	do-PPP-N-PL-ABL	not conquer-PPP-SUPER-N-PL-ABL	

‘Why should I tell you what all mortals know, that you, Pyrgopolynices, live on earth as the one with excellence, handsomeness, and the most unconquered feats?’ (Pl. *Mil.* 55-57)

Note how the illogical superlative *invictissumis* ‘the most unconquered’ adds to the comic effect with its mock bombast.

The null subject parameter (see section 5.4.1) means an overt subject pronoun is disfavored except under the conditions outlined above. Within that framework, multiple overt pronouns are unusual. When the expected rarity is flouted in (183), it is mocked. The wife (*Matrona* ‘matron’) of the Epidamnian Menaechmus twin responds emphatically with overt pronouns, and the parasite (*Peniculus* ‘hanger-on’) ridicules her response.

(183)	Mat.	<i>Tu,</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>istic,</i>	<i>inquam.</i>					
	Mat.	you-S-NOM	you-S-NOM	there	say-1-S					
	Pen.	<i>Vi</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>[adferri</i>	<i>noctuam],</i>	<i>quae</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>usque</i>	
	Pen.	wish-2-S	-Y/N	carry to-INFIN-PASS	nightly-f-S-ACC	REL-F-S-NOM	tu	tu	continuously	
		<i>dicat</i>	<i>tibi?</i>							
		say-3-S-SUBJ	you-S-DAT							

‘Mat. You, you there, I say.

Pen. Do you want an owl to be brought here that could say “tu tu” to you?’ (Pl. *Men.* 653-654)

### 5.3.3 Anaphors

In addition to the demonstrative and pronoun-only forms discussed above, certain third-person forms in Latin have specialized [+ anaphor, - pronoun] meaning. That is, the anaphor-only forms refer text-internally to an entity available in the discourse, not externally to a real-world entity (Bertocchi, 1989, pp. 443-445). Thus, anaphor-only forms are not available as antecedents, but only for subsequent (or cataphoric) mention of an entity. In that way, anaphor-

only forms differ from pronouns, which are free to occur with external obviative reference and therefore may encode the first mention of a topic. Nonetheless, anaphor-only forms also resemble deictic pronouns in that they point to something available in the context. With anaphor-only forms, the only context available for inferring the referent is the co-text of the discourse itself. The anaphor-only lexemes vary in form depending on the syntax of the anaphor, whether bound or unbound. Latin has two anaphor-only forms, *is* and *se*, and the latter also has a related adjectival form *suus*.

### 5.3.3.1 Unbound Anaphor

In English, the unbound anaphor is homophonous with the third-person pronoun forms he, she, and it and their epicene plural counterpart they. Some examples are in (184-185).

(184) Plautus<sub>i</sub> was a prolific playwright. He<sub>i</sub> wrote comedies adapted from Greek models but set in contemporary Roman culture.

(185) We bought {two pizzas}<sub>i</sub> and ate them<sub>i</sub> for dinner last night during the game.

The anaphors he in (184) and them in (185) are interpreted as co-indexed with the NPs Plautus and two pizzas, respectively. However, given two pronominal forms within the same clause, the second form may – depending on context – take a disjoint reference from the first, as in (186).

(186) Plautus<sub>i</sub> was a prolific playwright, but Terence<sub>j</sub> wrote only about six plays. Some people prefer him<sub>i/j</sub>, but others find his<sub>j, \*i/#i, \*j</sub> works funnier.

Because there are two possible antecedents of him and his, other linguistic clues must be used for disambiguation. Perhaps the most natural reading of him is co-indexing with Terence, which because it is nearer is more readily available within the co-text. If him is co-indexed with Terence, the disjunctive but forces an interpretation of his with the other discourse entity, Plautus. Conversely, if him is interpreted as co-referential with Plautus, then his must refer to



Terence. The ambiguities are possible precisely because English has no specialized anaphor-only form that differs from the pronoun.

The inflections of *is* and its counterparts *ea* (feminine) and *id* (neuter) are shown in Table 22.

Table 22: Unbound Anaphor.

Case	Singular			Plural		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
Nominative	<i>is</i>	<i>ea</i>	<i>id</i>	<i>eī</i>	<i>eae</i>	<i>ea</i>
Genitive	<i>eius</i>			<i>eōrum</i>	<i>eārum</i>	<i>eōrum</i>
Dative	<i>eī</i>			<i>eīs</i>		
Accusative	<i>eum</i>	<i>eam</i>	<i>id</i>	<i>eōs</i>	<i>eās</i>	<i>ea</i>
Ablative	<i>eō</i>	<i>eā</i>	<i>eō</i>	<i>eīs</i>		

Alone in the early-Latin corpus, Ennius sometimes has the unbound anaphor with initial /s/ rather than /e/, for example with *sam* for *eam* in (187).

- (187) *Nec quisquam<sub>i</sub> sophiam<sub>j</sub> [sapientia quae<sub>j</sub> perhibetur<sub>j</sub>] in*  
nor INDEFIN-M-S-NOM wisdom-F-S-ACC knowledge-F-S-ABL REL-F-S-NOM hold out-3-S-PASS in  
*somnis vident<sub>i</sub> prius quam [sam<sub>j</sub> discere] coepit<sub>i</sub>.*  
dream-M-PL-ABL see-3-S-PERF before than ANA-F-S-ACC learn begin-3-S-PERF

‘Nor in dreams has anyone seen wisdom, which knowledge is considered [to be], before he has begun to learn it.’ (Enn. *Ann.* 229-230)

*Is* can be either pronominal or adnominal. In (188) *is* refers back to the NP *Iovem* and is pronominal.

- (188) *Etiam, histriones anno cum in proscaenio hic Iovem<sub>i</sub>*  
and actor-M-PL-NOM year-M-S-ABL when in stage-N-S-ABL here Jupiter-M-S-ACC  
*invocarunt, venit, auxilio is<sub>i</sub> fuit.*  
call on-3-PL-PERF come-3-S-PERF help-N-S-DAT ANA-M-S-NOM be-3-S-PERF

‘Yes, last year when the actors on the stage here called on Jupiter, [he] came, he was helpful.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 91-92)

In (189) *is* is also pronominal, referring back to the indefinite entity defined in the previous clause.

- (189) *Qui<sub>i</sub>* *eorum* *non* *ita* *iuraverit,* *quod<sub>j</sub>* *is<sub>i</sub>*  
 INDEF-M-S-NOM ANA-M-PL-GEN not thus swear-PERF-SUBJ REL-N-S-ACC ANA-M-S-NOM  
*legerit* *omne<sub>j</sub>,* *pro* *eo<sub>j</sub>* *argentum* *nemo* *dabit*  
 gather-3-S-PERF-SUBJ all-N-S-ACC for ANA-N-S-ABL silver-N-S-ACC no one-M-S-NOM give-3-S-FUT  
*neque* *debetur.*  
 nor owe-3-S-FUT-PASS  
 ‘Whoever of them has not so sworn, no one will pay or be owed silver for anything he has gathered.’ (Cato *Agr.* 144)

Adnominal *is* appears in (190) in the PP *de iis rebus*, where *iis* is a variant of the more usual ablative plural form *eis*.

- (190) {*Donicum* *pecuniam* *solverit* *aut* *satisfecerit* *aut* *deligarit,*  
 until money-F-S-ACC pay-3-S-PERF-SUBJ or satisfy-3-S-PERF-SUBJ or assign-3-S-PERF-SUBJ  
*pecus* *et* *familia,* *quae* *illic* *erit,* *pigneri* *sunto*}<sub>i</sub>.  
 cattle-N-S-NOM and household-F-S-NOM REL-F-S-NOM there be-3-S-FUT pledge-N-S-DAT be-3-PL-SUBJ  
*Siquid* *de* {*iis* *rebus*}<sub>i</sub> *controversiae* *erit,* *Romae*  
 anything-N-S-NOM from ANA-F-PL-ABL affair-F-PL-ABL controversy-F-S-DAT be-3-S-FUT Rome-F-S-LOC  
*iudicium* *fiat.*  
 judgment-N-S-NOM become-3-S-SUBJ  
 ‘Until someone has paid money or security or has assigned the debt, the herds and servants, whatever is there, will be held as pledge. If any part of these matters is controversial, let there be judgment in Rome.’ (Cato *Agr.* 149)

The antecedent of *iis* is the legal procedures just mentioned rather than a particular lexical NP.

This use as a propositional anaphor is common. In other examples, *is* refers to an entity construed through a proposition such as a relative clause, either definite or indefinite. Examples of the latter function are in (191-193).

- (191) *Ibi* *ex* *oraclo* *voce* *divina* *edidit* *Apollo<sub>i</sub>*  
 there out of oracle-N-S-ABL voice-F-S-ABL divine-F-S-ABL give out-3-S-PERF Apollo-M-S-NOM  
 [*puerum<sub>k...</sub>*] *primus<sub>k</sub>* *Priamo<sub>j</sub>* *qui<sub>k</sub>* *foret<sub>k</sub>* *post -illa*  
 boy-m-s-acc first-M-S-NOM Priam-M-S-DAT REL-M-S-NOM be-3-S-IMPERF-SUBJ after -THAT-N-PL-ACC

*natus*<sub>k</sub>                      *temperaret*<sub>j</sub>                      [...*tollere*]<sup>36</sup>, [*eum*<sub>k</sub>                      *esse*                      *exitium*  
be born-PPP-DEPON-M-S-NOM                      refrain from-3-S-IMPERF-SUBJ                      lift up-INFIN                      ANA-M-S-ACC                      be-INFIN                      ruin-N-S-ACC

*Troiae*,                      *pestem*                      *Pergamo*].  
Troy-F-S-DAT                      pest-M-S-ACC                      Pergamum-N-S-DAT

‘Then with his divine voice Apollo gave forth that Priam should forebear to take up the first boy who would be born to him afterward, that he would be a tragedy for Troy, a pest for Pergamum.’ (Enn. *Trag.* 46-49)

- (192) *Proin*                      *vide*<sub>i</sub>                      *ne*                      [*quem*<sub>j</sub>...]                      *tu*<sub>i</sub>                      [...*esse*                      *hebetem*<sub>j</sub>...]                      *deputes*<sub>i</sub>  
then                      see-2-S-IMPERAT                      lest                      REL-M-S-ACC                      you-S-NOM                      be-INFIN                      dull-M-S-ACC                      count-2-S-SUBJ
- [...*aeque*                      *ac*                      *pecus*],                      *is*<sub>j</sub>                      *sapientia*                      *munitum*                      *pectus*  
equally                      as                      cattle-N-S-ACC                      ANA-M-S-NOM                      knowledge-F-S-ABL                      fortify-PPP-M-S-ACC                      heart-N-S-ACC
- egregie*<sup>37</sup>                      *gerat*<sub>j</sub>,                      *te*<sub>i</sub>-                      *que*                      *regno*                      *expellat*.  
excellently                      bear-3-S-SUBJ                      you-S-ACC -and                      kingdom-N-S-ABL                      drive out-3-S-SUBJ

‘Then take care lest the one you consider to be as dull as a cow, that one should bear a heart fortified with knowledge and drive you out of the kingdom.’ (Acc. *Fab.* 32-34)

- (193) *Qui*<sub>i</sub>                      *in*                      *his*                      *agris*                      *praedia*<sub>j</sub>                      *vendiderint*,                      [*eos*<sub>i/j</sub>...]  
REL-M-PL-NOM                      in                      this-M-PL-ABL                      field-M-PL-ABL                      farm-N-PL-ACC                      sell-3-PL-FUTPERF                      ANA-M-PL-ACC
- pigeat*                      [...*vendidisse*].  
cause regret-3-S-SUBJ                      sell-INFIN-PERF

‘Those who have sold farms in this region, it should cause them regret to have sold [them] / [them] to have sold them.’ (Cato *Agr.* 1)

Although *eos* in (193) could morphologically refer back to *agris*, given the frequent use of *is* in collocation with a relative pronoun it is more likely to refer to the *qui* defined in the preceding clause.

In (194), expanded from (172), both *id signum* and *ea signa* refer back to the *torulus*.<sup>38</sup>

- (194) *Tum*                      *meo*                      *patri*                      *autem*                      {*torulus*}<sub>i</sub>                      *inerit*                      {*aureus*                      *sub*  
then                      my-M-S-DAT                      father-M-S-DAT                      however                      knot-M-S-NOM                      be in-3-S-FUT                      golden-M-S-NOM                      under

<sup>36</sup> The literal meaning of this verb refers to the custom of a Roman *paterfamilias* ‘taking up’ a newborn as his own. (Supposedly the child was placed on the ground in front of the doorway to the house, and it was the *paterfamilias*’s prerogative to accept the child as his own or not.) In this way the child was literally ‘raised’ by the father.

<sup>37</sup> This is a pun on *pecus* ‘cattle’ and *grex* ‘herd, flock’. *Egregius* is something literally ‘out of the flock’, i.e. extraordinary in a good sense, based on the (patrician) Roman concept that the ‘crowd’ is inferior to the (aristocratic) individual.

<sup>38</sup> Although *ea signa* is plural, it clearly refers back to *torulus aureus*, as does the singular *id signum*. The failure of agreement in *ea signa* may be interpreted on the one hand as colloquial exaggeration and on the other as stylistic variation.

<i>petaso</i> <sub>i</sub> .	<i>{Id</i>	<i>signum</i> <sub>i</sub>	<i>Amphitruoni</i>	<i>non</i>	<i>erit.</i>	<i>{Ea</i>
hat-M-S-ABL	ANA-N-S-NOM	sign-N-S-NOM	Amphitryon-M-S-DAT	not	be-3-S-FUT	ANA-N-PL-NOM
<i>signa</i> <sub>i</sub>	<i>nemo</i>	<i>horum</i>	<i>familiarum</i>	<i>videre</i>	<i>poterit.</i>	
sign-N-PL-NOM	no one-M-S-NOM	this-M-PL-GEN	household member-M-PL-GEN	see-INFIN	be able-3-S-FUT	

‘But then my father will have a golden knot under his hat. Amphitryon will not have that sign. No one of those in the household will be able to see those signs.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 144-147)

A common use of the unbound anaphor is to recall the closest NP entity, for example

*mulier* in (195).

(195) *Intro* *abi*<sub>i</sub> *ergo* *et,* *si* *isti* *est* *mulier*<sub>j</sub>, [*eam*<sub>j</sub>...]  
inside go away-2-S-IMPERAT therefore and if there be-3-S woman-F-S-NOM ANA-F-S-ACC

*iube*<sub>i</sub> [...*cito* *domum* *transire*] *atque* *haec*<sub>k</sub> *ei*<sub>j</sub>  
order-2-S-IMPERAT right away home-F-S-ACC go across-INFIN and this-N-PL-ACC ANA-S-DAT

*dice*<sub>i</sub>.  
say-2-S-IMPERAT

‘So go inside and, if the woman is there, order her to go home right away and say these things to her.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 255-258)

In (196) adnominal *eam* is maximally disjoint from the noun *sollicitudinem*, but it immediately follows a series of four propositions to which it refers; several of those clauses also contains a form of *is*. The dialog picks up with Pleusicles’ response after the old man Periplectomenus has asked the younger Pleusicles what is bothering him.

(196) [*Me* *tibi* *istuc* *aetatis* *homini* *facinora* *puerilia*  
I-S-ACC you-S-DAT that-N-S-ACC age-F-S-GEN human-M-S-DAT deed-N-PL-ACC boyish-N-PL-ACC

*obicere,* *neque* *te decora* *neque* *tuis* *virtutibus*],  
throw in the way of-INFIN nor you-S-ACC honor-N-PL-ACC your-F-PL-DAT excellence-F-PL-DAT

[*ea* *te* *expetere* *ex* *opibus* *summis* *mei*  
ANA-N-PL-ACC you-S-ACC seek-INFIN out of resource-F-PL-ABL highest-F-PL-ABL my-M-S-GEN

*honoris* *gratia* *mihi -que* *amanti* *ire* *opitulatum*] *atque*  
honor-M-S-GEN for the sake of I-S-DAT -and love-PART-M-S-DAT go-INFIN aid-SUPINE-N-S-ACC and

[*ea* *te* *facere* *facinora*], [*quae* *istaec*...] *aetas*  
ANA-N-PL-ACC you-S-ACC do-INFIN deed-N-PL-ACC REL-N-PL-ACC that-N-PL-ACC age-F-S-NOM

[...*fugere* *facta* *magis* *quam* *sectari*] *solet,* [*eam*...]  
flee-INFIN do-PPP-N-PL-ACC more than follow-INFIN-DEPON be accustomed-3-S ANA-F-S-ACC

*pudet* [...*me* *tibi* *in* *senecta* *obicere* *sollicitudinem*].  
shame-3-S I-S-ACC you-S-DAT in old age-F-S-ACC throw in the way of-INFIN anxiety-F-S-ACC

‘For me to throw onto you at this time of your life childish actions, ones not worthy of you or your excellence; for [me] to ask you to go help me when I’m in love and for the sake of my honor, all with your best effort; and for you to do those deeds which [a man your] age is accustomed to flee from rather than pursue, it shames me to throw that anxiety to you in your old age.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 618-623)

Like the final *eam* in (196), *id* in (197) refers to the previous proposition.

- (197) *Mitto*<sub>i</sub>    *iam*    [*osculari*    *atque*    *amplexari*]<sub>i</sub>,    [*id*<sub>j</sub>    *nil*]  
 pass-1-S    now    kiss-1NF-DEPON    and    embrace-1NF-DEPON    ANA-N-S-ACC    nothing-N-S-ACC  
*puto*<sub>i</sub>.  
 think-1-S

‘Now I don’t mention kissing and embracing, I think it [to be] nothing.’ (Ter. *Heau.* 900-901)

As with the demonstratives, *is* can also be co-indexed with multiple entities in the same sentence. An example is in (198).

- (198) {*Flagitium*    *hominis*}<sub>i</sub>,    *qui*<sub>i</sub>    *dixit*<sub>i</sub>    *mihi*    [{*suam*    *uxorem*}]<sub>j</sub>  
 disgrace-N-S-NOM    human-M-S-GEN    REL-M-S-NOM    say-3-S-PERF    I-S-DAT    own-F-S-ACC    wife-F-S-ACC  
*hanc*<sub>k</sub>    *arcessituram*<sub>j</sub>    *esse*]<sub>j</sub>,    *ea*<sub>j</sub>    [*se*<sub>j</sub>    *eam*<sub>k...</sub>]    *negat*<sub>j</sub>  
 this-F-S-ACC    summon-PART-FUT-F-S-ACC    be-1NF-ACC    ANA-F-S-NOM    ANA-ACC    ANA-F-S-ACC    deny-3-S  
 [...*morarier*].  
 delay-1NF-DEPON

‘[He’s a] disgrace of a man who told me his wife would invite her; she denies she wants her.’ (Pl. *Cas.* 553)

Note in (198) that *ea* refers to the closest nominal form, *arcessituram*, which is a participle inflected for [+ feminine] in agreement with the earlier NP *suam uxorem*.

### 5.3.3.2 Bound Anaphor

The syntactically bound anaphor is *se*. Having the properties [+ anaphor, - pronoun], *se* is reflexive. It has no nominative case form. The paradigm is in Table 23. The lack of a nominative form for *se* is easily explained with respect to infinitival complements. Since ECM means the infinitival subject is assigned accusative case, no nominative form of *se* would be expected in ECM. With control structures, the empty category PRO serves as infinitival subject.

The few contexts in which nominative case is assigned to an infinitival subject are discussed below in sections 6.4 and 7.2, but no texts at all from early Latin have a nominative form of *se*.

Table 23: Bound Anaphor.

Case	Singular			Plural		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
Nominative	—					
Genitive	<i>suī</i>					
Dative	<i>sibi</i>					
Accusative	<i>sē(sē)</i> <sup>39</sup>					
Ablative	<i>sē(sē)</i>					

The contrast between the anaphors *is* and *se* can be seen in example (199).

- (199) *Ait*<sub>i</sub> [*hanc*<sub>k</sub> *dedisse* *me*<sub>j</sub> *sibi*<sub>i</sub>] *atque* [*eam*<sub>k</sub> {*meae*  
say-3-S this-F-S-ACC give-INFIN-PERF I-S-ACC ANA-DAT and ANA-F-S-ACC my-F-S-DAT  
*uxori*}<sub>1</sub> *surrupisse*].  
wife-F-S-DAT steal-INFIN-PERF

‘He says I gave this woman to him [lit. ‘himself’] and stole her from my wife.’ (Pl. *Men.* 480-481)

The null matrix subject is third-person singular, as indicated by the inflection on the verb *ait*.

Co-indexed with the matrix subject is the bound anaphor *sibi*, which is assigned dative case as the goal of the embedded infinitive *dedisse* ‘to have given’. Note that the main (pro) and embedded subjects (*me*, overt in the first embedded clause and null through coordination in the second) are disjoint. *Eam* in the second embedded clause refers back to *hanc* in the previous clause and, like *hanc*, is the direct object of its infinitive.

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<sup>39</sup> The reduplicated form *sese* occurs in 29 (31%) of 95 embedded contexts in the corpus.

In (200) both the bound anaphor *sese* and the unbound anaphor *is* refer to same entity, the persons described by the relative clause. The bound form *sese* occurs when those persons direct the verbal action of *volunt* toward themselves, while *is* is used when a separate entity (the referent of *ego*) directs the action of *do* toward them.

(200)	<i>Qui</i> REL-M-PL-NOM	[ <i>sese</i> ANA-ACC	<i>adfines</i> neighbor-M-PL-ACC	<i>esse</i> be-INFIN	<i>ad</i> to	<i>causandum</i> ] plead-GERUND-N-S-ACC	<i>volunt</i> want-3-PL
	<i>de</i> from	<i>virtute</i> , virtue-F-S-ABL	<i>is</i> ANA-M-PL-DAT	<i>ego</i> I-S-NOM	<i>cernundi</i> decide-GERUND-N-S-GEN	<i>do</i> give-1-S	
	<i>postestatem</i> power-F-S-ACC	<i>omnibus</i> . all-M-PL-DAT					

‘Those who want [lit. ‘themselves’] to be together in pleading the cause of virtue, to all them I give the power of determining [the outcome].’ (Pac. *Trag.* 39-40)

Example (201) shows two distinct referents of the unbound anaphor, with one of those referents co-indexed to the bound form *sibi*. The referent of *id* is not literally to *nil* ‘nothing’, but the implied entity of ‘something’ that he might deserved.

(201)	<i>Ego</i> <sub>i</sub> , I-S-NOM	<i>Charine</i> , Charinus-M-S-VOC	[ <i>neutiquam</i> not at all-N-S-ACC	<i>officium</i> ] <sub>j</sub> duty-N-S-ACC	<i>liberi</i> <sub>k</sub> free-M-S-GEN	<i>esse</i> be-INFIN	<i>hominis</i> <sub>k</sub> ] human-M-S-GEN
	<i>puto</i> <sub>i</sub> , think-1-S	<i>quom</i> when	<i>is</i> <sub>k</sub> ANA-M-S-NOM	<i>nil</i> <sub>l</sub> nothing-N-S-ACC	<i>mereat</i> <sub>k</sub> , deserve-3-S-SUBJ	[ <i>postulare</i> demand-INFIN	[ <i>id</i> <sub>l</sub> ANA-N-S-ACC
	<i>gratiae</i> gratefulness-F-S-DAT	<i>adponi</i> place toward-INFIN-PASS	<i>sibi</i> <sub>k</sub> ]]. ANA-DATIVE				

‘Charinus, I think it to be by no means the duty of a free man, when he deserves nothing, to demand that it be given to him [lit. ‘himself’] as a favor.’ (Ter. *And.* 330-331)

An example of the bound anaphor as a partitive genitive is in (202), where *sui* is the object of the adjective *memor* ‘mindful, remembering’.

(202)	{ <i>Unum</i> one-N-S-ACC	<i>hoc</i> ] <sub>j</sub> this-N-S-ACC	<i>scio</i> <sub>i</sub> , know-1-S	[[ <i>hanc</i> <sub>k</sub> this-F-S-ACC	<i>meritam</i> <sub>k</sub> deserve-PPP-DEPON-F-S-ACC	<i>esse</i> ] be-INFIN	<i>ut</i> COMP
	<i>memor</i> <sub>l</sub> mindful-M-S-NOM	<i>esses</i> <sub>l</sub> be-2-S-IMPERF-SUBJ	<i>sui</i> <sub>k</sub> ]]. ANA-GEN				

‘I know this one thing, that this woman has deserved that you should be mindful of her [lit. ‘of herself’].’ (Ter. *And.* 281)

Because of null pronoun settings (see section 5.4), the accusative form *se* has the option of being either overt or non-overt in ECM clauses. In (203) *se* is overt, agreeing with the matrix subject *Iuppiter*.

- (203) *Donec cum tonitru voce missa ex aethere [adulterum<sub>i</sub>*  
 then with thunder-M-S-ACC voice-F-S-ABL send-PPP-F-S-ABL out of upper air-M-S-ACC adulterer-M-S-ACC  
*se<sub>i</sub>]* *Iuppiter<sub>i</sub>* *confessus<sub>i</sub>* *est<sub>i</sub>*.  
 ANA-ACC Jupiter-M-S-NOM confess-PPP-M-S-NOM be-3-S

‘Then with a voice sent with the thunder from the upper air, Jupiter has confessed he is an adulterer.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 9-10)

Example (204) has the infinitival subject co-indexed with the main subject, but *se* is not occur in the embedded clause.

- (204) *Ait<sub>i</sub>* [*pro<sub>i</sub>* *tibi* *uxorem* *dare* *hodie*].  
 say-3-S [you-S-DAT wife-F-S-ACC give-INFIN today]

‘He says [he] is giving you a wife today.’ (Ter. *And.* 353-354)

The issue of the optionality of *se* in ECM clauses is discussed further under section 6.5.5.

Since the *se* anaphor is bound within its domain, the antecedent must be clear (although not necessarily overt, because of *pro*) and thus there is no need for an overt [number] or [gender] distinction. In (205) *se* is co-indexed with the [+ masculine, + singular] NP *Chremes*.

- (205) *Chremes<sub>i</sub>* *qui<sub>i</sub>* [*denegarati<sub>i</sub>* [*se<sub>i</sub>* *commissurum<sub>i</sub>* *mihi<sub>k</sub>*  
 Chremes-M-S-NOM REL-M-S-NOM deny-3-S-PLUPERF ANA-ACC commit-PART-FUT-M-S-ACC I-S-DAT  
*{gnatam suam<sub>j</sub>}]<sub>j</sub>* *uxorem<sub>j</sub>]]<sub>i</sub>*, *id<sub>i</sub>* *mutavit<sub>i</sub>* *quom* [*me<sub>k</sub>*  
 offspring-F-S-ACC own-F-S-ACC wife-F-S-ACC ANA-N-S-ACC change-3-S-PERF when I-S-ACC  
*immutatum<sub>k</sub>]* *videt<sub>i</sub>?*  
 not change-PPP-M-S-ACC see-3-S

‘Did Chremes, who had denied he would entrust his daughter to me as a wife, change that when he saw I [was] unchanged?’ (Ter. *And.* 241-242).

Examples (206-207) also have overt NPs that are [+ masculine, + singular] co-indexed with the bound anaphor.

- (206) *Verum* *hercle* *opinor<sub>i</sub>* [*fuisse* *Phaniam<sub>j</sub>]]<sub>k</sub>* *hoc<sub>k</sub>* *certo* *scio<sub>i</sub>*,  
 but indeed think-1-S-DEPON be-INFIN-PERF Phania-M-S-ACC this-N-S-ACC for certain know-1-S



[*Rhamnusium*<sub>j</sub>    *se*<sub>j</sub>...]    *aiebat*<sub>j</sub>    [...*esse*].  
 Rhamnusian-M-S-ACC    ANA-ACC    say-3-S-IMPERF    be-INFIN

‘But indeed I think it was Phania, I know this for certain, he said he was Rhamnusian.’  
 (Ter. *And.* 929-930)

- (207) *Conspicit*<sub>i</sub>    *inde*    [*sibi*<sub>i</sub>    *data*<sub>j</sub>...]    *Romulus*<sub>i</sub>    [...*esse*    *propritim*  
 perceive-3-S-PERF    then    ANA-DAT    give-PPP-N-PL-ACC    Romulus-M-S-NOM    be-INFIN    favorably
- auspicio*    *regni*    *stabilita*<sub>j</sub>    *scamna*<sub>j</sub>    *solum*<sub>k</sub>    *-que*].  
 divination by birds-N-S-ABL    kingdom-N-S-GEN    make firm-PPP-N-PL-ACC    bench-N-PL-ACC    soil-N-S-ACC    -and

‘Then Romulus perceived by the auspice that the throne and territory of the kingdom had been favorably given to him [lit. ‘to himself’]’. (Enn. *Ann.* 99-100)

Examples (208-209) have a [+ feminine, + singular] referent co-indexed with *se*.

- (208) [*Male*    *mi*<sub>j</sub>...]    *uxor*<sub>i</sub>    [...*sese*<sub>i</sub>    *fecisse*]    *censet*<sub>i</sub>.  
 badly    I-S-DAT    wife-F-S-NOM    ANA-ACC    do-INFIN-PERF    believe-3-S

‘My wife thinks she behaved badly to me.’ (Pl. *Men.* 668)

- (209) *Iam*    *prius*    *haec*<sub>i</sub>    [*se*<sub>i</sub>    *a*    *Pamphilo*<sub>j</sub>    *gravidam*<sub>i</sub>...]    *dixit*<sub>i</sub>  
 now    before    this-F-S-NOM    ANA-ACC    from    Pamphilus-M-S-ABL    heavy-F-S-ACC    say-3-S-PERF
- [...*esse*].  
 be-INFIN

‘Already before this woman said she was pregnant by Pamphilus.’ (Ter. *And.* 512-513)

Examples (210-212) have *se*’s antecedent as [+ masculine, + plural].

- (210) [*Clientes*<sub>j</sub>    *sibi*<sub>i</sub>...]    *omnes*<sub>i</sub>    *volunt*<sub>i</sub>    [...*esse*    *multos*<sub>j</sub>].  
 client-M-PL-ACC    ANA-DAT    all-M-PL-NOM    want-3-PL    be-INFIN    many-M-PL-ACC

‘Everyone wants many clients for himself.’ (Pl. *Men.* 574-575)

- (211) *ut*    *adulescentuli*<sub>i</sub>    [*vobis*<sub>j</sub>    *placere*...]    *studeant*<sub>i</sub>    [...*potius*  
 as    youth-DIMINUT-M-PL-NOM    you-PL-DAT    please-INFIN    be eager for-3-PL-SUBJ    rather
- quam*    *sibi*<sub>i</sub>].  
 than    ANA-DAT

‘as the young would aim to please you rather than themselves.’ (Ter. *Heau.* 51-52)

- (212) *Factores*<sub>i</sub>    *qui*<sub>i</sub>    *oleum*<sub>j</sub>    *fecerint*<sub>i</sub>    *omnes*<sub>i</sub>    *iuranto*<sub>i</sub>  
 maker-M-PL-NOM    REL-M-PL-NOM    olive oil-N-S-ACC    make-3-PL-FUTPERF    all-M-PL-NOM    swear-3-PL-IMPERAT-FUT
- aut*    *ad*    *dominum*    *aut*    *ad*    *custodem*    [*sese*<sub>i</sub>    *de*    *fundo*  
 or    to    master-M-S-ACC    or    to    guardian-M-S-ACC    ANA-ACC    from    farm-N-S-ABL

<i>L(ucii)</i> Lucius-M-S-GEN	<i>Manli</i> <sup>40</sup> Manlius-M-S-GEN	<i>neque</i> nor	<i>{alium</i> other-M-S-ACC	<i>quemquam}</i> <sub>k</sub> INDEFIN-M-S-ACC	<i>suo</i> own-M-S-ABL
<i>dolo</i> trick-M-S-ABL	<i>malo</i> bad-M-S-ABL	<i>oleum</i> olive oil-N-S-ACC	<i>neque</i> nor	<i>oleam</i> olive-F-S-ACC	<i>subripuisse</i> ]. steal-INFIN-PERF

‘All the producers who have made olive oil shall swear either to the master or to the guardian that they have not, nor has anyone else, stolen through any stratagem of their own any olive oil or olives from the farm of Lucius Manlius.’ (Cato *Agr.* 145)

Given the bound anaphor’s lack of overt feature marking for [gender] and [number], the antecedent of *se* is potentially ambiguous. For example, in (213) *sibi* could refer back to either *eundem* ([+ masculine, + singular]) or the [+ masculine, + plural] pro subject of the main verb. Since this citation is the entire fragment of a larger part, no co-text is available to disambiguate. Nonetheless, Calypso figures in the *Odyssey*, so *eundem* must be Odysseus himself, and the epic tale resolves the intended meaning of *sibi*: it is co-indexed with *eundem*.

(213)	<i>[Eundem]</i> <sub>j</sub> same-M-S-ACC	<i>filios</i> <sub>k</sub> son-M-PL-ACC	<i>sibi</i> <sub>j</sub> ANA-DAT	<i>procreasse</i> procreate-INFIN-PERF	<i>per</i> through	<i>Calypsonem</i> ] Calypso-F-S-ACC	<i>autumant</i> <sub>i</sub> . say-3-PL
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‘They say that same man procreated sons for himself with Calypso.’ (Pac. *Frag.* 11-12)

In examples like (212) *sese*’s antecedent is the subject of the main verb, so the anaphor is bound across the clausal boundary. Since the embedded clause is ECM, the so-called exceptionality that assigns accusative case to the embedded subject could also assign co-indexing. But example (214) shows that co-indexing is made even without ECM in the embedded clause.

(214)	pro <sub>i</sub> -subj	pro <sub>j</sub> -obj	<i>[orare</i> beg- <i>INFIN</i>	pro <sub>k</sub> ]	<i>iussit</i> <sub>i</sub> , order-3-S-PERF	<i>[si</i> if	<i>se</i> <sub>i</sub> ANA-ACC	<i>ames</i> <sub>k</sub> ], love-2-S-SUBJ	<i>era</i> <sub>k</sub> , mistress-F-S-VOC
	<i>iam</i> now	<i>[ut</i> COMP	<i>ad</i> to	<i>sese</i> <sub>i</sub> ANA-ACC	<i>venias</i> <sub>k</sub> ]. come-2-S-SUBJ				

‘He ordered [me] to beg [you], lady, if you love him to come to him right away.’ (Ter. *And.* 687)

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<sup>40</sup> The name L(ucius) Manlius is used here as the generic farm owner, equivalent to John Doe in a legal formulary such as this. Roman first names including Lucius are conventionally abbreviated, even on legal documents and monuments.

The anaphor is bound in two dependent clauses, first in the conditional headed by *si* ‘if’ and then in the indirect command headed by *ut* ‘that’. Similarly in (215), *se* occurs across different clauses in an object-control structure.

- (215)  $I_i$   $s'$   $'is_i$   $iube_i$   $pro_j$  [ $transire$   $huc$  [ $quantum$   
go-2-S-IMPERAT if wish-2-S order-2-S-IMPERAT go across-INFIN to here as much as  
 $possit_j$ ]], [ $se_j$   $ut$   $videant_k$   $domi$   $familiares_k$ ].  
be able-3-S-SUBJ ANA-ACC COMP see-3-S-SUBJ home-F-S-LOC member of household-M-PL-NOM

‘Please go, order [her] to cross over to here as soon as she can so that the people in the household will see her at home.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 182-184)

Example (216) illustrates how the anaphor remains bound even across embedded clauses with disjoint subjects.

- (216) [ $\{Hanc$   $fidem\}$   $sibi_i$  ...]  $me_j$   $obsecravit_i$  [ $qui$   $se_i$   $sciret_i$   
this-F-S-ACC faith-F-S-ACC ANA-DAT I-S-ACC plead-3-S-PERF how ANA-ACC know-3-S-IMPERF-SUBJ  
[ $pro_j$ -obj  $non$   $deserturum_j$ ]] [ $...ut$   $darem_j$ ].  
not desert-PART-FUT-M-S-ACC COMP give-1-S-IMPERF-SUBJ

‘[She] begged me to give her this pledge, so that she’d know I won’t desert her.’ (Ter. *And.* 401-402)

It is interesting to note the relative closeness of *sibi* to the first word with an overt binding feature, *obsecravit* in (216). In contrast, *sibi* in (217) is more distant from the clause boundary.

- (217)  $pro_i$   $dixit_i$  [ $a$   $decem-viris$   $parum$   $bene$   $sibi_i$   $cibaria_j$   
say-3-S-PERF by ten -man-M-PL-ABL too little well ANA-DAT foodstuff-N-PL-ACC  
 $curata_j$   $esse$ ].  
take care of-PPP-N-PL-ACC be-INFIN

‘He said the food supplies hadn’t been taken care of by the commissioners very well for him [lit. ‘for himself’]’. (Cat. *Or.* 58)

Sentence (218) provides another example of long-distance anaphora. Preceding *secum* there are two potential antecedents, both [+ masculine, + singular]: the *pro* subject of *provocavit* and the overt *quis*. The null subject yields the more felicitous reading.

- (218)  $Primores_j$   $procerum$   $provocavit_i$   $nomine$   $si$   $esset_k$   
first-M-PL-ACC chief-M-PL-GEN call forth-3-S-PERF name-N-S-ABL if be-3-S-IMPERF-SUBJ  
 $quis_k$   $qui_k$  [ $se_i$   $-cum...$ ]  $vellet_k$  [ $...cernere$ ].  
INDEFIN-M-S-NOM REL-M-S-NOM ANA-ABL -with wish-3-S-IMPERF-SUBJ decide-INFIN

‘He called forth the leading men of the chiefs by name [to see] if there were anyone who’d want to fight with him.’ (Acc. *Trag.* 310-311)

In (219) the pro subject of *volt* is the antecedent of *se* in a doubly embedded clause, skipping across the *te scire* clause with a disjoint subject.

(219) *Non* *volt*<sub>i</sub> [*te*<sub>j</sub> *scire* [*se*<sub>i</sub> *redisse*]] *etiam* *et* *tuom*  
 not want-3-S you-S-ACC know-*INFIN* ANA-ACC return-*INFIN*-*PERF* even and your-M-S-ACC  
*conspectum* *fugitat*<sub>i</sub>.  
 sight-M-S-ACC flee-*INFIN*

‘He doesn’t want you to know he’s returned and he even flees from your sight.’ (Ter. *Heau.* 433-434)

A summary of overt *se*’s clausal binding is in Table 24; the clause types are discussed in detail in chapter 6.

Table 24: Overt Local and Non-Local *Se* by Clause Type.

Type of Clause	Bound Anaphor <i>Se</i>				Total
	Local		Distant		
Indeterminate	0	0%	0	0%	0
Nominal	0	0%	0	0%	0
Historical	3	100%	0	0%	3
Interjection	0	0%	0	0%	0
Subject Control	12	86%	2	14%	14
Object Control	3	18%	14	82%	17
Impersonal Control	0	0%	4	100%	4
Sentential Control	<u>0</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>1</u>
	15	43%	20	57%	35
Subject Control ~ ECM	22	71%	9	29%	31
Impersonal ECM	0	0%	0	00%	0
Deontic ECM	5	56%	4	44%	9
AcI	<u>125</u>	<u>78%</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>22%</u>	<u>160</u>
	152	76%	48	24%	200
TOTAL	170	71%	68	29%	238

As the table shows, the clause domain for *se* is different across the two main clause types, control and ECM. In control clauses, 15 (43%) of 35 instances of *se* bind within the local domain, while overt *se* in ECM clauses is locally bound in 152 (76%) of 200 cases. Because of the much greater incidence of *se* in ECM than in control clauses, overall *se* occurs locally in 170 (71%) of 238 instances. Note that while *se* occurs most often in control subjects with long-distant binding, for subject-control clauses 12 (86%) of 14 instances have local control. Within ECM clauses, the greatest frequency of local binding for *se* is with AcI structures, with 125 (78%) of 160 instances.

Other languages not directly related to Latin that license an anaphor whose antecedent crosses the clausal boundary include Japanese, Icelandic, and Norwegian. In these languages, the antecedent must be the subject of its clause, but diachronic evidence from Latin shows no such restriction (Bertocchi, p. 444). The sole early-Latin example presented by Bertocchi has no infinitival complement and is thus excluded from the present study's corpus. Of the 187 occurrences of *se* in infinitival complements in the corpus, only 2 (1%) have a non-subject antecedent. These unusual examples are shown in (220-221).

- (220) *Ibi* *ego*<sub>i</sub> *audivi*<sub>i</sub> *ex* *illo*<sub>j</sub> [*sese*<sub>j</sub> *esse* *Atticum*<sub>j</sub>].  
 there I-N-S hear-I-S-PERF out of that-M-S-ABL ANA-ACC be-INFIN Athenian-M-S-ACC

‘There I heard from the man himself he’s an Athenian.’ (Ter. *And.* 927)

- (221) *Quando* *imago*<sub>i</sub> *est* *huius*<sub>j</sub> *in* *me*<sub>k</sub> *certum* *est* [*pro*<sub>k</sub>  
 when appearance-F-S-NOM be-3-S this-M-S-GEN in I-S-ABL decide-PPP-N-S-NOM be-3-S  
*hominem*<sub>j</sub> *eludere*].  
 human-M-S-ACC trick-INFIN

‘When I look like him [lit. ‘his appearance is on me’], I’m sure to trick him.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 265)

In Bertocchi’s early-Latin example (from a text excluded from this corpus), the antecedent of the long-distance anaphor is a dative possessor. In (220) the antecedent *illo* is a source. The antecedent *me* in (221) is location. Both of these  $\theta$ -roles are low on the thematic hierarchy, and

it has been shown that higher-ranking thematic roles function enough like subjects that they too can serve as antecedents in long-distance anaphora (Giorgi, 1983, p. 315). This means the early-Latin examples shown here are atypical. Benedicto (1991, pp. 180-181) also adduces examples from classical Latin in which the antecedent is actually a lower-ranking thematic role. Those examples are analyzed as being in the Topic position of the sentence, but no analogous citations are found in the corpus of early Latin.

#### 5.4 EMPTY CATEGORIES

Latin has four categories of non-overt nominals: NP-traces, wh-traces, PRO, and pro. The two types of traces are not the focus here and will not be discussed further. Instead, the discussion focuses on the binary opposites pro and PRO.

First, it is important to note that shared constituents of any kind are typically omitted. In example (222) the shared NP *herbae* is non-overt (i.e. in accusative form *herbas*) as the object of *eximito*.

- (222) *Simul*      *herbae<sub>i</sub>*      *inceperint<sub>i</sub>*      [*nasci*],      *eximito<sub>j</sub>*      *pro<sub>i</sub>*.  
at the same time    grass-F-PL-NOM    begin-3-PL-FUTPERF    be born-INFIN-DEPON    take out-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT

‘As soon as the weeds have begun to grow, take [them] out.’ (Cato *Agr.* 48)

In (223) the direct object of *amittere* in the final clause is omitted through coordination with the NP *ei*, the goal of *dare* ‘to give’.

- (223) *Ita -n*      *tandem,*      *quaeso,*      *item*      *ut*      *meretricem<sub>j</sub>*      *ubi*      *abusus<sub>i</sub>*  
thus -Y/N      at length      ask-1-S      likewise      as      prostitute-F-S-ACC      when      abuse-PPP-DEPON-M-S-NOM
- sis<sub>i</sub>,*      *pro<sub>i</sub>*      *mercedem<sub>i</sub>*      *dare*      *lex<sub>k</sub>*      *iubet<sub>k</sub>*      *ei<sub>j</sub>*      *atque*  
be-2-S-SUBJ           fee-F-S-ACC      give-INFIN      law-F-S-NOM      order-3-S      ANA-DAT      and
- amittere*      *pro<sub>j</sub>?*  
send away-INFIN

‘So is it true, I ask [you], when you’ve abused her like a prostitute, the law orders [you] to give restitution to her and send [her] away?’ (Ter. *Phor.* 413-414?)

In (224) both the direct object *me* and the infinitive *novisse* are omitted in the second embedded clause through coordination.

- (224)  $\text{pro}_i$  *negas<sub>i</sub>*  $[\text{pro}_i$  *novisse* *me*], *negas<sub>i</sub>*  $[\text{pro}_i$  *patrem* *meum*]?  
 deny-2-S know-INFIN-PERF I-S-ACC deny-2-S father-M-S-ACC my-M-S-ACC

‘Do you deny [you] know me, do you deny [you know] my father?’ (Pl. *Men.* 750)

Example (225) has a similar omission of an NP (the direct object *haec*) and an infinitive (*legere*).

- (225)  $[\{\text{Manium}$  *Manilium* $\}_j$  *Persium*<sub>k</sub> -ve *haec*<sub>l</sub> *legere*] *nolo*<sub>i</sub>,  
 Manius-M-S-ACC Manilius-M-S-ACC Persius-M-S-ACC -or this-N-PL-ACC read-INFIN not want-I-S  
 $[\{\text{Junium}$  *Congum* $\}_m$   $\text{pro}_i$ ] *volo*<sub>i</sub>.  
 Junius-M-S-ACC Congus-M-S-ACC want-I-S

‘I don’t want Manius Manilius or Persius to read these things, I want Junius Congus [to read them].’ (Luc. *Sat.* 633-634)

In (226) three coordinated items are omitted: the NPS *illum* and *hanc* and the infinitive *habere* in the object-control clause.

- (226) *Tibi*<sub>j</sub> *ita* *hoc*<sub>i</sub> *videtur*<sub>i</sub> *at* *ego*<sub>k</sub>  $[\text{non}$  *posse*...] *arbitror*<sub>k</sub>  
 you-S-DAT thus this-N-S-NOM see-3-S-PASS but I-S-NOM not be able-INFIN think-I-S-DEPON  
 $[\dots\text{neque}$  *illum*<sub>l</sub> *hanc*<sub>m</sub> *perpetuo* *habere*] *neque*  $[\text{me}<sub>k</sub> *perpeti*  
 nor that-M-S-ACC this-F-S-ACC continually have-INFIN nor I-S-ACC allow-INFIN-DEPON  
 $\text{pro}_i$   $[\text{pro}_m]$ .$

‘This seems so to you, but I think neither that he’ll be able to keep her forever nor that I’ll be able to allow [him to keep her].’ (Ter. *And.* 563-564)

Even when the clause structures are different, a coordinated constituent may still be null, as with the controllee *illum* in (226). Another example is in (227).

- (227) *Sic*  $\text{pro}_i$  *sine*<sub>i</sub>  $\text{pro}_j$  *igitur* *si*  $\text{pro}_i$   $[\text{tuom}_j\dots]$  *negas*<sub>i</sub>  $[\dots\text{me}_i$   
 thus allow-2-S-IMPERAT therefore if your-M-S-ACC deny-2-S I-S-ACC  
*esse*],  $[\text{PRO}_i$  *abire* *liberum*<sub>i</sub>].  
 be-INFIN go away-INFIN free-M-S-ACC

‘So therefore, if you deny I’m yours, allow me to go away free.’ (Pl. *Men.* 1028)

Overt *me* is the AcI subject in the *negas* clause, and its non-overt form is the controllee in the *abire* clause. In (228) the bound anaphor *se* is not overt as the subject of the second and third AcI clauses, nor is there any overt NP for *austellos* as a later embedded subject.

- (228) {*Rex* king-M-S-NOM      *Cotus* Cotys-M-S-NOM      *ille*}<sub>i</sub> that-M-S-NOM      [{*duo* two-M-PL-ACC      *hos* this-M-PL-ACC      *ventos*, wind-M-PL-ACC      *austrum* south-M-S-ACC  
*atque* and      *aquilonem*}<sub>j</sub> north-M-S-ACC      *novisse*...] know-INFIN-PERF      *aiebat*<sub>i</sub> say-3-S-IMPERF      [...*se*<sub>i</sub> ANA-ACC      *solos*<sub>j</sub> alone-M-PL-ACC      *demagis*], very much  
[*pro*<sub>i</sub>      *istos*<sub>k</sub> that-M-PL-ACC      *ex* out of      *nimbo* rain cloud-M-S-ABL      *austellos*<sub>k</sub> south-DIMINUT-M-PL-ACC      *nec* nor      *nosse*] know-INFIN-PERF      *nec* nor  
[*pro*<sub>i</sub>      [*pro*<sub>k</sub>      *esse*] be-INFIN      *putare*]. think-INFIN

‘That famous king Cotys used to say he knew just these two winds, the south and the north [wind], very well, [he] didn’t know those gentle south winds [formed] out of the rain cloud, nor did [he] think [they] existed.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 544-546)

Finally, example (229) shows how the anaphor *se*, intended as both subject and object in the first embedded clause and subject in the second one, is overt only once.

- (229) *Granius*<sub>i</sub> Granius-M-S-NOM      *autem* however      [*pro*<sub>i</sub>      *non* not      *contemnere* despise-INFIN      *se*<sub>i</sub>] ANA-ACC      *et* and      [*pro*<sub>i</sub>      *reges*<sub>j</sub> king-M-PL-ACC  
*odisse* hate-INFIN-PERF      *superbos*]. arrogant-M-PL-ACC

‘But Granius [says] he doesn’t despise himself and [he] hates arrogant kings.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 609-610)

Note that *se* as Acl object of the *contemnere* clause is necessary. Otherwise, the direct object would be null through coordination with *reges superbos*, which would be both contradictory and pragmatically odd with the coordinating conjunction *et* ‘and’.

#### 5.4.1 Null Subject (pro)

For continuous subjects, more usual than an overt pronoun is the null form *pro* (Vincent, 2000, pp. 38-40; Bolkestein & van de Grift, 1994, p. 293; Maraldi, 1985, p. 44). Also known as zero anaphora, *pro* is interpreted by default as being co-indexed with the closest antecedent topic in grammatical agreement with respect to [case], [number], and [gender] or deictically with first- or second-person (i.e. discourse participants).



Compared with some other pro-drop languages, Latin has relatively loose constraints on pro. For instance, pro occurs frequently in coordinated sentences that share the same grammatical subject, as in (230).

- (230) *Quippe* {*illi* *iniqui*}<sub>i</sub> *ius*<sub>j</sub> *ignorant* *neque* *pro*<sub>i-subj</sub> *pro*<sub>j-obj</sub> *tenent*.  
indeed that-M-PL-NOM evil-M-PL-NOM law-N-S-ACC not know-3-PL nor hold-3-PL  
‘Indeed, those evil [people] don’t know the law, nor do [they] uphold [it].’ (Pl. *Amph.* 37)

Since the two verbs *ignorant* and *tenent* are inflected for third-person plural, they agree grammatically with the nominative plural NP *illi iniqui* ‘those evil (people)’.

In (231), the interaction between participants A and B<sup>41</sup> sounds like the banter between stand-up comedians, where the joke here relates to A’s wife – and ultimately the joke is on him. The wife is first mentioned overtly as *tua uxor* and subsequently only with subject pro.

- (231) B: *Sed* {*tua* *morosa*}<sub>i</sub> *-ne* *uxor*<sub>i</sub> *quaeso* *est?*  
but your-F-S-NOM peevish-F-S-NOM -Y/N wife-F-S-NOM ask-1-S be-3-S  
A: *Va!* *Rogas?*  
ah ask-2-S  
B: *Qui* *tandem?*  
how at length  
A: *Taedet* *mentionis* *quae*<sub>i</sub> *mihi* *ubi* *domum* *adveni*,  
fatigue-3-S mention-F-S-GEN REL-F-S-NOM I-S-DAT when home-F-S-ACC arrive-1-S-PERF  
*adsedi*, *extemplo* *savium* *dat*<sub>i</sub> *ieiuna* *anima*.  
sit beside-1-S-PERF immediately kiss-N-S-ACC give-3-S hungry-F-S-ABL breath-F-S-ABL  
B: *Pro*<sub>i-subj</sub> *nil* *peccat*<sub>i</sub> *de* *savio*; *ut* *devomas* *pro*<sub>i-subj</sub>  
nothing-N-S-ACC be wrong-3-S from kiss-N-S-ABL COMP vomit-2-S-SUBJ  
*vult*<sub>i</sub> *quod* *foris* *potaveris*.  
want-3-S REL-N-S-ACC outside drink-2-S-PERF-SUBJ  
‘B: But I ask you, is your wife moody?  
A: Ha, you ask?  
B: Well, and?’

<sup>41</sup> The speakers in this dialog are identified as only A and B; the citation here picks up with a line spoken by B.

- A: It's tedious to talk about her; whenever I've come home and sat down beside her, right away she kisses me with a hungry breath.
- B: She makes no mistake with that kiss; she wants you to vomit up what you've drunk away from home.' (Caec. *Fab.* 151-155)

In example (232) there are three distinct entities that co-index with subject *pro* in later clauses.

- (232) *Mercatum* {*asotum* *filium*}<sub>i</sub> *extrudit* *pater*<sub>j</sub> *Is*<sub>i</sub> *peregre*  
trade-M-S-ACC debauched-M-S-ACC son-M-S-ACC push out-3-S father-M-S-NOM ANA-M-S-NOM abroad  
*missus*<sub>i</sub> *redimit* *ancillam*<sub>k</sub> *hospitis* *amore* *captus*<sub>i</sub> *pro*<sub>k-obj</sub>  
send-PPP-M-S-NOM buy back-3-S maid-F-S-ACC host-M-S-GEN love-M-S-ABL take-PPP-M-S-NOM  
*advehit*<sub>i</sub> *pro*<sub>i-subj</sub> *nave* *exilit*<sub>i</sub> *pater*<sub>j</sub> *advolat*<sub>j</sub> *vix*  
carry to-3-S ship-F-S-ABL leave-3-S-IMPERF father-M-S-NOM fly to-3-S hardly  
*pro*<sub>j-subj</sub> {*visam* *ancillam*}<sub>k</sub> *deperit*<sub>j</sub> *Cuius* *pro*<sub>k-subj</sub> *sit*<sub>k</sub>  
see-PPP-F-S-ACC maid-F-S-ACC perish-3-S INTERROG-M-S-GEN be-3-S-SUBJ  
*pro*<sub>j-subj</sub> *percontatur*<sub>j</sub>  
inquire-3-S-DEPON

'A father sends his dissolute son off to trade. Sent abroad, he buys his host's maid after falling in love and takes her home. He leaves the ship, his father hurries toward him and falls madly in love with her after barely seeing her. He inquires who she belongs to.' (Pl. *Mer.* Pro.)

Since the referents of *pro* switch throughout the passage, the listener/reader has a heavy processing burden and ambiguity is certainly possible.

Although *pro* is the preferred form for continuous subjects, it is not obligatory. In embedded clauses, *pro* is especially favored with coordinated subjects. Out of 200 cases of coordinated embedded subjects in the corpus, only 10 (5%) are overt. Examples of the typical coordinated *pro* form are shown below. In (233-236) the embedded subjects are disjoint from the main subject.

- (233) *Atque* [*huius* *uxorem*...] *volō*<sub>i</sub> [...*te*]<sub>j</sub> [*pro* *esse*] *adsimulare*].  
and this-M-S-GEN wife-F-S-ACC want-1-S you-S-ACC be-INFIN pretend-INFIN

'And I want you to pretend [you] are his wife.' (Pl. *Mil.* 908)

- (234) *Nunc* [{*equos* *iunctos*}<sub>k...</sub>] *iubes*<sub>i</sub> [...*PRO* *capere*...] *me*<sub>j</sub>  
now horse-M-PL-ACC yoke-PPP-M-PL-ACC order-2-S take-INFIN I-S-ACC

[...*indomitos*<sub>k</sub>, *ferocis*<sub>k</sub>] *atque* [*in* *currum* *PRO*<sub>j</sub> *inscendere*].  
 untamed-M-PL-ACC wild-M-PL-ACC and into carriage-M-S-ACC climb in-INFIN

‘Now you order me take yoked untamed, wild horses and [me] to climb into the carriage.’  
 (Pl. *Men.* 862-864)

(235) *Nam* *si* *senserit*<sub>i</sub> [*te*<sub>j</sub> *timidum*<sub>j</sub>...] *pater*<sub>i</sub> [...*esse*],  
 for if sense-3-S-FUTPERF you-S-ACC fearful-M-S-ACC father-M-S-NOM be-INFIN  
*arbitrabitur*<sub>i</sub> [*pro*<sub>j</sub> *commeruisse* *culpam*<sub>k</sub>].  
 think-3-S-FUT-DEPON deserve-INFIN-PERF blame-F-S-ACC

‘For if your father senses you are afraid, he’ll think [you] have deserved reproach.’ (Ter.  
*Phor.* 205-206)

(236) *Sed* [*virum*<sub>j</sub> *vera* *virtute* *vivere* *animatum*<sub>j</sub>] *addecet*<sub>i</sub>  
 but man-M-S-ACC true-F-S-ABL excellence-F-S-ABL live-INFIN animate-PPP-M-S-ACC be fitting-3-S  
*fortiter -que* [*pro*<sub>j</sub> *innocuum*<sub>j</sub> *stare* *adversum* *adversarios*<sub>k</sub>].  
 bravely -and harmless-M-S-ACC against enemy-M-PL-ACC

‘But it is right for a man to live animated by true excellence and [for him] to bravely  
 stand innocent against his enemies.’ (Enn. *Trag.* 308-309)

Note that coordinated subjects are null in embedded clauses of different types. Example (233) has *pro* in either an ECM clause with *volo* or (as shown) in an AcI clause, depending on the clause boundaries that one interprets. In (234) *pro* is in an object-control subjects, in (235) in AcI, and in (236) in an ECM deontic clause with an impersonal verb. Thus, the type of embedded clause does not appear to have any effect on whether coordinated subjects are *pro* or overt.

Even when the embedded coordinated subjects are co-indexed with the main subject, *pro* is common, as shown in examples (237-240).

(237) *Nam* [*me*<sub>i</sub> *perbitere*], [*pro*<sub>i</sub> *illis*<sub>j</sub> *opitularier* {*quovis* *exitio*}]  
 for I-S-ACC perish-INFIN that-M-PL-DAT aid-INFIN-DEPON INDEFIN-N-S-ABL death-N-S-ABL  
*cupio*<sub>i</sub> *dum* *prosim*<sub>i</sub>.  
 desire-1-S while be useful-1-S-SUBJ

‘For I want [lit. ‘me’] to perish, [me] to aid them by any sort of death, so long as I may be of use.’ (Pac. *Trag.* 308-309)

(238) {*Erus* *meus*}<sub>i</sub> *ita* {*magnus* *moechus*}<sub>i</sub> *mulierum* *est*<sub>i</sub> *ut*  
 master-M-S-NOM my-M-S-NOM thus great-M-S-NOM adulterer-M-S-NOM woman-F-PL-GEN be-3-S as

[*neminem*<sub>k</sub>    *fuisse*    *aeque*]    *neque*    [*pro*<sub>k</sub>    *futurum*<sub>k</sub>]    *credo*<sub>j</sub>  
 no one-M-S-ACC    be-*INFIN*-*PERF*    equally    nor    be-PART-FUT-M-S-ACC    believe-I-S

‘My master is as greater an adulterer with women as I believe no one has ever been or [no one] will ever be.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 774-776).

(239) [*Bubus*<sub>j</sub>    *pabulum*<sub>j</sub>    *hoc*    *modo*    *parari*]    [*pro*<sub>i</sub>  
 cattle-M-PL-DAT    fodder-N-S-ACC    this-M-S-ABL    manner-M-S-ABL    prepare-*INFIN*-PASS

*dari-*    *que*]    *oportet*<sub>i</sub>.  
 give-*INFIN*-PASS -and    be fitting-3-S

‘It is fitting for fodder to be prepared in this manner and [for fodder] to be given to the cattle.’ (Cato *Agr.* 54)

(240) *Ecce*,    *Apollo*<sub>i</sub>,    *denuo*    *me*<sub>j</sub>    *iubes*<sub>i</sub>    [*PRO*<sub>j</sub>    *facere*    *impetum*<sub>k</sub>    *in*  
 behold    Apollo-M-S-VOC    anew    I-S-ACC    order-2-S    make-*INFIN*    attack-M-S-ACC    into

*eum*<sub>i</sub>]    *qui*<sub>i</sub>    *stat*<sub>i</sub>    *atque*    [*PRO*<sub>j</sub>    *occidere*    *pro*<sub>i</sub>].  
 ANA-M-S-ACC    REL-M-S-NOM    stand-3-S    and    kill-*INFIN*

‘Behold, Apollo, once again you order me to make an attack against that man who is standing and to kill [him].’ (Pl. *Men.* 868-869)

Again, note the different clause types in which coordinated *pro* subjects occur: ECM with *cupio* in (237), AcI in (238), deontic ECM with an impersonal verb in (239), and object control in (240).

Examples (241-242) have both *pro* and overt coordinated subjects in the embedded clauses.

(241) *Dic*<sub>i</sub>    [*me*<sub>j</sub>    *hic*    *oppido*    *esse*    *invitam*<sub>j</sub>]    *atque*    [*pro*<sub>j</sub>  
 say-2-S-*IMPERAT*    I-S-ACC    here    town-N-S-ABL    be-*INFIN*    unwilling-F-S-ACC    and

*adservari*],    *verum*    [*aliquo*    *pacto*    *verba*<sub>k</sub>    *me*<sub>j</sub>    *his*  
 oppose-*INFIN*-*DEPON*    but    INDEFIN-N-S-ABL    means-N-S-ABL    word-N-PL-ACC    I-S-ACC    this-M-PL-DAT

*daturam*<sub>j</sub>    *esse*]    *et*    [*pro*<sub>j</sub>    *venturam*<sub>j</sub>].  
 give-PART-FUT-F-S-ACC    be-*INFIN*    and    come-PART-FUT-F-S-ACC

‘Say I’m here in town unwillingly and [I] oppose [it], but some way or another I’ll send word to them and [I] will come.’ (Ter. *Heau.* 734-735)

(242) [*Fortunam*<sub>j</sub>    *insanam*<sub>j</sub>    *esse*    *et*    *caecam*<sub>j</sub>    *et*    *brutam*<sub>j</sub>]    *perhibent*<sub>i</sub>  
 fortune-F-S-ACC    insane-F-S-ACC    be-*INFIN*    and    blind-F-S-ACC    and    insensible-F-S-ACC    maintain-3-PL

*philosophi*<sub>i</sub>,    [*saxo*<sub>k</sub>    *-que*    *pro*<sub>j</sub>    *instare*    *in*    *globoso*<sub>k</sub>...]    *praedicant*<sub>i</sub>  
 philosopher-M-PL-NOM    stone-N-S-ABL -and    stand on-*INFIN*    in    round-N-S-ABL    say before-3-PL

[...*volubilei*<sub>k</sub>],    *quia*    *quo*<sub>i</sub>    {*id*    *saxum*}<sub>k</sub>    *inpulerit*<sub>m</sub>    *fors*<sub>m</sub>,  
 rollable-N-S-ABL    because    to where    ANA-N-S-ACC    stone-N-S-ACC    set in motion-3-S-FUTPERF    chance-F-S-NOM

[*eo*<sub>i</sub>      *cadere*    *Fortunam*<sub>j</sub>]    *autumant*<sub>i</sub>.  
 ANA-to there    fall-INFIN    fortunate-F-S-ACC    say-3-PL

‘The philosophers maintain that Fortune is insane and blind and insensible and they claim that [it] stands on a round rolling stone, because wherever chance has pushed that stone they say Fortune falls there.’ (Pac. *Frag.* 37-39)

For comparison, some of the rare overt coordinated embedded subjects are in shown in (243-244). In (243) the embedded subjects are *med* and *me*, which are co-indexed with the matrix subject as well.

(243) *Per*    *Iovem*    *iuro*<sub>i</sub>    [*med*<sub>i</sub>    *esse*]    *neque*    [*me*<sub>i</sub>    *falsum*    *dicere*].  
 through    Jupiter-M-S-ACC    swear-1-S    I-S-ACC    be-INFIN    nor    I-S-ACC    deceive-PPP-N-S-ACC    say-INFIN

‘I swear by Jupiter that I’m [Sosia] and that I’m not lying.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 435)

In (244) the coordinated embedded subjects, two overt examples of *me*, are disjoint from the main subject.

(244) *Et*    *quom*    [*te*<sub>j</sub>    *gravidam*<sub>j</sub>]    *et*    *quom*    [*te*<sub>j</sub>    *pulchre*    *plenam*<sub>j</sub>]  
 and    since    you-S-ACC    heavy-F-S-ACC    and    since    you-S-ACC    beautifully    full-F-S-ACC  
*aspicio*<sub>i</sub>,    *gaudeo*<sub>i</sub>.  
 perceive-1-S    rejoice-1-S

‘And I rejoice since I see you [are] pregnant and you [are] beautifully swollen.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 681)

A summary of overt and null subjects by clause type (discussed in chapter 6) is in Table 25. These data show that the overall rate for subject *pro* is 33%, or a null subject in one third of all infinitival contexts. The rate is much higher in impersonal control (63%) and sentential control (91%) complements, and much lower in subject control ~ ECM clauses (15%).

Coordinated subjects in embedded clauses are summarized in Table 26. Subject-control complements are zero since the *PRO* infinitival subject is, by definition, null and coordinated in all instances. There is a small difference in overtness of coordinated subjects between control and ECM clauses. Control complements with a coordinate subject are null in 41 (98%) of 42 instances, while 177 (95%) of the 187 ECM coordinated subjects are null. Overall, 95% of

coordinated subjects occur as null rather than overt. While there is a strong tendency for a coordinated subject to be null, that tendency is not an absolute rule.

Table 25: Subjects by Clause Type.

Type of Clause	Overt		Null		Total
Indeterminate	5	83%	1	17%	6
Nominal	0	0%	0	0%	0
Historical	0	0%	0	0%	0
Interjection	28	85%	5	15%	33
Subject Control	0	0%	0	0%	0
Object Control	215	70%	92	30%	307
Impersonal Control	35	37%	60	63%	95
Deontic Control	19	73%	7	27%	26
Sentential Control	4	9%	43	91%	47
	273	57%	202	43%	475
Subject Control ~ ECM	226	85%	40	15%	266
Impersonal ECM	0	0%	0	0%	0
Deontic ECM	286	58%	204	42%	490
AcI	812	70%	354	30%	1,166
	1,324	69%	598	31%	1,922
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,630</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>806</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>2,436</b>

Out of 2,436 expected subjects in infinitival clauses excluding subject control, 806 are null. Of these, 229 (28%) are null through coordination, and another 16 (2%) are null with a relative clause.

One possible effect of pro subjects is garden-path sentences. In (245) the reader construes one meaning for the sentence up through the word *dicas*, but the addition of *dicere* in (246) requires a new reading. Without *dicere*, the sentence's meaning is different.

(245) *At iam pro faciam ut [pro verum...] dicas...*  
but now make-1-S-FUT COMP true-N-S-ACC say-2-S-SUBJ

‘But now I’ll make it so you’ll say [something is] true.’

Table 26: Coordinated Subjects by Clause Type.

Type of Clause	Coordinated Subject				Total
	Overt		Null		
Indeterminate	0	0%	0	0%	0
Nominal	0	0%	0	0%	0
Historical	0	50%	0	50%	0
Interjection	0	0%	1	100%	1
Subject Control	0	0%	0	0%	0
Object Control	0	0%	29	100%	29
Impersonal Control	0	0%	9	100%	9
Deontic Control	1	50%	1	50%	2
Sentential Control	<u>0</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>2</u>
	1	2%	41	98%	42
Subject Control ~ ECM	0	0%	27	100%	27
Impersonal ECM	0	0%	1	100%	1
Deontic ECM	2	3%	62	97%	64
AcI	<u>8</u>	<u>8%</u>	<u>87</u>	<u>92%</u>	<u>95</u>
	10	5%	177	95%	187
TOTAL	11	5%	229	95%	240

(246) *At iam pro faciam ut [pro verum...] dicas [...dicere].*  
 but now make-1-S-FUT COMP true-N-S-ACC say-2-S-SUBJ say-INFIN

‘But now I’ll make it so you’ll say [I] speak the truth.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 345)

One implication of pro-drop is that there is no expletive subject requirement. In fact, there are no Latin equivalents to expletive *it* and *there*.<sup>42</sup> Consequently, early Latin also has no motivation for raising except under passivization. The few possible instances of raising found in the corpus are discussed in section 7.1.

<sup>42</sup> Within the corpus, the closest to an expletive is a demonstrative subject with an impersonal verb, e.g. *Hoc dolet* ‘This [situation] hurts.’ (Enn. *Trag.* 64).

### 5.4.2 Null Object (pro)

When the referent is highly salient such as when referring to a participant in a conversation, even the oblique case forms of an NP may be omitted. That is, object *pro* is also common. One frequent example of such ellipsis is the VP, *pro*<sub>obj</sub> *amabo* lit. ‘I will love’, for ‘please’, where an understood ‘you’ is the direct object; the pronoun does not need to be specified because it is highly predictable to the addressee. Examples are in (247-249).

- (247) *Iam*, *pro*<sub>i-obj</sub> *amabo*, *desiste*<sub>i</sub>, [*ludos* *facere*] *atque* *i*<sub>i</sub>  
 now love-1-S-FUT stop-2-S-IMPERAT game-M-PL-ACC do-INFIN and go-2-S-IMPERAT  
*hac* *me* *-cum* *semul*.  
 this-F-S-ABL I-S-ABL -with right away

‘Now please stop playing games and come this way with me right away.’ (Pl. *Men.* 405)

- (248) *An*, *pro*<sub>obj</sub> *amabo*, *meretrix* *illa* *est* *quae* *illam*  
 but love-1-S-FUT prostitute-F-S-NOM that-F-S-NOM be-3-S REL-F-S-NOM that-F-S-ACC  
*sustulit?*  
 carry away-3-S-PERF

‘But please, is that the prostitute who kidnapped her?’ (Pl. *Cis.* 564)

- (249) {*Phaedrome* *mi*}<sub>i</sub>, *ne* *plora*<sub>i</sub> *pro*<sub>i-obj</sub> *amabo*. *Tu*<sub>i</sub> *me*  
 Phaedromus-M-S-VOC my-M-S-VOC not cry-2-S-IMPERAT love-1-S-FUT you-S-NOM I-S-ACC  
*curato*<sub>i</sub> *ne* *sitiam*, *ego* *tibi*<sub>i</sub> *quod* *amas*<sub>i</sub> *iam* *huc*  
 care-2-S-FUT-IMPERAT lest thirst-1-S-SUBJ I-S-NOM you-S-DAT REL-N-S-ACC love-2-S now to here  
*adducam*.  
 carry to-1-S-FUT

‘My Phaedromus, please don’t cry. You take care of me so I’m not thirsty, now I’ll bring here for you what you like.’ (Pl. *Cur.* 138-139)

These examples rely on the deictic availability of the addressee for the referent of object *pro* to be recovered. In other instances the referent of object *pro* must be found within the text itself, as in examples (250-251), repeated here from (136-137).

- (250) *Meruimus* *et* *ego* *et* *pater* *pro*<sub>obj</sub> *de* *vobis* *et* *re*  
 earn-1-PL-PERF and I-S-NOM and father-M-S-NOM from you-PL-ABL and affair-F-S-ABL  
*publica*.  
 public-F-S-ABL



‘We – my father and I – have earned [something] from you and from the republic.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 39-40)

- (251) {*Ea* ANA-N-PL-ACC    *signa*<sub>i</sub> sign-N-PL-ACC    *nemo* no one-M-S-NOM    *horum* this-M-PL-GEN    *familiarium* household member-M-PL-GEN    *videre* see-INFIN  
*poterit*: be able-3-S-FUT    *verum* but    *vos* you-PL-NOM    *pro*<sub>i-obj</sub>    *videbitis*. see-2-PL-FUT

‘Those marks no one in the household will be able to see, but you will see [them].’ (Pl. *Amph.* 146-167)

In (250) the referent of *pro* is an indefinite that can be inferred from the fact that *meruimus* ‘we have deserved’ subcategorizes for a direct object. *Pro* in (251) is linked to the overt NP *ea signa*.

A summary of object *pro* by complement type is in Table 27. As the table shows, the rate for null objects in control clauses (24%) is comparable to that in ECM complements (22%), with the overall rate at 23% for object *pro*. This rate is lower than the overall rate of 33% for subject *pro*, shown in Table 25.

Direct objects obey constraints similar to those of subjects. According to Lurgahi (1997, p. 242), a direct object shared in a coordinated sentence is obligatorily omitted, as with *me* in example (252).

- (252) *Alii*<sub>i</sub> other-M-PL-NOM    [*me*<sub>j</sub>...] I-S-ACC    *negant*<sub>i</sub> deny-3-PL    [...*eum*<sub>j</sub> ANA-M-S-ACC    *esse*] be-INFIN    *qui*<sub>j</sub> REL-M-S-NOM    *sum*<sub>j</sub> be-1-S    *atque* and  
*excludunt*<sub>i</sub> close out-3-PL    *pro*<sub>j</sub>    *foras*. outdoors

‘Some deny I’m the man who I am and they force [me] outdoors.’ (Pl. *Men.* 1040-1041).

Other examples of a *pro* object in coordinated clauses are in (253-258).

- (253) *ne* lest    *quom* when    *hic* here    *non* not    *videant*<sub>i</sub> see-3-PL-SUBJ    *me*<sub>j</sub> I-S-ACC    [*pro*<sub>j</sub> *conficere*...] finish-INFIN    *credant*<sub>i</sub> believe-3-S-PL-SUBJ  
[...{*argentum* silver-N-S-ACC    *suom*}<sub>k</sub>] own-N-S-ACC

‘lest, when they don’t see me here, they believe [I] am using up their money’ (Ter. *Phor.* 839)

Table 27: Objects by Clause Type.

Type of Clause	Overt		Null		Total
Subject Control	542	76%	167	24%	709
Object Control	107	80%	26	20%	133
Impersonal Control	1	50%	1	50%	2
Deontic Control	0	0%	2	100%	2
Sentential Control	16	64%	9	36%	25
	666	76%	205	24%	871
Subject Control ~ ECM	63	78%	18	22%	81
Impersonal ECM	0	0%	0	0%	0
Deontic ECM	157	81%	37	19%	194
AcI	334	77%	97	23%	438
	554	78%	156	22%	710
Historical	13	68%	6	32%	19
Interjection	0	0%	0	0%	0
Partial	0	0%	0	0%	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,233</b>	<b>77%</b>	<b>367</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>1,600</b>

- (254) *Quem<sub>j</sub>* *metuunt<sub>i</sub>* *pro<sub>j</sub>* *oderunt<sub>i</sub>*, *quem<sub>l</sub>* *quisque<sub>k</sub>* *odit<sub>k</sub>* [pro<sub>l</sub>  
REL-M-S-ACC fear-3-PL hate-3-PL-PERF REL-M-S-ACC each-M-S-NOM hate-3-S-PERF  
*periisse*] *expetit<sub>k</sub>*.  
perish-3-PL-IMP-ACC seek-3-S

‘They hate [the one] whom they fear they hate, whom each person hates he seeks [him] to perish [lit. ‘to have perished’]’. (Enn. *Frag.* 410)

- (255) *In* *adulterio* {*uxorem tuam*}<sub>j</sub> *si* *prehendisses<sub>i</sub>*, *sine* *iudicio*  
in adultery-N-S-ABL wife-F-S-ACC your-F-S-ACC if catch-2-S-PLUPERF-SUBJ without trial-N-S-ABL  
*inpoene* *pro<sub>j</sub>* *necares<sub>i</sub>*, *illa<sub>j</sub>* *te<sub>i</sub>*, *si* *adulterares<sub>i</sub>*  
not punished kill-2-S-IMPERF-SUBJ that-F-S-NOM you-S-ACC if commit adultery-2-S-IMPERF-SUBJ  
*si-ve* *tu<sub>i</sub>* *adulterarerere<sub>i</sub>*, [digito...] *non* *auderet<sub>j</sub>*  
if -or you-S-NOM commit adultery-2-S-IMPERF-SUBJ-PASS finger-M-S-ABL NOT dare-3-S-IMPERF-SUBJ  
[...contingere], *neque* *ius* *est*.  
touch-3-PL-IMP-ACC nor law-N-S-NOM be-3-S

‘If you caught your wife in adultery you would kill [her] without a trial with impunity, [but] if she, if you committed adultery or were committed adultery against, would not dare to lay a finger on you, nor is that the law. (Cato *Or.* 222)

- (256) *Edepol* *te<sub>j</sub>*, {*mea Antiphila*}<sub>j</sub>, *laudo<sub>i</sub>* *et* [pro<sub>j</sub> *fortunatam<sub>j</sub>*]  
indeed you-S-ACC my-F-S-VOC Antiphila-F-S-VOC praise-1-S and make fortunate-PPP-F-S-ACC

*iudico*<sub>i</sub>.  
judge-1-S

‘I praise you indeed, my Antiphila, and I deem [you] fortunate.’ (Ter. *Heau.* 381)

- (257) *In* *Amphitruonis*<sub>j</sub> *vortit*<sub>i</sub> *sese*<sub>i</sub> *imaginem* *omnes*<sub>k</sub> *-que* [*eum*<sub>i</sub>  
into Amphitryon-M-S-GEN turn-3-S ANA-ACC likeness-F-S-ACC all-M-PL-NOM -and ANA-M-S-ACC  
*esse* *pro*<sub>j</sub> *censent*<sub>k</sub>] *servi*<sub>k</sub> *qui*<sub>k</sub> *pro*<sub>i</sub> *vident*<sub>k</sub>.  
be-1-PL believe-3-PL servant-M-PL-NOM REL-M-PL-NOM see-3-PL

‘He turns himself into Amphitryon’s shape, and all the servants who see [him] believe him to be [Amphitryon].’ (Pl. *Amph.* 121-122)

- (258) *Respondent*<sub>i</sub> [*bello* *se*<sub>i</sub> [*pro*<sub>i</sub> *et* *suos* *tutari*] *posse*].  
respond-3-PL war-N-S-ABL ANA-ACC and own-M-PL-ACC look after-1-PL-DEPON able-1-PL

‘They respond that in war, they can look after [themselves] and their own people.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 214)

Sentence (259) provides a rare example of overt coordinated objects, *mustum*. Note that the *pro* NP in the last clause possibly also refers to that same entity, although more logically it is co-indexed with the *amphoram* that holds the *mustum*.

- (259) [*Mustum*<sub>j</sub>...] *si* *voles*<sub>i</sub> [...*totum* *annum* *habere*], *in*  
new wine-N-S-ACC if wish-2-S-IMPERF-SUBJ entire-M-S-ACC year-M-S-ACC have-1-PL into  
*amphoram*<sub>k</sub> *mustum*<sub>j</sub> *indito*<sub>i</sub> *et* *corticem*<sub>i</sub> *oppicatio*<sub>i</sub>,  
jar-F-S-ACC new wine-N-S-ACC put IN-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT and cork-F-S-ACC pitch over-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT  
*demittito*<sub>i</sub> *pro*<sub>j/k</sub> *in* *piscinam*.  
let down-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT into fishpond-F-S-ACC

‘If you should want to keep new wine for the whole year, put the new wine into a jar and cover the cork with pitch, let [it] down into the pond.’ (Cato *Agr.* 120)

Examples like (259) provide counter-evidence to Luraghi’s claim that a coordinated shared object is obligatorily null. The early-Latin data show that the claim must be weakened somewhat: overt coordinated objects are rare but not outright obligatory.

When a direct object represents a continuous topic but is not in a coordinated clause, object *pro* is typical. Still, as with subjects, it is not required (Mulder, 1991, p. 18). An example of such a continuous object is in (260).

- (260) [*Sed* *mi*<sup>43</sup> *avos* *huius* *obsecrans* *concredidit* *thensaurum*<sub>i</sub>  
 but I-S-DAT grandfather-M-S-NOM this-M-S-NOM plead-PART-M-S-NOM entrust-3-S-PERF treasure-M-S-ACC  
*auri*<sub>j</sub> *clam* *omnis*]<sub>k</sub>: *in* *medio* *foco* *pro*<sub>i</sub> *defodit*,  
 gold-N-S-GEN secretly all-M-PL-ACC in middle of-M-S-ABL hearth-M-S-ABL dig out-3-S-PERF  
*verans* *me* *ut* *id*<sub>j/k</sub> *servarem* *sibi*.  
 beg-PART-M-S-NOM I-S-ACC COMP ANA-N-S-ACC guard-1-S-IMPERF-SUBJ ANA-S-DAT

‘But this man’s grandfather, pleading, entrusted a treasure trove of gold to me, unbeknownst to everyone: he buried it in the middle of the hearth, begging me to guard [it] for him.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 6-8)

The NP *thensaurum* ‘treasure’, in the accusative case, is the grammatical direct object of both *concredidit* ‘he entrusted’ and *defodit* ‘he buried’. As the topic continues in the clause with *defodit*, it is omitted as *pro*<sub>obj</sub>. The anaphor *id* in the third clause is also a direct object of *servarem* ‘I should guard’. However, with the agreement feature [+ neuter] *id* cannot co-index with [+ masculine] *thensaurum*. Instead, *id* must refer back either to [+ neuter] *aurum* ‘the gold’ or to the proposition of the secret disclosed by the speaker. Clauses are assigned [+ neuter] gender, a feature that is discussed below in section 7.2.2 along with its implications for infinitival complements.

Example (261) also illustrates the omission of a second direct object encoding a continuous topic.

- (261) *Salictum*<sub>i</sub> *suo* *tempore* *caedito*, *pro*<sub>i</sub> *glubito* *arte -que*  
 willow-F-S-ACC own-N-S-ABL time-N-S-ABL cut-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT peel-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT tightly -and  
*pro*<sub>i</sub> *alligato*.  
 bind-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT

‘Cut the willow at its proper time, peel [it] and tightly bind [it] together.’ (Cato *Agr.* 33)

Here, *salictum* represents an indefinite or generic entity rather than a specific referent.

Omission of indefinite direct objects is typical, while definite objects tend to take overt anaphors (Luraghi, p. 255). However, the opposite is also claimed: [+ definite] shared direct

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<sup>43</sup> *Mī* is a syncopated form of the more usual dative *mihī*; the vowel is compensatorily long, making the form a useful variant for metrical purposes.

objects are frequently omitted (Mulder, p. 19). Further, Schøsler (2001, p. 288) claims that ellipsis of the direct object – whether or not coordinated – is lexically determined by the verb. Two examples cited by Mulder are from Plautus and therefore directly relevant to the issue of ellipsis in early Latin. Since Luraghi and Mulder make different claims, it is important to attempt to identify what kinds of shared direct objects are more typically omitted. Wherever possible, direct objects in the corpus were coded for [definiteness]. When not possible to distinguish, such direct objects were marked as [+ definite], so that the results conservatively err in assuming specific entities are intended unless overt markers of [- definite] status or other contextual clues indicate otherwise. No overt continuous objects representing continuous objects were found in the corpus.

A summary of null continuous-topic objects in embedded clauses is in Table 28. For counting purposes, a direct object was assumed to exist for all transitive verbs, including those like *bibere* ‘to drink’ that may omit the direct object when used generically. Since the only native speakers we have access to are the very authors contained in the present corpus, their use of an overt direct object with a particular verb was considered as evidence of that verb’s underlying subcategorization for a NP argument, even if only one such overt NP occurs in the corpus. Thus, the counts of null objects may be somewhat higher than a native speaker would consider pragmatically necessary, but nonetheless the counts do reflect native-speaker evidence.

These data show that the claims of both Luraghi and Mulder are correct: Both [+ definite] and [- definite] continuous objects are null. In fact, it is not the case that these claims are mutually exclusive. Rather, they both contain a partial truth. The majority of such objects appear to be [+ definite] entities, with only four cases from subject-control and AcI complement

clauses having a [- definite] continuous topic. In (262), the indefinite *quicquam* ‘anything’ is continued as a topic in the *vellem* clause, where it is null.

Table 28: Null Continuous-Topic Objects by Clause Type.

Type of Clause	Continuous Object				Total
	Definite		Indefinite		
Indeterminate	0	0%	0	0%	0
Historical	1	100%	0	0%	1
Interjection	0	0%	0	0%	0
Partial	3	100%	0	0%	3
Subject Control	43	98%	1	2%	44
Object Control	8	100%	0	0%	8
Impersonal Control	4	80%	1	20%	5
Deontic Control	0	0%	0	0%	0
Sentential Control	<u>4</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>4</u>
	59	97%	2	3%	61
Subject Control ~ ECM	10	100%	0	0%	10
Impersonal ECM	0	0%	0	0%	0
Deontic ECM	14	100%	0	0%	13
AcI	<u>24</u>	<u>92%</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>8%</u>	<u>24</u>
	48	96%	2	4%	50
TOTAL	111	97%	4	3%	115

(262) *Di<sub>i</sub>*      *me<sub>j</sub>*      *perdant<sub>b</sub>*      *si*      *ego<sub>j</sub>*      *tui<sub>i</sub>*      *quicquam<sub>k</sub>*      *abstuli<sub>j</sub>*,  
god-M-PL-NOM    I-S-ACC    ruin-3-PL-SUBJ    if    I-S-NOM    you-S-GEN    INDEFIN-N-S-ACC    steal-1-S-PERF  
*ni -ve*      [*adeo<sub>i</sub>*      *abstulisse*      *pro<sub>k</sub>*]      *vellem<sub>j</sub>*.  
not -or      to ANA-M-S-LOC    steal-1-PL-PERF       wish-1-S-IMPERF-SUBJ

‘May the gods destroy me if I have stolen anything from you or even if I should want to have stolen [anything].’ (Pl. *Aul.* 645-646)

In (263) the [- definite] entity identified as *aliquid* is the object of all three infinitives. The speaker is curious about why Menedemus is always busy doing ‘something’.

(263) *Numquam*      *tam*      *mane*      *egredior<sub>i</sub>*      *neque*      *tam*      *vesperi*      *domum*  
never      such      morning      walk out-1-S-DEPON      nor      such      evening      home-F-S-ACC  
*revortor<sub>i</sub>*      *quin*      [*te<sub>j</sub>*      *in*      *fundo...*]      *conspicer<sub>i</sub>*      [*fodere*      *pro<sub>k</sub>*      *aut*  
return-1-S-DEPON    but that    you-S-ACC    in    farm-N-S-ABL    notice-1-S-DEPON    dig-1-PL-DEPON    or

*arare* *pro*<sub>k</sub> *aut* *aliquid*<sub>k</sub> *ferre*].  
 plow-INFIN or INDEFIN-N-S-ACC carry-INFIN

‘Never do I walk outside in the morning or return home in the evening without noticing that on the farm you dig something or plow [it] or carry [it].’ (Ter. *Heau.* 67-69)

Not only do coordinated and continuous-topic objects tend to be null, but standalone objects are also frequently null when co-indexed with a relative pronoun. An example is in sentence (264), where the neuter relative pronoun *quod* eliminates the need for an overt object of *efficere*, similar to *what* in English (see translation). Earlier we saw that a common overt NP in such a situation is the unbound anaphor *is*.

(264) *Utinam* [*efficere* *pro*<sub>j</sub>] *quod*<sub>j</sub> *pollicitus*<sub>i</sub> *possies*<sub>i</sub>.  
 would that do-INFIN REL-N-S-ACC promise-PPP-DEPON-M-S-NOM be able-2-S-IMPERF-SUBJ

‘Would that you were able to carry out what you promised.’ (Pl. *Men.* 1103).

In (265-266) the relative clause has the verb *velle* ‘to wish’. Note that the coordinated infinitives are also null.

(265) [*Illum*<sub>j</sub> *mi*<sub>k</sub>...] *aequius*<sub>i</sub> *'st*<sub>i</sub> [...*quam* *me*<sub>k</sub> *illi*<sub>j</sub> *pro*<sub>i</sub>...]  
 that-M-S-ACC I-S-DAT fair-COMPAR-N-S-NOM be-3-S than I-S-ACC that-M-S-DAT  
*quae*<sub>i</sub> *volo*<sub>k</sub> [...*concedere*].  
 REL-N-PL-ACC wish-1-S yield-INFIN

‘It’s more fair for him to yield to me than for me to [yield] to him what I want.’ (Pl. *Cas.* 265)

(266) *Si* [*mihi*<sub>j</sub>...] *perget*<sub>i</sub> [...*pro*<sub>k</sub>...] *quae*<sub>k</sub> *volt*<sub>i</sub> [...*dicere*], *ea*<sub>i</sub>  
 if I-S-DAT continue-3-S-FUT REL-N-PL-ACC wish-3-S say-INFIN ANA-N-PL-ACC  
*quae*<sub>i</sub> *non* *volt*<sub>j</sub> *audiet*<sub>j</sub>.  
 REL-N-PL-ACC not wish-3-S hear-3-S-FUT

‘If he continues to say to me what he likes, he’ll hear those things that he doesn’t like.’ (Ter. *And.* 920)

Note that the unbound anaphor *ea* is overt in the clause with *audiet* in (266). In (267) the *pro* object occurs with the verb *expedire*.

(267) *Nam* [*quod*<sub>j</sub>...] *conabar*<sub>i</sub> *cum* *interventum* *est*, [...*dicere*]  
 for REL-N-S-ACC try-1-S-IMPERF-DEPON when come between-PPP-N-S-NOM be-3-S say-INFIN  
*nunc* *pro*<sub>j</sub> *expedibo*<sub>i</sub>.  
 now disentangle-1-S-FUT

‘For now I’ll reveal what I was trying to say when I was interrupted.’ (Pac. *Trag.* 62-63)

Example (268) has a null object with *conficere*.

(268)	<i>Roget</i> <sub>i</sub> , ask-3-S-SUBJ	{ <i>quid</i> INTERROG-N-S-NOM	<i>operis</i> } <sub>j</sub> work-N-S-GEN	<i>siet</i> <sub>j</sub> be-3-S-SUBJ	<i>factum</i> <sub>j</sub> , do-PPP-N-S-NOM	<i>quid</i> <sub>k</sub> INTERROG-N-S-NOM
	<i>restet</i> <sub>k</sub> , remain-3-S-SUBJ	<i>satis</i> <sub>l</sub> - <i>ne</i> enough -Y/N	<i>temperi</i> time-N-S-LOC	<i>opera</i> <sub>l</sub> work-N-PL-NOM	<i>sient</i> <sub>l</sub> be-3-PL-SUBJ	<i>confecta</i> <sub>l</sub> , complete-PPP-N-PL-NOM
	<i>possit</i> <sub>m</sub> be able-3-S-SUBJ	- <i>ne</i> -Y/N	<i>quae</i> <sub>n</sub> REL-N-PL-NOM	<i>reliqua</i> <sub>n</sub> remaining-N-PL-NOM	<i>sient</i> <sub>n</sub> be-3-PL-SUBJ	[ <i>pro</i> <sub>n</sub> <i>conficere</i> ]. complete-INFIN

‘He should ask what work has been done, what remains, whether enough of the projects have been completed on time, whether he could be able to complete what is remaining.’ (Cato *Agr.* 2)

Out of 1,750 expected direct objects in infinitival clauses, 399 (23%) are null (see Table 27). Of these, 109 (27%) are null through coordination (Table 28), and an additional 29 (7%) are null with a relative clause. The overall rate of object *pro* is comparable to the 25% occurrence of subject *pro*. Similarly, compared with null subjects through coordination (30%), the rate for null objects through coordination is comparable at 27%.

Finally, one notable use of object *pro* is when the same morphological case is assigned to antecedent and anaphor, but their syntactic functions differ. For instance, in (269-270) the co-indexed entities are both in the accusative case but for different structural reasons.

(269)	<i>Contraxistis</i> <sup>44</sup> draw together-2-S-PERF	<i>frontem</i> , front-M-S-ACC	<i>quia</i> because	[ <i>tragoediam</i> <sub>i</sub> ...] tragedy-F-S-ACC	<i>dixit</i> say-3-S-PERF	[... <i>futuram</i> <sub>i</sub> be-INFIN-FUT	<i>hanc</i> <sub>i</sub> ]? this-F-S-ACC
	<i>Deus</i> god-M-S-NOM	<i>sum</i> , be-1-S	<i>pro</i> <sub>i</sub>	<i>commutavero</i> . change-1-S-FUT-PERF			

‘Are you frowning because he said this would be a tragedy? I’m a god; I’ll change [it].’ (Pl. *Amph.* 52-53)

(270)	[ <i>Trapetos</i> oil press-M-PL-ACC	<i>bonos</i> good-M-PL-ACC	<i>privos</i> } <sub>i</sub> all-M-PL-ACC	<i>inpaes</i> <sub>i</sub> unequal-M-PL-ACC	<i>esse</i> ] be-INFIN	<i>oportet</i> , behoove-3-S	<i>si</i> if
	<i>orbes</i> <sub>j</sub> wheel-M-PL-NOM	<i>contriti</i> <sub>j</sub> wear out-PPP-M-PL-NOM	<i>sient</i> <sub>j</sub> , be-3-PL-SUBJ	<i>ut</i> COMP	[ <i>pro</i> <sub>j</sub> <i>commutare</i> ] exchange-INFIN	<i>possis</i> <sub>k</sub> . be able-2-S-SUBJ	

<sup>44</sup> *Contrahere frontem* ‘to draw the brow together’ is ‘to frown’. The verb is marked for [+ perfect] tense here because the action occurred before this sentence, although its effect still remains: the audience is frowning.



‘The oil presses should all be good and of unequal sizes, so that you can exchange [them] if the wheels are worn out.’ (Cato *Agr.* III)

In (269) the NP *tragoediam* ‘tragedy’ is an AcI subject of the complement governed by *dixi* ‘I said’. Thus, it is assigned accusative case structurally through ECM. In the final clause *pro* is co-indexed with that same NP, but this time as the direct object of its verb. Similarly, in (270) *trapetos bonos privos* ‘all good oil-presses’ is in the accusative as the ECM subject of the impersonal verb *oportet* ‘it is fitting’. The same NP recurs as *pro* for the accusative direct object of *commutare* ‘to exchange’. The *pro* objects in both these sentences reveal that once a case assignment is made to an NP, that NP obeys the duplication restraints regardless of how it got its case assignment.

### 5.4.3 PRO

Within a GB framework, the empty category PRO must occur in control structures. PRO with control is discussed in chapter 6, including the case assignment it receives and the infinitival tenses it licenses.

## 5.5 SUMMARY

Early Latin overtly marks case assignment through inflectional endings that distinguish between [gender], [number], and [case]. Overt NPs include nouns, demonstratives, and pronouns. The demonstrative system is three-way, with an intermediate space marked between ‘near’ and ‘far’ from the speaker’s viewpoint. The proximal and distal demonstratives can function not only as markers of deixis, but also as unbound anaphors; the medio-distal demonstratives serve only for deixis. The pronoun system includes first- and second-person forms that can be either deictic or anaphoric. For third-person forms, however, there is no true pronominal form. Instead, anaphors are used. The third-person anaphors occur as either unbound or bound. The formal distinction between the two anaphor types has to do with overt

feature marking for [case], [number], and [gender]. The unbound anaphor overtly marks all three features, while the bound anaphor marks only [case] and it crosses the clausal boundary in nearly one third of instances. As a result, in infinitival complements the bound anaphor may cause syntactic ambiguity because its antecedent cannot be resolved through matching any overt features of [number] or [gender].

In addition to the forms of overt NPs available, early Latin also has pro-drop for both subjects and objects. Subject pro occurs in one third of infinitival complements overall, and in 95% of coordinated contexts within infinitive clauses. Object pro is found in about one fourth of infinitival complements with transitive verbs. Thus, there are four possibilities for expressing subject and object in transitive infinitival clauses: overt subject + overt object, overt subject + pro object, pro subject + overt object, and pro subject + pro object. Given these possibilities, syntactic ambiguity is frequent because in three out of four types one or more entities is not overtly marked.

## CHAPTER 6. INFINITIVAL COMPLEMENTS IN EARLY LATIN, PART 1

A summary of how the corpus infinitives are classified is in Table 29. These basic categories are discussed in chapters 6 and 7.

Table 29: Infinitives by Category.

Type	Frequency	%
Indeterminate	52	1%
Nominal	3	<1%
Historical	47	1%
Interjection	34	1%
Control	1,482	39%
ECM	2,210	58%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3,828</b>	

As the table shows, 52 (1%) of the infinitives could not be classified because of insufficient context. The classifications of the remaining 3,776 infinitives that could be determined are discussed below.

### 6.1 NOMINAL INFINITIVE

In three instances the infinitive is used a noun in a metalinguistic explanation. These examples are in (271-273).

- (271) *Subplantare*      *aiunt*      *Graeci*.  
trip the heels-INFIN      say-3-PL      Greek-M-PL-NOM

‘The Greeks say “trip the heels.”’ (Luc. *Sat.* 859)

- (272) *Abbibere*,      *hic*      *non*      *multum*      *est*      *d*      *siet*      *an*      *b*.  
drink-FROM-INFIN      here      non      much-N-S-NOM      be-3-S      d      be-3-S-SUBJ      or      b

‘It doesn’t much matter whether there’s a <d> or <b> in *abbibere* [‘to drink from’ vs. *adbibere* ‘to drink to’; i.e. either way there is a lot of drinking involved].’ (Luc. *Sat.* 393)

- (273) *Atque*      *adcurrere*      *scribas*      *d*      *ne*      *an*      *c*      *non*      *est*      *quod*      *quaeras*  
and      run to-INFIN      write-2-S-SUBJ      d      Y/N      or      c      not      be-3-S      REL-N-S-ACC      ask-2-S-SUBJ

*atque labores.*<sup>45</sup>  
and work-2-S-SUBJ

‘And whether you should write “run to” with a <d> or <c> is not what you should ask about or get [yourself] worked up about.’ (Luc. Sat. 394-395)

That all three examples come from Lucilius is not surprising since *Saturae* ‘Satires’ are a Roman invention combining piercing observation of society with witty verse, often mocking people’s affections, including how they speak.

## 6.2 HISTORICAL INFINITIVE

Historical infinitives account for 47 (1%) of the total found in the corpus. The historical infinitive occurs with a nominative (not accusative) subject, and its tense is always [+ present]. A finite verb with [+ present] tense is also common to represent past events in a more vivid way (Draeger, 1878, p. 1:230). The historical infinitive is apparently an extension of that same structure (Leumann & Hofmann, 1928, p. 591).

Example (274) is particularly revealing because it combines three finite verbs overtly marked for [+ perfect] tense, followed by finite *conlocat* with [+ present] tense and then the [+ present] infinitive *rapere*. As the action proceeds in the narrative, the tense switches from true past to historical present, and then at the critical moment the historical infinitive represents the most exciting details of the action.

(274) *pro*<sub>i</sub>    *constitit*<sub>i</sub>    *cognovit*<sub>i</sub>    *sensit*<sub>i</sub>    *conlocat*<sub>i</sub>    *sese*<sub>i</sub>    *in*  
stand still-3-S-PERF    get to know-3-S-PERF    sense-3-S-PERF    place-3-S    ANA-ACC    into  
  
*locum*    *celsum*,    *hinc*    *manibus*    *rapere*    *raudus*    *saxeum*  
place-M-S-ACC    lofty-M-S-ACC    from here    hand-F-PL-ABL    seize-INFIN    mass-N-S-ACC    rocky-N-S-ACC  
  
*grande*    *et*    *grave*.  
large-N-S-ACC    and    heavy-N-S-ACC

‘He stood still, looked around, sensed, he sets himself onto a lofty place, from here he seizes with his hands a huge and heavy rocky heap.’ (Acc. *Trag.* 424-425)

<sup>45</sup> This verse provides an insight into the probable pronunciation of *adcurrere* in Lucilius’ time. The fact that someone would question whether to write <d> or <c> (i.e. /k/) suggests that prefix assimilation has taken place in the pronunciation, even if not always conventionally in the spelling.

Example (275) also provides an explicit past-tense context along with the use of the historical [+ present] indicative *venit*. The historical infinitive *negare* marks the speaker's strong indignation at the very idea of what had been alleged – an emotional stance made more vivid by the infinitive.

- (275) *Venit*<sub>i</sub><sup>46</sup> *Chremes*<sub>i</sub> *postridie* *ad* *me*<sub>j</sub> *clamitans*, [*indignum*  
come-3-S Chremes-M-S-NOM next day to I-S-ACC shout-PART-M-S-NOM unworthy-N-S-ACC  
*facinus*]<sub>k</sub>, [*comperisse* *Pamphilum* *pro* *uxore* *habere* *hanc*  
deed-N-S-ACC discover-INFIN-PERF Pamphilus-M-S-ACC on behalf of wife-F-S-ABL have-INFIN this-F-S-ACC  
*peregrinam*]<sub>k</sub>. *Ego*<sub>j</sub> [*illud*<sub>k</sub>...] *sedulo* *negare* [...*factum*]<sub>k</sub>.  
foreigner-F-S-ACC I-S-NOM that-N-S-ACC strongly deny-INFIN do-PPP-N-S-ACC

‘Chremes comes to me the next day, shouting, a terrible thing, [he] has discovered Pamphilus has this foreign woman as his wife.’ (Ter. *And.* 146-147)

From the larger context around (276), it is clear that the slave Sosia is recounting to Mercury the war in which the real Amphitryon distinguished himself – a series of past events made more dramatic by the historical infinitives.

- (276) *Imperator* *utrimque*, *hinc* *et* *illinc*, *Iovi* *vota*  
commander-M-S-NOM fromboth sides from here and from there Jupiter-M-S-DAT vow-N-PL-ACC  
*suscipere*, *utrimque* *hortari* *exercitum*.  
lift up-INFIN from both sides urge-INFIN-DEPON army-M-S-ACC

‘The commander on each side, from this side and that side, offers up vows to Jupiter, from each side [the command] encourages his army.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 229-230)

Other clear-cut examples of the historical infinitive are in (277-278).

- (277) *Legio*<sub>i</sub> *aggreditur*<sub>i</sub> *Romana*<sub>i</sub> *ruinas*<sub>j</sub>, *mox* *auferre* *domos*<sub>k</sub>,  
legion-F-S-NOM walk to-3-S-DEPON Roman-F-S-NOM ruin-F-PL-ACC soon carry away-INFIN house-F-PL-ACC  
*populi*<sub>m</sub> *rumore*<sub>i</sub> *secundo*<sub>i</sub>.  
people-M-S-GEN rumor-M-S-ABL following-M-S-ABL

‘The Roman legion approaches the ruins, soon [it] takes away the houses, with the shout of the people behind [it].’ (Enn. *Ann.* 242-243)

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<sup>46</sup> *Venit* is potentially ambiguous as to [+ present] or [+ perfect] tense since both forms are spelled the same; the difference is the length of the first vowel. The meter of this line suggests a short vowel, meaning the form is intended as [+ present] (Shipp, 1960, p. 132)

- (278) *Sed ubi ad finem<sub>i</sub> ventum est quo<sub>k</sub> illum<sub>i</sub>*  
 but when to boundary-M-S-ACC come-PPP-N-S-NOM be-3-S REL-M-S-ABL that-M-S-ACC  
*fors<sub>j</sub> expectabat<sub>j</sub> loco<sub>k</sub> atque Orestes<sub>i</sub> gravis<sub>i</sub>*  
 chance-F-S-NOM look out for-3-S-IMPERF place-M-S-ABL and Orestes-M-S-NOM heavy-M-S-NOM  
*sacerdos<sub>i</sub> ferro<sub>m</sub> prompto<sub>m</sub> adsistere.*  
 priest-M-S-NOM iron-N-S-ABL bring forth-PPP-N-S-ABL stand near-INFIN

‘But when [they] came to the boundary in the place where by chance he was awaiting, and the burdened priest Orestes stood up with his sword brandished.’ (Acc. *Trag.* 321-322)

When the nominative is a second-person pronoun or otherwise refers to the addressee, the ‘historical’ infinitive may have the illocutionary effect of an imperative. Examples are shown in (279-282).

- (279) *Tu<sub>i</sub> hic ante aedis interim specularē, ut, ubi illa<sub>ec</sub>*  
 you-S-NOM here before wall-F-PL-ACC meanwhile watch-INFIN COMP when that-F-S-NOM  
*prodeat, me provoces<sub>i</sub>.*  
 come forth-3-S-SUBJ I-S-ACC call forth-2-S-SUBJ

‘Meanwhile you watch here in front of the house so that when she comes out you can call me forth.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 1121-1122).

- (280) *Tu<sub>i</sub>, Mysis<sub>i</sub>, dum exeo, parumper opperire hic.*  
 you-S-NOM Mysis-M-S-VOC while go out-1-S for a little while wait-INFIN here

‘You, Mysis, wait here a little while until I come out.’ (Ter. *And.* 714)

- (281) *At tu<sub>i</sub> ut oculos<sub>j</sub> emungare ex capite<sub>k</sub> per nasum<sub>i</sub>*  
 but you-S-NOM COMP eye-M-PL-ACC clean out the nose-INFIN out of head-N-S-ABL through nose-N-S-ACC  
*tuos<sub>j</sub>.*  
 your-M-PL-ACC

‘But wipe your eyes out of your head through your nose.’ (Pl. *Cas.* 390).

- (282) *Sorba<sub>i</sub> in sapa<sub>j</sub> condere vel pro<sub>i</sub> siccare, arida<sub>i</sub>*  
 service-berry-N-PL-ACC in boiled down wine-F-S-ABL put in-INFIN or dry-INFIN dry-N-PL-ACC  
*facias<sub>k</sub>.*  
 make-2-S-SUBJ

‘Put the service-berries in boiled down wine or dry [them], you should make [them] dry.’ (Cato *Agr.* 7)

Note how the scrambling of *tuos* in (281) is iconic in juxtaposition to *nasum*. In (282) the infinitives cannot be to express purpose, which is the effect of the clause *arida facias*; rather, they appear to be commands in order to accomplish that effect.

### 6.3 INTERJECTION

Interjections represent 34 (1%) of the corpus infinitives, and 26 (76%) of those are found in the works of Terence. An interjection is formed with an optional vocative + accusative NP subject + infinitive. Some example are in (283-285).

- (283) *O Iuppiter, [tantam<sub>i</sub> esse in animo<sub>j</sub> inscitiam<sub>i</sub>]!*  
 o Jupiter-M-S-VOC such-F-S-ACC be-INFIN in mind-M-S-ABL lack of knowledge-F-S-ACC

‘O Jupiter, for there to be such ignorance in [someone’s] mind!’ (Ter. *And.* 244)

- (284) *[[{Tantum bellum}<sub>j</sub> suscitare...] conari adversarios<sub>i</sub> [...contra  
 such-N-S-ACC war-N-S-ACC stir up-INFIN try-INFIN-DEPON enemy-M-PL-ACC against  
 {bellosum genus}<sub>k</sub>]]!*  
 warlike-N-S-ACC race-N-S-ACC

‘For the enemy to try to stir up such a war against a warlike race!’ (Caec. *Fab.* 277-278)

- (285) *[Nos<sub>i</sub> esse arquatos<sub>i</sub>]!*  
 I-PL-ACC be-INFIN bow-PPP-M-PL-ACC

‘For us to be bowed!’ (Luc. *Sat.* 1007)

In (286) the interjection is preceded by a commentary on the interjection’s proposition, especially interesting from the ex-slave Terence.

- (286) *Quam {indignum facinus}<sub>i</sub>, [ancillam<sub>j</sub> aere<sub>k</sub> emptam<sub>j</sub>  
 how unworthy-N-S-NOM deed-N-S-NOM maid servant-F-S-ACC bronze-N-S-ABL buy-PPP-F-S-ACC  
 suo<sub>k</sub>]<sub>i</sub>!*  
 own-N-S-ABL

‘How unworthy a deed, for a maid servant to be purchased by her own money!’ (Ter. *Phor.* 511)

The interrogative particle *-n(e)* is often encliticized to the interjection’s subject, as in examples (287-289).

- (287) *{Homo audacissime}<sub>i</sub>, [cum ista<sub>j</sub> -ci -n te<sub>i</sub> oratione<sub>j</sub>  
 human-M-S-VOC daring-SUPER-M-S-VOC with that-F-S-ABL -INTENSIF -Y/N you-S-ACC speech-F-S-ABL*

*huc ad me<sub>k</sub> adire ausum<sub>i</sub>!*  
to here to I-S-ACC come to-INFIN dare-PPP-DEPON-M-S-ACC

‘Most outrageous man, for you to have dared come here to me with that speech of yours!’  
(Pl. *Aul.* 745-746)

(288) [*Te<sub>i</sub> -ne istuc<sub>j</sub> loqui*]  
you-S-ACC -Y/N that-N-S-ACC say-INFIN-DEPON

‘For you to say that!’ (Ter. *Heau.* 921)

(289) [*Me<sub>i</sub> -n servasse pro<sub>j</sub> ut qui<sub>j</sub> me<sub>i</sub> perderent<sub>j</sub>*]  
I-S-ACC -Y/N save-INFIN-PERF COMP REL-M-PL-NOM I-S-ACC ruin-3-PL-IMPERF-SUBJ

‘For me to have saved [them] so that they might ruin me!’ (Pac. *Trag.* 45)

In (290) the disjoint subjects *me* and the [+ feminine] *illam* show the hierarchy for assigning gender to adjectives like *miseros* that co-index with different genders: masculine > feminine, even when the [+ feminine] NP is closer to the adjective.

(290) [*Sici-ne me<sub>i</sub> atque illam<sub>j</sub> {opera tua}<sub>k</sub> nunc miseros<sub>i+j</sub> sollicitari*]  
thus -Y/N I-S-ACC and that-F-S-ACC work-F-S-ABL your-F-S-ABL now wretched-M-PL-ACC  
agitate-INFIN-PASS

‘For me and her to now be made so miserable by your doing!’ (Ter. *And.* 689)

In (291) the interrogative particle is attached to *servo* ‘slave’ because that is the surprising part of the proposition. The outrage is emphasized by the displacement of the modifier *futtili* at the end of the clause.

(291) [*Servo<sub>k</sub> -n {fortunas meas}<sub>j</sub> me<sub>i</sub> comisisse futtili<sub>k</sub>*]  
slave-M-S-DAT -Y/N fortune-F-PL-ACC my-F-PL-ACC I-S-ACC commit-INFIN-PERF useless-M-S-DAT

‘For me to have entrusted my fortune to a worthless slave!’ (Ter. *And.* 609)

Example (292) has the interrogative particle on *adeo*, an anaphoric (here, cataphoric) adverb that foreshadows the result clause headed by the complementizer *ut*.

(292) [*Adeo<sub>j</sub> -n ingenio<sub>k</sub> esse duro<sub>k</sub> te<sub>i</sub> atque inexorabili<sub>k</sub>], [ut neque misericordia<sub>i</sub> neque precibus<sub>m</sub> molliri queas<sub>i</sub>*]  
to ANA-N-S-LOC -Y/N nature-N-S-ABL be-INFIN hard-N-S-ABL you-S-ACC and implacable-N-S-ABL COMP  
nor mercy-F-S-ABL nor prayer-F-PL-ABL soften-INFIN-PASS be able-2-S-SUBJ



‘For you to be of such hard and implacable nature that you can’t be softened by either mercy or pleas!’ (Ter. *Phor.* 497-498)

The corpus contains just one example of coordinated interjections, shown in (293). The coordinated subject *te* is overt in the first clause but null in the second.

- (293) *Enim vero, Antipho<sub>i</sub>, multi -modis cum {istoc animo}<sub>j</sub> es<sub>i</sub>*  
 for truly Antipho-M-S-VOC many -means-M-PL-ABL with that-M-S-ABL mind-M-S-ABL be-2-S  
*vituperandus<sub>i</sub>, [ita -ne te<sub>i</sub> hinc abisse] et [pro<sub>i</sub> {vitam*  
 censure-GERUNDIVE-M-S-NOM thus -Y/N you-S-ACC from here go away-INFIN-PERF and life-F-S-ACC  
*tuam}<sub>k</sub> tutandam<sub>k</sub> aliis<sub>l</sub> dedisse]!*  
 your-F-S-ACC protect-GERUNDIVE-F-S-ACC other-M-PL-DAT GIVE-INFIN-PERF

‘For indeed, Antipho, in many ways you should be blamed for those feelings of yours, for you to have thus left from here and given over your life to be protected by others!’ (Ter. *Phor.* 465-466)

One interjection, shown in (294), has a null subject but overt object, possibly leading to a garden-path interpretation because of the object’s position high in the clause and the encliticization of the interrogative particle on it.

- (294) *Ah, [tantam<sub>j</sub> -ne rem<sub>j</sub> tam neclegenter pro<sub>i</sub> agere]!*  
 ah such-F-S-ACC -Y/N affair-F-S-ACC so negligently do-INFIN

‘Ah, to do such a thing so negligently!’ (Ter. *And.* 252)

## 6.4 CONTROL

Both subject and object control structures occur in early Latin. In addition, various forms of oblique control, discussed below, also occur. A summary is shown in Table 30.

Table 30: Control Infinitives.

Control Type	Frequency	%
Subject	1,038	70%
Object	275	19%
Impersonal	93	6%
Deontic	32	2%
Sentential	44	3%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,482</b>	

### 6.4.1 Subject Control

Subject control occurs with 89 different lexemes, for a total of 956 predicates. (This count is different from what is shown for subject control in Table 29, where all infinitives within a subject-control clause are counted, not just the triggering predicate.) A summary of subject-control predicates appears in Table 31.

The most frequently occurring subject-control predicates mean ‘able’, accounting for 351 (37%) of the total cases. The main lexeme is the adjective *potis* ‘able’ and the related verb *posse*, a compound from *potis* + the copula *esse* and including its present participle, *potens*. Together, forms of *potis* and *potesse* account for 301 instances of subject-control complements. Some examples of subject-control complements with these lexemes are in (295-297).

Table 31: Subject-Control Predicates.

Meaning	Lexemes		Frequency		Cumul. Freq.
‘able’	2	2%	351	37%	37%
‘want’	20	22%	275	29%	66%
‘begin’	7	8%	76	8%	74%
‘accustomed’	3	3%	46	5%	78%
‘dare’	1	1%	45	5%	83%
‘stop’	6	7%	41	4%	87%
‘continue’	1	1%	19	2%	89%
‘hurry’	2	2%	15	2%	91%
‘try’	10	11%	15	2%	93%
‘know how’	5	6%	13	1%	94%
All others	32	36%	59	6%	100%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>89</b>		<b>956</b>		

- (295) *Qui potis<sub>i</sub> est<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> refelli] quisquam<sub>i</sub> ubi nullus<sub>j</sub>*  
 how able-M-S-NOM be-3-S refute-1NFIN-PASS 1NDEFIN-M-S-NOM when no-M-S-NOM
- ’t causandi<sub>k</sub> locus<sub>j</sub>?*  
 be-3-S plead-GERUND-N-S-GEN place-M-S-NOM

‘How can anyone be refuted when there’s no opportunity for pleading one’s cause?’  
 (Acc. *Trag.* 403).

- (296) [PRO<sub>i</sub> *neque* *salsum<sub>i</sub>* *neque* *suave<sub>i</sub>* *esse*] *potest<sub>i</sub>* *quicquam<sub>i</sub>*,  
 nor salty-N-S-NOM nor sweet-N-S-NOM be-INFIN be able-3-S INDEFIN-N-S-NOM  
*ubi* *amor<sub>j</sub>* *non* *admiscetur<sub>j</sub>*.  
 when love-M-S-NOM not mix with-3-S-PASS

‘Something can’t be either salty or sweet if love isn’t mixed with [it].’ (Pl. *Cas.* 222)

- (297) pro<sub>i</sub> *insignita<sub>k</sub>* *fere* *tum* *milia<sub>k</sub>* *militum<sub>l</sub>* *octo<sub>k</sub>* *duxit<sub>j</sub>*  
 mark-PPP-N-PL-ACC about then thousand-N-PL-ACC soldier-M-PL-GEN eight lead-3-S-PERF  
*delectos<sub>l</sub>*<sup>47</sup>, [PRO<sub>i</sub> *bellum<sub>m</sub>* *tolerare*] *potentes<sub>l</sub>*.  
 choose-PPP-M-PL-ACC war-N-S-ACC bear-INFIN be able-PART-M-PL-ACC

‘Then he led about eight thousand well-marked soldiers, chosen [men] and able to bear war.’ (Enn. *Ann.* 337-338)

The other ‘able’ lexeme is *quere* and its negative, *nequere*, together representing 50 occurrences.

Examples are in (298-299).

- (298) *Numquam* [PRO<sub>i</sub> *istuc<sub>j</sub>*...] *quivi<sub>i</sub>* *ego<sub>i</sub>* [...*intellegere*].  
 never that-N-S-ACC be able-1-S-PERF I-S-NOM understand-INFIN

‘I have never been able to understand that [plan] of yours.’ (Ter. *And.* 589)

- (299) *Ubi* pro<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> *onus<sub>j</sub>*...] *nequeam<sub>i</sub>* [...*ferre* *pariter*],  
 when burden-N-S-ACC not be able-1-S-SUBJ carry-INFIN equally  
*iaceam<sub>i</sub>* *ego<sub>i</sub>* *asinus<sub>i</sub>* *in* *luto*.  
 lie-1-S-SUBJ I-S-NOM donkey-M-S-NOM in mud-N-S-ABL

‘When I couldn’t carry my share of the burden, I, the donkey, would lie down in the mud.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 230)

The second-most frequent meaning of subject-control predicates is ‘want’, represented by 20 different lexemes in a total of 275 instances. The most frequently occurring ‘want’ verbs are *volle* ‘to wish’ (177 instances) and its compounds *nolle* ‘not to wish, to be unwilling’ (31 instances) and *malle* ‘to wish more, prefer’ (8 instances). Some examples are in (300-303).

- (300) *In* *civitate* *fiunt* *facinora* *capitalia*, *nam* [PRO<sub>i</sub> *ab* *amico*  
 in city-F-S-ABL happen-3-S deed-N-PL-NOM capital-N-PL-NOM for from friend-M-S-ABL  
*amante* *argentum* *accipere*] *meretrix<sub>i</sub>* *noenu* *volt<sub>i</sub>*.  
 love-PART -S-ABL silver-N-S-ACC receive-INFIN prostitute-F-S-NOM not wish-3-S

<sup>47</sup> Note that both *delectos* and *potentes* are [+ masculine], while *insignita* is [+ neuter] in agreement with the indeclinable [+ neuter] *milia*, which takes a partitive genitive. The masculine adjectives agree by attraction to *militum* ‘of the soldiers’ rather than grammatically with *milia*.

‘Capital crimes are occurring in the city, for a prostitute doesn’t want to take money from a lover.’ (Caec. *Fab.* 203-204)

- (301) *Si* <sub>pro<sub>i</sub></sub> [*rotas...*] <sub>wheel-F-ACC-PL</sub> *voles<sub>i</sub>* <sub>wish-2-S</sub> [*PRO<sub>i</sub>* *facere*], <sub>do-INFIN</sub> *tardius* <sub>slowly-COMPAR</sub> *ducetur*, <sub>lead-3-S-FUT-PASS</sub>
- sed* <sub>but</sub> *minore* <sub>less-M-S-ABL</sub> *labore*. <sub>work-M-S-ABL</sub>

‘If you want to use wheels [the block] will move more slowly but with less effort.’ (Cato *Agr.* III)

- (302) *pro<sub>i</sub>* [*PRO<sub>i</sub>* *alere...*] <sub>nourish-INFIN</sub> *nolunt<sub>i</sub>* <sub>not wish-3-PL</sub> [...{*hominem edacam*}<sub>j</sub>] <sub>human-M-S-ACC</sub> *et* <sub>and</sub> *pro<sub>i</sub>*
- sapiunt<sub>i</sub>* <sub>be wise-3-PL</sub> {*mea sententia*}<sub>k</sub>, <sub>my-F-S-ABL</sub> <sub>opinion-F-S-ABL</sub> *pro<sub>i</sub>* [*PRO<sub>i</sub>* *pro* *maleficio...*] <sub>on behalf of</sub> *si* <sub>if</sub>
- [...{*beneficium summum*}<sub>1...</sub>] <sub>good deed-N-S-ACC</sub> <sub>highest-N-S-ACC</sub> *nolunt<sub>i</sub>* <sub>not wish-3-PL</sub> [...*reddere*]. <sub>return-INFIN</sub>

‘They don’t want to feed a gluttonous person and they’re wise, in my opinion, if they don’t want to repay a bad deed with an extremely good deed.’ (Ter. *Phor.* 335-336)

- (303) *Nam* <sub>for</sub> *pro<sub>i</sub>* [*PRO<sub>i</sub>* *ter* *sub* *armis...*] <sub>three times</sub> <sub>under</sub> *malim<sub>i</sub>* <sub>prefer-1-S-IMPERF-SUBJ</sub> [...*vitam<sub>j</sub>* <sub>life-F-S-ACC</sub>
- cernere*] <sub>decide-INFIN</sub> *quam* <sub>than</sub> [*PRO<sub>i</sub>* *semel* *modo* *parere*]. <sub>once</sub> <sub>only</sub> <sub>give birth-INFIN</sub>

‘For I’d rather fight for my life with weapons three times than give birth just once.’ (Enn. *Trag.* 269-270)

Other common ‘want’ verbs include *cupere* ‘to desire’ (22 occurrences) and *studere* ‘to be eager for’ (9 occurrences). Examples are in (304-305).

- (304) *Magna* <sub>great-F-S-NOM</sub> *est* <sub>be-3-S</sub> *res* <sub>thing-F-S-NOM</sub> [*quam...*] <sub>REL-F-S-ACC</sub> *ego<sub>i</sub>* <sub>I-S-NOM</sub> [...*te -cum...*] <sub>you-S-ABL -with</sub> *cupio* <sub>desire-1-S</sub>
- [...*PRO<sub>i</sub>* *loqui*]. <sub>speak-INFIN-DEPON</sub>

‘There’s an important matter that I want to speak with you about.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 771)

- (305) *Quom* <sub>when</sub> *vinum<sub>i</sub>* <sub>wine-N-S-NOM</sub> *coctum<sub>i</sub>* <sub>cook-PPP-N-S-NOM</sub> *erit<sub>i</sub>* <sub>be-3-S-FUT</sub> *et* <sub>and</sub> *quom* <sub>when</sub> *pro<sub>i</sub>* *legetur<sub>i</sub>*, <sub>choose-3-S-FUT-PASS</sub> *pro<sub>j</sub>*
- facito<sub>j</sub>* <sub>do-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT</sub> *uti* <sub>COMP</sub> *pro<sub>i</sub>* *servetur<sub>i</sub>* <sub>save-3-S-SUBJ-PASS</sub> *familiae<sub>k</sub>* <sub>family-F-S-DAT</sub> *primum<sub>i</sub>* <sub>first-N-S-NOM</sub> *suis<sub>l</sub>* <sub>own-M-PL-DAT</sub> *-que*, <sub>and</sub>
- pro<sub>j</sub>* *facito<sub>j</sub>* <sub>do-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT</sub> *-que* <sub>and</sub> *pro<sub>j</sub>* *studeas<sub>j</sub>* <sub>be eager-2-S-SUBJ</sub> [*PRO<sub>j</sub>* *pro<sub>i</sub>* *bene* <sub>well</sub>

*percoctum*<sub>i</sub>      *siccum*<sub>i</sub> -*que*      *legere*]<sub>i</sub>      *ne*      *vinum*<sub>i</sub>      *nomen*<sub>m</sub>      *perdat*<sub>i</sub>.  
 cook through-PPP-N-S-NOM      drv-N-S-NOM -and      choose-INFIN      lest      wine-N-S-NOM      name-N-S-ACC      lose-3-S-SUBJ

‘When the grapes are ripe and gathered, see to it that the first is kept for the household and their [needs], and see to it that you’re eager to gather only the well-ripened and dry [grapes], lest the wine lose its reputation.’ (Cato *Agr.* 25)

Examples of various other subject-control predicates are in (306-309).

- (306) pro<sub>i</sub>    *properato*<sub>i</sub>    *apsente*    *me*    [PRO<sub>i</sub>    *comesse*    *prandium*].  
           hurrv-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT    be away-S-ABL-PART    I-S-ABL    eat-INFIN-PERF    lunch-N-S-ACC

‘Hurry and eat lunch while I’m gone.’ (Pl. *Men.* 628)

- (307) [*Casinam*<sub>j...</sub>] *ego*<sub>i</sub> [*...uxorem*<sub>j...</sub>] *promisi*<sub>i</sub> [*PRO*<sub>i</sub> *vilico* *nostro*  
Casina-F-S-ACC I-S-NOM wife-F-S-ACC promise-I-S-PERF overseer-M-S-DAT our-M-S-DAT  
*dare*].  
give-INFIN

‘I promised to give Casina as wife to our overseer.’ (Pl. *Cas.* 288)

- (308) *Tu*<sub>i</sub>            *tamen*    *idem*    [*has*            *nuptias...*]            *perge*<sub>i</sub>            [...*PRO*<sub>i</sub>    *facere*]  
           you-S-NOM    however    same            this-F-PL-ACC    marriage-F-PL-ACC    continue-2-S-IMPERAT    do-*INFIN*
- ita*        *ut*            *facis*<sub>i</sub>.  
           thus        as                do-2-S

‘But you go on with the marriage just as you’re doing.’ (Ter. *And.* 521-2)

- (309) *Numquam* <sub>pro<sub>i</sub></sub> *destitit<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>PRO<sub>i</sub></sub> *instare*] *ut* *dicerem* [*me*  
never stop-3-S-PERF insist-<sub>INFIN</sub> COMP say-1-S-IMPERF-SUBJ I-S-ACC  
*ducturum* *patri*].  
lead-PART-FUT-M-S-ACC father-M-S-DAT

‘He never stopped insisting that I tell my father I would marry.’ (Ter. *And.* 660-661)

#### 6.4.1.1 Negative Commands

One idiomatic subject-control structure is a negative command with *nolle* ‘to be unwilling’. Examples of the negative command with *nolle* as a control verb are in (310-312).

- (31)     $\text{pro}_i$     *noli\_i*    [ $\text{PRO}_i$     *minitari\_i*],     $\text{pro}_j$     *scio\_j*    [*crucem\_k*    *futuram\_k*  
          not wish-2-S-IMPERAT    threaten-INFIN-DEPON    know-1-S    cross-F-S-ACC    be-PART-FUT-F-S-ACC  
          *mihi\_j*    *sepulchrum*].  
          I-S-DAT    grave-N-S-ACC

‘Don’t threaten [me], I know a cross will be my grave.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 372)

- (311) *Nolite*<sub>i</sub>                  *hospites*<sub>i</sub>                  [PRO<sub>i</sub>    *ad*    *me*         *adire*].  
not wish-2-PL-IMPERAT    stranger-M-PL-NOM              to              I-S-ACC              come to-INFIN

‘Strangers, don’t come near me.’ (Enn. *Trag.* 358)

(312)  $\text{pro}_i$  *nolito*<sub>i</sub> [[*tibi*<sub>i</sub> *me* *male* *dicere* *posse*]  $\text{PRO}_i$  *putare*]  
 not wish-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT you-S-DAT I-S-ACC badly say-INFIN be able-INFIN think-INFIN

‘Don’t think I can speak badly about you.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 1069)

Table 32 provides a comparison summary of the three ways to form a negative command in early Latin.

Table 32: Negative Commands.

Form	Frequency	%
<i>nolle</i> + infinitive	12	7%
<i>ne</i> + imperative	36	22%
<i>ne</i> + subjunctive	113	70%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>161</b>	

While the subject-control structure with *nolle* + infinitive is one form of a negative command, it is the least frequent (7%) of the three possibilities found. This early infrequent use of the negative control command changes diachronically, and the *ne* + subjunctive form is later used only for a negative purpose clause, not for commands. Thus, the frequencies found in the corpus reveal a distinct pattern from later stages of the language, a genuine hallmark of early Latin.

#### 6.4.1.2 Infinitival Tense

The infinitival tenses that occur with subject-control predicates are summarized in Table 33. As the table shows, 1,013 (98%) of 1,038 infinitival complements in subject control have [+ present] tense. The [+ present] tense marks an unrealized potential action – the kind of action that most subject-control predicates embed. The embedded action, if it actually occurs at all, is [+ future] with respect to the matrix verb event. According to Martin (2001, pp. 146-147), it is precisely this [+ tense] feature on control infinitivals that distinguishes them from ECM (“raising”) infinitivals, which have [- tense].

Table 33: Infinitival Tense on Subject Control.

Infinitival Tense	Frequency	%
Present	1,013	98%
Perfect	23	2%
Future	2	<1%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,038</b>	

However, if control infinitives are future-oriented in general and Latin infinitives in particular can morphologically mark [+ future], then it is surprising that only 2 (<1%) of control infinitivals in the corpus are marked for [+ future] tense. These examples are in (313-314).

- (313) *Possum<sub>i</sub> ego<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> istam<sub>j</sub> capite cladem<sub>j</sub> averruncassere].*  
 be able-I-S I-S-NOM that-F-S-ACC head-N-S-ABL disaster-F-S-ACC avert-INFIN-FUT

‘I can advert that disaster from you [lit. ‘from (your) head’].’ (Pac. *Trag.* 248)

- (314) *Nunc pro<sub>i</sub> pergami [PRO<sub>i</sub> eri imperium<sub>j</sub> exequi] et*  
 now continue-I-S-FUT master-M-S-GEN command-N-S-ACC follow out-INFIN-DEPON and  
*[PRO<sub>i</sub> me<sub>i</sub> domum capessere].*  
 I-S-ACC HOME-F-S-ACC take-INFIN-FUT

‘Now I’ll continue to follow out my master’s order and take myself home.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 262)

Note that both of these future infinitives have the inflectional form ending in {-ssere} rather than the periphrastic form with the future participle + copula. Example (314) is particularly interesting because its two embedded clauses are coordinated without any obvious reason for their difference in tense. This fact suggests that the [+ present] tense is interpreted with the inherent unrealized potentiality that it has, regardless of whether it is overtly marked as such or not.

Further evidence that the [+ present] infinitive has a clear [+ future] meaning comes from matrix predicates such as ‘promise’. One can only ‘promise’ an event that is [+ future] with respect to the time of making the promise. Of the five corpus examples, all 5 (100%) have the

embedded infinitive with [+ present] tense; two of these examples with different verbs are in (315-316).

- (315) *pro*<sub>i</sub> [*Casinam*<sub>j</sub> ...] *ego*<sub>i</sub> [... *uxorem*<sub>j</sub> ...] *promisi*<sub>i</sub> [... *vilico* *nostro*  
Casina-F-S-ACC I-S-NOM wife-F-S-ACC promise-1-S-PERF overseer-M-S-DAT our-M-S-DAT  
*dare*].  
give-INFIN

‘I promised to give Casina as wife to our overseer.’ (Pl. *Cas.* 288)

- (316) *Satis* *pol* *proterve* *me*<sub>k</sub> *Syri*<sub>j</sub> *promissa*<sub>i</sub> *huc* *induxerunt*<sub>i</sub>,  
enough indeed boldly I-S-ACC Syrus-M-S-GEN promise-PPP-N-PL-NOM to here lead in-3-PL-PERF  
{*decem* *minas*}<sub>l</sub> [*quas*<sub>l</sub> *PRO*<sub>j</sub> *mihi*<sub>k</sub> *dare*] *pollicitus*<sub>j</sub> *t*<sub>j</sub>.  
ten mina-F-PL-ACC REL-F-PL-ACC I-S-DAT give-INFIN promise-PPP-DEPON-M-S-NOM be-3-S

‘Indeed Syrus’s promises have boldly lead me here, the ten minae [i.e. Greek coins] that he promised to give me.’ (Ter. *Heau.* 723-724)

This use of a [+ present] infinitival complement with ‘promise’ is even more notable when compared with the same verb used in ECM, where in 5 (83%) of 6 instances the infinitive is [+ future]. Some ECM examples are in (317-318).

- (317) *pro*<sub>i</sub> *promitte*<sub>i</sub> [*hoc*<sub>j</sub> *fore*].  
promise-2-S-IMPERAT this-N-S-ACC be-INFIN-FUT

‘Promise this will be.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 219)

- (318) *Qui*<sub>i</sub> *te*<sub>j</sub> *diligat*<sub>i</sub>, [*aetatis* *facie* *-que* *tuae* *se*<sub>i</sub>  
REL-M-S-NOM you-S-ACC esteem-3-S-SUBJ age-F-S-GEN appearance-F-S-GEN -and your-F-S-GEN ANA-ACC  
*fautorem*] *ostendat*<sub>i</sub>, [*fore* *amicum*<sub>i</sub>] *polliceatur*<sub>i</sub>.  
favorer-M-S-ACC show-3-S-SUBJ be-INFIN-FUT friend-M-S-ACC promise-3-S-SUBJ-DEPON

‘The one who esteems you, [who] shows himself [to be] an admirer of your youthfulness and appearance, should promise he will be your friend.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 292-295)

While these examples show that the [+ present] infinitive has a [+ future] meaning for subject-control complements, 23 (2%) of the corpus examples are marked for [+ perfect] tense. Indeed, [+ perfect] tense on the infinitival complement of a subject-control predicate appears semantically odd because an action that occurs at a point in time X cannot have any effect over the ‘controlled’ action which has already occurred (i.e. is marked as [+ perfect]). Yet the archaicizing *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*, brief as it is, contains 11 examples of an



unambiguously [+ perfect] infinitive with the subject-control predicate *velle* ‘to wish’. An example with 5 perfect-tense complements of *velle* is in (319).

- (319) *Ne -ve* *pro<sub>i</sub>* *post hac* [PRO<sub>i</sub> *inter sed<sub>i</sub> coniurase*]  
 not -or after this-F-S-ABL between ANA-ACC swear together-INFIN-PERF  
*ne -ve* [PRO<sub>i</sub> *convovise*] *ne -ve* [PRO<sub>i</sub> *conspondise*] *ne -ve*  
 not -or vow together-INFIN-ERF not -or pledge together-INFIN-PERF not -or  
 [PRO<sub>i</sub> *conpromiesise*] *velet<sub>i</sub>* *ne -ve* *quisquam<sub>i</sub>* [PRO *fidem<sub>j</sub>*  
 promise together-INFIN-PERF wish-3-S-FUT not -or anyone faith-F-S-ACC  
*inter sed<sub>i</sub> dedise*] *velet<sub>i</sub>*.  
 between ANA-ACC give-INFIN-PERF wish-3-S-FUT

‘After this no one [of the Bacchanals] should be willing to have sworn together among themselves nor to have vowed together nor to have pledged together nor to have promised together, nor should anyone [of the Bacchanals] be willing to have given a pledge among themselves.’ (*Bac.* 13-14)

Other examples of [+ perfect] infinitives with *velle* are in (320-323), showing that the construction is not constrained to a single text or author.

- (320) *Di me perdant si ego tui quicquam apstuli,*  
 god-M-PL-NOM I-S-ACC destroy-3-PL-SUBJ if I-S-NOM you-S-GEN INDEF-N-S-ACC take away-1-S-PERF  
*ni -ve* [PRO *adeo apstulisse*] *vellem.*  
 not -or to there take away-INFIN-PERF wish-1-S-IMPERF-SUBJ

‘May the gods destroy me if I stole anything from you, nor would I wish to have stolen anything.’ (*Pl. Aul.* 645-646)

- (321) *Vah, pro<sub>i</sub>* [PRO<sub>i</sub> *rogasse*] *vellem<sub>i</sub>*.  
 ah ask-INFIN-PERF wish-1-S-IMPERF-SUBJ

‘Ah, I would want to have asked.’ (*Ter. Heau.* 978)

- (322) [PRO *ne -quid emisse ...*] *velit* [... *insciente domino*],  
 not -INDEFIN-N-S-ACC buy-INFIN-PERF wish-3-S-SUBJ not know-PART-M-S-ABL master-M-S-ABL  
*neu* [PRO *quid dominum celavisse*] *velit.*  
 nor INDEFIN-N-S-ACC master-M-S-ACC hide-INFIN-PERF wish-3-S-SUBJ

‘He should not wish to have sold anything without the master’s knowledge, nor should he wish to have hidden anything from the master.’ (*Cato Agr.* V)

- (323) *Domi cum auspicamus, pro<sub>i</sub>* [*honorem me<sub>i</sub> dium*]  
 home-F-S-LOC when take auspices-1-PL honor-M-S-ACC I-S-ACC god-M-PL-GEN  
*immortalium...*] *velim<sub>i</sub>* [...*habuisse*].  
 immortal-M-PL-GEN wish-1-S-SUBJ have-INFIN-PERF

‘When we take auspices at home, I’d want [lit. ‘me’] to have had honor for the immortal gods’. (Cato *Or.* 73)

Several other matrix verbs also take a perfect-tense infinitive. In (324) the controlling verb is *posse* ‘to be able’.

- (324) *pro*<sub>i</sub>    *non*    *potes*<sub>i</sub>    [*PRO*<sub>i</sub>    *probasse*    *nugas*<sub>j</sub>].  
                  not           be able-2-S                                           make right-*INFIN*-*PERF*           nonsense-F-*PL*-*ACC*

‘You can’t pass off nonsense as right.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 828)

A similar verb occurs in (325) with a form of *quere* ‘to be able’.

- (325) *pro*<sub>i</sub>    [*PRO*<sub>i</sub>    *meminisse*<sup>48</sup>]    *nequeunt*<sub>i</sub>.  
                                          remember-*INFIN*-*PERF*           not BE ABLE-3-*PL*

‘They can’t remember.’

In example (326) the [+ perfect] infinitival complement occurs with *incipere*.

- (326) *Ubi*    *pro*<sub>i</sub>    *iam*    [*PRO*<sub>i</sub>    *coctum*<sub>i</sub>...]    *incipit*<sub>i</sub>    [...*esse*],    *eo*<sub>i</sub>  
                  when                                           already                                           cook-*PPP*-*N*-*S*-*NOM*           begin-3-S           be-*INFIN*           ANA-*N*-*S*-*DAT*
- addito*                                           *brassicae*                                           *coliculos*                                           *duos*,                                           *betae*                                           *coliculos*  
          add-2-S-*IMPERAT*-*FUT*                                           cabbage-F-*S*-*GEN*                                           leaf-M-*PL*-*ACC*                                           two-M-*PL*-*ACC*                                           beet-F-*S*-*GEN*                                           leaf-M-*PL*-*ACC*
- duos*                                           *cum*                                           *radice*                                           *sua*....  
          two-M-*PL*-*ACC*                                           with                                           root-F-*S*-*ABL*                                           own-F-*S*-*ABL*

‘When it [i.e. the ham hock] is already beginning to cook [lit. ‘begins to have been cooked’], to it add two cabbage leaves, two beet leaves with the root, ...’ (Cato *Agr.* 158).

Since *incipere* in (326) means ‘to begin’, the PPP *coctum esse* is semantically odd. A present passive infinitive would be more natural to represent simultaneous action, as occurs in 123 instances with subject control. The corpus contains just one other instance of *incipere* with any passive infinitive, shown in (327).

- (327) *si*    *pro*<sub>i</sub>    *forte*    [*PRO*<sub>i</sub>    *liber*<sub>i</sub>    *fieri*]    *occeperim*<sub>i</sub>  
          if                                           by chance                                           free-M-*S*-*NOM*           make-*INFIN*-*PASS*           begin-1-S-*PERF*-*SUBJ*

‘if by chance I should have begun to become [lit. ‘to be made’] free’ (Pl. *Mil.* 1362)

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<sup>48</sup> The verb *meminisci* is inchoative (‘to begin to recall’), so that the perfect-tense form here means the action is completed = ‘to remember’. The present-tense system is deponent (i.e. has passive morphology but middle meaning), while the perfect-tense system is morphologically active.

Also note that Cato himself uses the present passive infinitive with a similar subject-control verb, shown in (328).<sup>49</sup>

- (328) *Ubi* *uvae*<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> *variae*<sub>i</sub>...] *coeperint*<sub>i</sub> [...*fieri*],  
 when grape-F-PL-NOM different-F-PL-NOM begin-3-PL-PERF-SUBJ make-INFIN-PASS  
*bubus*<sub>j</sub> *pro*<sub>i</sub> *medicamentum* *dato* *quotanis*, *uti* *pro*<sub>j</sub>  
 cattle-M-PL-DAT medicine-N-S-ACC give-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT every year COMP  
*valeant*<sub>j</sub>.  
 be strong-3-PL-SUBJ

‘When the grapes have begun to change [lit. ‘have begun to be made different’], give [them] to the cattle as medicine every year so that they’ll be well.’ (Cato *Agr.* 73)

These uses of a subject-control predicate other than *velle* + passive infinitive show that the [+ perfect] tense of *coctum esse* in (326) is unusual.

### 6.4.1.3 Infinitive as Gerund

There are five occurrences of the infinitive where English requires a gerund. Since early Latin also has a distinct gerund form, these are notable. The first two examples are shown in (329-330).

- (329) *Ne* *pro*<sub>i</sub> *operam* *perdas*<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> *poscere*].  
 lest effort-F-S-ACC lose-2-S-SUBJ demand-INFIN  
 ‘Don’t waste effort in demanding [it].’ (Pl. *Aul.* 341)
- (330) *Sed* *pro*<sub>i</sub> *cesso*<sub>i</sub> *prius* *quam* *prorsus* *perii*<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> *currere*]?  
 but stop-1-S before than completely die-1-S-PERF run-INFIN  
 ‘But do I stop before I’m completely dead from running?’ (Pl. *Aul.* 396)

The other examples have as the matrix predicate an adjective, the perfect participle *defessi* in sentence (331) and the ordinary adjective *lentus* in (332).

- (331) *Postquam* *pro*<sub>i</sub> *defessi*<sub>i</sub> *sunt*<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> *stare*] *atque* [PRO<sub>i</sub>  
 after tire out-PPP-DEPON-M-PL-NOM be-3-PL stand-INFIN and  
*spargere* *sese*<sub>i</sub> {*hastis* *ansatis*}<sub>j</sub>], *pro*<sub>i</sub> *concurrunt*<sub>i</sub>  
 sprinkle-INFIN ANA-ACC spear-F-PL-ABL fit with a handle-PPP-F-PL-ABL run together-3-PL

<sup>49</sup> Although *occipere* ‘to begin’ appears to be a compound from *coeperere* ‘to begin’, it actually derives from *ob* ‘in the way of’ + *capere* ‘to take’, while *coeperere* is from *co-* ‘together’ + obsolete *\*apere* ‘to fit’. The two verbs were routinely conflated (Simpson, p. 113), so it is no stretch to claim this example is directly analogous to (326).

*undique*      *telis*<sub>k</sub>.  
 from both sides      weapon-N-PL-ABL

‘After they were tired out from standing and showering each other with handle-fitted spears, they ran [lit. ‘run’] together from each side with their weapons.’ (Enn. *Ann.* 160-161)

- (332) {*Lucius*      *Cotta*      *senex*}<sub>i</sub>,      *crassi*<sub>j</sub>      *pater*<sub>i</sub>      *huius*<sub>j</sub>  
 Lucius-M-S-NOM      Cotta-M-S-NOM      old-M-S-NOM      thick-M-S-GEN      father-M-S-NOM      this-M-S-GEN
- Paceni*<sub>j</sub><sup>50</sup>,      *magnus*<sub>i</sub>      *fuit*<sub>i</sub>      *trico*<sub>i</sub>      *nummarius*<sub>i</sub>,      [PRO]<sub>i</sub>  
 Pacenius-M-S-GEN      great-M-S-NOM      be-3-S-PERF      trickster-M-S-NOM      pertaining to money-M-S-NOM
- solvere*      *nulli*<sub>k</sub>]      *lentus*<sub>i</sub>.  
 pay-INFIN      no one-M-S-DAT      tenacious-M-S-NOM

‘The old man Lucius Cotta, the father of this dull-witted Pacenius, was a great trickster in money matters, tenacious at paying no one.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 440-442)

#### 6.4.1.4 Modal

*Debere* ‘to owe’ has a literal meaning when used without an infinitive, and with an infinitival complement it acts as a modal meaning ‘ought’. In one corpus example, shown in (333), even with an infinitival complement *debere* is not a modal. Rather, the subordinate clause is in apposition to the demonstrative *hoc*, further explaining what ‘this’ is which the speaker ‘owes’.

- (333) *Ego*<sub>i</sub>,      *Pamphile*<sub>j</sub>,      *hoc*<sub>k</sub>      *tibi*<sub>j</sub>      *pro*      *servitio*      *debeo*<sub>i</sub>,  
 I-S-NOM      Pamphilus-M-S-VOC      this-N-S-ACC      you-S-DAT      on behalf of      servitude-N-S-ABL      owe-I-S
- [PRO]<sub>i</sub>      *conari*      *manibus*,      *pedibus*      *noctis*      *-que*      *et*      *dies*]  
 try-INFIN-DEPON      hand-F-PL-ABL      foot-M-PL-ABL      night-F-PL-ACC-and      and      day-F-PL-ACC
- [PRO]<sub>i</sub>      *capitis*      *periculum*      *adire*]]<sub>k</sub>.  
 head-N-S-GEN      danger-N-S-ACC      go to-INFIN

‘Pamphilus, I owe you this from servitude, to try with hands and feet, both night and day, to meet lethal danger [i.e. instead of you].’ (Ter. *And.* 675-677)

In examples (334-335) *debere* does act as a modal with an infinitival complement.

<sup>50</sup> Warmington (p. 3:139) interprets *Paceni* as vocative singular for a separate entity *Pacenius*, but the juxtaposition of two genitive singular masculine NPs makes the reading shown here at least as plausible. He also takes *crassi* to be ‘fat’ (its basic meaning is ‘thick’), but there appears to be a contrast set up between the sharp-witted father and the son, so ‘dull’ (a common metaphorical extension) seems more appropriate. Regardless of the exact interpretation of these two NPs, the adjective *lentus* clearly embeds an infinitive.

- (334)  $\text{pro}_i$  *debetis*<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> *velle*  $\text{pro}_j$ ] *quae*<sub>j</sub>  $\text{pro}_k$  *velimus*<sub>k</sub>.  
 owe-2-PL wish-INFIN REL-N-PL-ACC wish-1-PL

‘You ought to want what we want.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 39)

- (335)  $\text{pro}_i$  *ut* [  $\text{pro}_j$  *periisse*] *velis*<sub>i</sub> [*quem*<sub>j</sub> PRO<sub>i</sub> *visere*] *nolueris*<sub>i</sub>  
 as die-INFIN-PERF wish-2-S-SUBJ REL-M-S-ACC visit-INFIN not wish-2-S-PERF-SUBJ  
*cum*  $\text{pro}_i$  *debueris*<sub>i</sub>.  
 when owe-2-S-PERF-SUBJ

‘As you would want the one whom you didn’t want to visit when you should have to die.’  
 (Luc. *Sat.* 189-191)

Note that the infinitive *visere* in (335) is omitted with *debueris* through coordination with *nolueris*.

#### 6.4.1.5 Finite Variant

There are three corpus examples containing the matrix verb *posse* ‘to be able’ + finite subjunctive clause instead of the usual infinitival complement. In (336) the complementizer *quin* ‘but that’ normally takes a subjunctive complement (i.e. regardless of the matrix predicate).

- (336) *Tum*  $\text{pro}_i$  [*plicatricem*<sub>k</sub>...] *clementer* *non* *potest*<sub>i</sub> [...*quin*  $\text{pro}_j$   
 then folder-F-S-ACC gently not be able-3-S but that  
*munerem*<sub>j</sub>].  
 give present-1-S-IMPERF-SUBJ

‘Then it can’t [be done] kindly unless I give the [clothes-] folder a monetary reward.’  
 (Pl. *Mil.* 695)

However, the subjunctive clauses with *posse* in (337-338) must be seen as a minor variant of the usual infinitive clause.

- (337)  $\text{pro}_i$  *poti*<sub>i</sub> *-n* [*ut*  $\text{pro}_i$  *abstineas*<sub>i</sub> *manum*<sub>j</sub>]?  
 be able-2-S -Y/N COMP hold away hand-F-S-ACC

‘Can you hold your hand away [i.e. from hitting]?’ (Pl. *Amph.* 903)

- (338)  $\text{pro}_i$  *poti*<sub>i</sub> *-n* [ $\text{pro}_i$  *a* *me*<sub>j</sub> *abeas*<sub>i</sub>]?  
 be able-2-S -Y/N from I-S-ABL go away-2-S-SUBJ

‘Can you go away from me?’ (Pl. *Cas.* 731)

Note that the finite complement in (337) has the complementizer *ut* ‘in order that’, while (338) has no overt complementizer. The structure of the two sentences is similar since they have the

same matrix predicate and the main and embedded subjects are also co-indexed. Thus, it appears that the complementizer is optional with the subjunctive complement. Classical Latin is traditionally said to require an overt complementizer with a subjunctive clause (Gildersleeve & Lodge, p. 344), and if true that shows another way in which early Latin differs from later stages of the language.

#### 6.4.1.6 Object pro

Recall that the overall rate for object pro across all types of infinitival clauses is 23%. For objects in subject-control complements, the omission rate is 24% for unbound NPs and 5% for bound ones, as shown in Table 34.

Table 34: Objects in Subject Control.

Object	Overt	Null Indef.	Null Coord.	Null Total	Total
BOUND					
First	9 100%	0	0	0 0%	9
Second	6 86%	0	0	1 14%	7
Third	<u>6</u> 100%	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u> 0%	<u>6</u>
	21 95%	0	0	1 5%	22
UNBOUND					
First	18 86%	0	2	3 14%	21
Second	9 75%	0	3	3 25%	12
Third	<u>496</u> 76%	<u>19</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>161</u> 25%	<u>657</u>
	523 76%	19	42	167 24%	690
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>544 77%</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>168 23%</b>	<b>712</b>

The frequency of object pro in subject control is thus similar overall in unbound NPs to that in all types of infinitival clauses combined, but in first-person unbound NPs the rate is only 14%. That is, 86% of the time an unbound first-person object entity is overt in a subject-control complement, whereas second- and third-person bound entities are nearly twice as likely to be null (25%). When objects in subject-control complements are bound, they are rarely null. First-

and third-person bound object entities are overt in 100% of instances, and second-person bound objects are null in only 14% of cases, with an overall rate for bound objects at 5%.

#### 6.4.2 Object Control

An object-control complement occurs with 314 verbs, representing 41 distinct lexemes.

A summary of object-control predicates appears in Table 35.

Table 35: Object-Control Predicates.

Meaning	Lexemes		Frequency		Cumulative Frequency
‘order’	6	15%	144	46%	46%
‘allow’	6	15%	74	24%	70%
‘beg’	3	7%	21	7%	77%
‘prohibit’	10	24%	22	7%	84%
‘make’	2	5%	19	6%	90%
Impersonal	5	12%	17	5%	95%
‘force’	3	7%	9	3%	97%
All others	6	15%	8	3%	100%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>41</b>		<b>314</b>		

The most frequently occurring object-control verbs mean ‘order’. Of six ‘order’ lexemes, *iubere* ‘to order, command, bid’ occurs 113 times and *postulare* ‘to demand, request’ occurs 22 times; the other four lexemes together represent the remaining nine instances. Some examples of object-control complements with *iubere* are in (339-341).

(339) *Cocta sunt, iube<sub>i</sub> pro<sub>j</sub>-obj [PRO<sub>j</sub> ire accubitum].*  
 cook-PPP -N-PL-NOM be-3-S order-2-S-IMPER go-INFIN lie next to-SUPINE-N-S-ACC

‘The food’s cooked, command [them] to go lie down [i.e. to eat].’ (Pl. *Men.* 225)

(340) *pro<sub>i</sub>-subj pro<sub>j</sub>-obj [PRO<sub>j</sub> prandere] iubet<sub>i</sub> horitur<sub>i</sub> -que.*  
 lunch-INFIN order-3-S encourage-3-S-DEPON -and

‘He orders and encourages [them] to have lunch.’ (Enn. *Ann.* 418)

(341) *Tum -que pro<sub>i</sub>-subj pro<sub>j</sub>-obj [PRO<sub>j</sub> remos...] iussit [...religere struppis].*  
 then -and oar-M-PL-ACC order-3-S-PERF bind-INFIN strap-M-PL-ABL

‘And then he ordered [them] to bind the oars with straps.’ (Liv. *Ody.* 12)

Examples (342-343) have the matrix verb *imperare*, and (344) has *postulare*.

- (342) pro<sub>i</sub>-subj pro<sub>j</sub>-obj [PRO<sub>j</sub> *animo* *nunc -iam* *otioso* *esse*] *impero*<sub>i</sub>.  
 spirit-M-S-ABL now -already leisurely-M-S-ABL be-*INFIN* order-1-S

‘I’m telling [you] to calm down right now.’ (Ter. *And.* 842)

- (343) pro<sub>i</sub>-subj pro<sub>j</sub>-obj [PRO<sub>j</sub> *signa* *extemplo* *canere*] *ac* [PRO<sub>j</sub> *tela* *ob* *moenia* *offerre*] *imperat*<sub>j</sub>.  
 signal-N-PL-ACC right away sing-*INFIN* and weapon-N-PL-ACC against wall-N-PL-ACC carry against-*INFIN* order-3-S

‘He orders [them] to sound the signals and hurl the weapons against the walls right away.’ (Acc. *Trag.* 377)

- (344) pro<sub>i</sub>-subj pro<sub>j</sub>-obj [PRO<sub>j</sub> {*tuum* *nefarium* *facinus*}<sub>k</sub> *peiore* *facinore* *operire*] *postulas*<sub>i</sub>.  
 your-N-S-ACC evil-N-S-ACC deed-N-S-ACC worse-N-S-ABL deed-N-S-ABL cover up-*INFIN* order-2-S

‘You’re ordering [someone] to cover up your evil deed with a worse deed.’ (Cato *Or.* 59)

The next most frequent object-control type is verbs meaning ‘allow’, accounting for 74 (24%) of object-control matrix predicates. Of these, *sinere* ‘to set down, leave alone, allow’ is the most frequent with 51 instances; some examples are in (345-346).

- (345) pro<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> *abire*] *non* *sinam*<sub>i</sub> *te*<sub>j</sub>.  
 go away-*INFIN* not allow-1-S-FUT you-S-ACC

‘I won’t let you leave.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 444)

- (346) {*Servom* *hominem*}<sub>j</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> *causam* *orare*] *leges*<sub>i</sub> *non* *sinunt*<sub>i</sub>,  
 slave-M-S-ACC human-M-S-ACC lawsuit-F-S-ACC plead-*INFIN* law-F-PL-NOM not allow-3-PL  
*neque* *testimoni* *dictio* *’st.*  
 nor testimony-N-S-GEN speaking-F-S-NOM be-3-S

‘The laws don’t allow a slave to plead a lawsuit, nor is there any taking of his testimony.’ (Ter. *Phor.* 292-293)

An example with *pati* ‘to suffer (for oneself), endure, allow’, representing 17 instances in the corpus, appears in (347).

- (347) *Ego*<sub>i</sub> *-ne* *huius* *memoriam*<sub>j</sub> *patiar*<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> *meae* *voluptati* *obstare*]<sub>j</sub>?  
 I-S-NOM -Y/N this-S-GEN memory-F-S-ACC allow-1-S-SUBJ my-F-S-DAT pleasure-F-S-DAT stand in way-*INFIN*



‘Should I let his [lack of] memory stand in the way of my pleasure?’ (Ter. *And.* 943-944)

Other object-control examples are in (348-349).

- (348)  $\text{pro}_i$  *non*  $\text{te}_j$  [ $\text{PRO}_j$  *porro* *procedere*] *porcent*<sub>i</sub>.  
 not you-S-ACC forward procede-INFIN prohibit-3-PL

‘They don’t prevent you from moving forward.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 260)

- (349) *Multa*<sub>i</sub> *me*<sub>j</sub> *dehortata* [ $\text{PRO}_j$  *huc* *prodire*], {*anni*,  
 many-N-PL-NOM I-S-ACC urge-PPP-DEPON-N-PL-NOM to here go forward-INFIN year-M-PL-NOM  
*aetas*, *vox*, *vires*, *senectus*}<sub>i</sub>.  
 age-F-S-NOM voice-F-S-NOM strength-F-PL-NOM old age-F-S-NOM

‘Many things have urged me to come forward here [i.e. as a lawyer in a trial]: years, age, voice, strength, old age.’ (Cato *Or.* 196)

In object-control structures, the main verb subcategorizes for two internal arguments.

One is the controllee, and the other is the clausal theme. The controllee is assigned accusative case structurally as a direct object of the matrix verb. The question then arises about the  $\theta$ -role of the controllee. It can be considered either a theme (because somewhat affected by the action) or a goal (because receiving the action). The morphological evidence in Latin – accusative rather than dative case – suggests the controllee is conceptualized as a theme. Some command verbs (e.g. *imperare*) do subcategorize the dative case (i.e.  $\theta$ -role of goal) for the person commanded, but then they do not behave as control predicates; see section 6.4.2.4.

Overall, control verbs behave in early Latin much as in English. However, one significant difference results from Latin’s pro-drop setting on objects. This means that the theme direct object, linked to the PRO infinitive subject, may be non-overt even when it refers to a separate entity from the subject of the main verb and is not otherwise mentioned in the sentence, as in (350).

- (350) *Si*  $\text{pro}_{i\text{-subj}}$  *resto*<sub>i</sub>  $\text{pro}_{j\text{-subj}}$  *pergit* *ut*  $\text{pro}_{i\text{-subj}}$  *eam*<sub>i</sub>; *si* [ $\text{PRO}_i$   
 if stand back-1-S  $\text{pro}_{j\text{-subj}}$  continue-3-S COMP go-1-S-SUBJ if  
*ire*]  $\text{pro}_{i\text{-subj}}$  *conor*<sub>i</sub>  $\text{pro}_{j\text{-subj}}$   $\text{pro}_{i\text{-obj}}$  *prohibet* [ $\text{PRO}_i$  *baetere*].  
 go-INFIN attempt-1-S-DEPON prohibit-2-S go-INFIN

‘If I stand back he tells me to go; if I try to go he keeps [me] from going.’ (Pac. *Trag.* 240)

Since PRO is necessarily covert, this elliptical structure requires the listener/reader to infer the entity from discourse. In a situation like (347), the intended referent is clear enough from the [person] agreement (first-person singular) on the verbs *eam* and *conor*, but in the other examples the referent is available only from context beyond the immediate sentence.

#### 6.4.2.1 Greetings

One idiomatic use of object-control complements is with *iubere* ‘to order’ + *salvere* ‘to be well’, occurring in three corpus examples. An instance is shown in (351).

(351)  $\text{pro}_i$  [PRO<sub>j</sub> *salvere*]<sub>be well-INFIN</sub> *iubeo*<sub>order-1-S</sub> {*spectatores* *optimos*}<sub>spectator-M-PL-ACC best-M-PL-ACC</sub><sub>j</sub>.

‘Greetings to the most excellent spectators [lit. ‘I order the very good spectators to be well’].’ (Pl. *Cas.* 1)

There appears to be a pragmatic conflict between the notion of ‘order’ and the controlled action of ‘being well’: the controllee has no control over it. However, the vocative *amator* in (352) suggests that this object-control structure is a conventional greeting – its meaning is not literal control, but just a form of salutation.

(352)  $\text{pro}_i$  *iubeo*<sub>order-1-S</sub> *te*<sub>you-S-ACC</sub><sub>j</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> *salvere*]<sub>be well-INFIN</sub>, *amator*<sub>lover-M-S-VOC</sub><sub>j</sub>.

‘Hello, love [lit. ‘I order you to be well, lover’].’ (Pl. *Cas.* 969)

In (353), the imperative *salve* ‘be well’ also shows how *salvere* forms part of a conventional greeting. The AcI clause expands on the greeting theme.

(353) *Ere*<sub>master-M-S-VOC</sub><sub>i</sub>, *salve*<sub>be well-2-S-IMPERAT</sub><sub>i</sub>  $\text{pro}_j$  [*salvom*<sub>safe-M-S-ACC</sub><sub>i</sub> *te*<sub>you-S-ACC</sub><sub>i</sub> *advenisse*]<sub>come to-INFIN-PERF</sub> *gaudeo*<sub>rejoice-1-S</sub><sub>j</sub>.

‘Hello, master, I’m glad you have arrived safe.’ (Ter. *Phor.* 286)

Finally, the other example of the *iubere* + *salvere* construction in (354) offers a direct insight in the structure's meaning.

- (354) [PRO<sub>i</sub> *salvere* <sub>be well-INFIN</sub> pro<sub>j</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> *iubere* <sub>order-INFIN</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> *salutem*<sub>k...</sub> <sub>safety-F-S-ACC</sub> *est* <sub>be-3-S</sub>  
[...*mittere* <sub>send-INFIN</sub> *amico*<sub>j/l</sub>]. <sub>friend-M-S-DAT</sub>

‘To order [someone] to be well is to send greetings [lit. ‘safety’] to a friend.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 261)

#### 6.4.2.2 Controllees

Given the availability of object pro, many direct objects in object-control structures are non-overt. This means that both the controllee and the infinitival subject PRO are null. The principle of transparency predicts that when the controllee is disjoint from the matrix subject, it should be overt, while a co-indexed controllee should not need to be overt. A summary of the form of the 215 controllees in object-control complements is in Table 36. These data show that the prediction of transparency is essentially confirmed, but at weaker levels than a straightforward prediction. In contexts where the controllee is disjoint from the matrix subject (i.e. unbound), it is overt in 197 (78%) of 281 contexts, or in three of four expected contexts. In the opposite context, where the controllee is co-indexed with the main subject (i.e. bound), it is overt in 18 (75%) of 24 contexts, a rate higher than strictly necessary for recovery of the NP.

Table 36 also reveals a notable feature of some object-control complements. In 18 instances, the matrix and embedded (i.e. PRO) subjects are co-indexed, meaning the control goes from the subject referent to itself. Some examples of this construction are in (355-356).

- (355) *Sed* <sub>but</sub> *ego*<sub>i</sub> <sub>I-S-NOM</sub> *inscitus*<sub>i</sub> <sub>not know-PPP-DEPON-M-S-NOM</sub> *qui*<sub>i</sub> <sub>REL-M-S-NOM</sub> [*domino* <sub>master-M-S-DAT</sub> *me*<sub>i...</sub> <sub>I-S-ACC</sub> *postule*<sub>m</sub> <sub>demand-1-S-SUBJ</sub>  
[...PRO<sub>i</sub> <sub>control-INFIN-DEPON</sub> *moderari*].

‘But I’m naïve if I expect [lit. ‘demand’] myself to control the master.’ (Pl. *Men.* 443)

Table 36: Controllees with Object Control.

Subject	Overt		Null		Total
BOUND					
First	9	69%	4	31%	13
Second	8	100%	0	0%	8
Third	<u>1</u>	<u>33%</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>67%</u>	<u>3</u>
	18	75%	6	25%	24
UNBOUND					
First	42	71%	19	31%	61
Second	26	65%	14	35%	40
Third	<u>129</u>	<u>71%</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>29%</u>	<u>182</u>
	197	78%	84	30%	281
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>215</b>	<b>70%</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>307</b>

- (356) *Nam quod pro<sub>i</sub> de argento sperem<sub>i</sub> aut [PRO<sub>i</sub> posse<sub>i</sub>...]*  
for REL-N-S-ACC from silver-N-S-ABL hope-1-S-SUBJ or be able-INFIN  
*postule<sub>i</sub> [...me<sub>i</sub> fallere] nil est.*  
demand-1-S-SUBJ I-S-ACC deceive-INFIN nothing-N-S-NOM be-3-S

‘For what I may hope about the money or expect [lit. ‘demand’] myself to be able to deceive [him in] – that’s nothing.’ (Ter. *Hea.* 671-672)

A different type of controllee occurs with impersonal verbs that license object-control complements. There are three such lexemes, together accounting for seven instances in the corpus. The most frequently occurring is *pudere* ‘to shame’, which takes object control of the person shamed<sup>51</sup>; an example with an overt controllee is in (357), repeated here from (167).

- (357) *Non te<sub>j</sub> pudet<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> prodire in conspectum meum...],*  
not you-S-ACC shame-3-S come forth-INFIN into sight-M-S-ACC my-M-S-ACC  
*{flagitium hominis}<sub>j</sub>, [...cum istoc ornatu]?*  
disgrace-N-S-VOC human-M-S-GEN with that-M-S-ABL ornamentation-M-S-ABL

‘Aren’t you ashamed, you disgrace of a man, to come into my sight with that clothing?’ (Pl. *Men.* 708-709)

<sup>51</sup> Calboli (1990, p. 119) claims that impersonals take an accusative object (i.e. bearing the patient role) co-indexed with the speaker of the sentence. However, this is easy to refute with data from early Latin. Just in Cato’s agricultural text, numerous counter-examples occur: The speaker throughout is Cato but the intended referent of all such impersonal verbs is a hypothetical landowner who is not Cato. Wherever sufficient context is available to make a determination, no examples in the corpus appear to fit Calboli’s claim.

In (358) the intended controllee *me* is not overt.

- (358) *Pudet*<sub>i</sub>    *pro*<sub>j</sub>    [*PRO*<sub>j</sub>    *dicere*    *hac*<sub>1</sub>    *praesente*<sub>1</sub>    {*verbum*    *turpe*}<sub>k</sub>].  
 shame-3-S          say-INFIN    this-F-S-ABL    be present-PART-F-S-ABL    word-N-S-ACC    base-N-S-ACC

‘It shames [me] to say an ugly word when she is present.’ (Ter. *Heau.* 1042).

Generally, *pudet* has no overt NP subject, although in (359) an expletive demonstrative does occur.

- (359) *Nil*<sup>52</sup>    *-ne*    *te*<sub>i</sub>    *pudet*,    *sceleste*,    [*PRO*<sub>i</sub>    *populi*    *in*  
 nothing-N-S-ACC    -Y/N    you-S-ACC    shame-3-S    shameful-M-S-VOC       people-M-S-GEN    into  
*conspectum*    *ingredi*]?  
 sight-M-S-ACC    walk in-INFIN-DEPON

‘Doesn’t it shame you at all, you scum, to walk into public view?’ (Pls. *Amph.* 1034)

The other impersonal verbs with object control are *pigere* ‘to be annoying, disgusting’ *dolere* ‘to pain’, (*dis*)*taedere* ‘to fatigue’, and *pigrere* ‘to be sluggish, reluctant’, a verb which in later stages of the language occurs with a personal subject and can be inflected for all three persons (Simpson, 1968, p. 149). Examples of these control predicates are in (360-362).

- (360) *pro*<sub>i</sub>    *quaeso*<sub>i</sub>,    *quod*<sub>j</sub>    *pro*<sub>i</sub>    *te*<sub>k</sub>    *percontabor*<sub>i</sub>,    *ne*    [*id*<sub>j</sub>...]  
 ask-1-S    REL-N-S-ACC       you-S-ACC    investigate-1-S-IMPERF-DEPON    lest    ANA-N-S-ACC  
*te*<sub>k</sub>    *pigeat*<sub>1</sub>    [*PRO*<sub>k</sub>    *proloqui*].  
 you-S-ACC    annoy-3-S-SUBJ       speak out-INFIN-DEPON

‘I ask [you] what I was investigating you about – don’t let it annoy you to speak about it.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 210)

- (361) *Dolet*<sub>i</sub>    *piget*<sub>i</sub>    *-que*    *magis*    *magis -que*    *me*<sub>j</sub>    [*PRO*<sub>j</sub>    *conatum*<sub>j</sub>  
 pain-3-S    annoy-3-S    -and    more    more    -and    I-S-ACC    try-PPP-DEPON-M-S-ACC  
*hoc*<sub>k</sub>    *nequiquam*    *itiner*<sub>k</sub>].  
 this-N-S-ACC    in vain    journey-N-S-ACC

‘It pains and annoys me more and more to have attempted this journey in vain.’ (Pac. *Trag.* 54)

- (362) *Post*    *aetate*    *pigret*<sub>i</sub>    *pro*<sub>j</sub>    [*PRO*<sub>j</sub>    *subferre*    *laborem*<sub>k</sub>].  
 after    age-F-S-ABL    be reluctant-3-S       take up-INFIN    labor-M-S-ACC

‘In old age it makes [one] reluctant to take up work.’ (Enn. *Ann.* 391)

<sup>52</sup> Although as a neuter NP *nil* ‘nothing’ could be either nominative or accusative, it is likely to be an accusative of extent or respect here rather than the nominative subject of *pudet*.

Note that without an overt accusative NP in (362), the matrix verb *pigret* may not be impersonal, but rather refers to an unspecified person. However, the line was cited by a later Roman author as an example of early Latin’s use of this verb as an impersonal (Warmington, p. 1:147), so we will let native-speaker judgment prevail here by interpreting this as impersonal *pigrere*.

### 6.4.2.3 Infinitival Tense

The infinitival tenses that occur with object-control predicates are summarized in Table 37.

Table 37: Infinitival Tense on Object Control.

Infinitival Tense	Frequency	%
Present	260	95%
Perfect	15	5%
Future	0	0%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>275</b>	

As the table shows, 260 (95%) of 275 infinitival complements in object control have [+ present] tense. This rate of present-tense infinitivals is slightly lower than the 98% found for subject-control complements.

The 15 instances of [+ perfect] infinitives in object-control complements are divided among seven lexemes. The most frequently occurring is *pati* ‘to allow’ and its compound *perpeti*, together accounting for four instances. The related verb *sinere* ‘to allow’ accounts for one additional instance of a perfect-tense infinitival complement in object control. Some examples are in (363-365).

- (363) *Neque* <sub>nor</sub> *pro*<sub>pro</sub> *me*<sub>I-S-ACC</sub> *quidem* <sub>indeed</sub> *patiar*<sub>allow-I-S-FUT-DEPON</sub> [*PRO*<sub>i</sub> *probri*<sub>wrong-N-S-GEN</sub> *falso* <sub>falsely</sub>  
*impune* <sub>without punishment</sub> *insulatam*<sub>i</sub>]. <sub>accuse-PPP-F-S-ACC</sub>

‘Nor indeed will I allow myself to be [lit. ‘to have been’] falsely accused of wrong.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 395)

- (364) *Quid*<sub>i</sub>      *id*<sub>i</sub>      *ad*      *me*,      [*tu*<sub>j</sub>      *te*<sub>j</sub>      [[*PRO*<sub>j</sub>      *nuptam*<sub>j</sub>]  
INTERROG-N-S-NOM      ANA-N-S-NOM      to      I-S-ACC      you-S-NOM      you-S-ACC      veil-PPP-F-S-ACC  
*possis*<sub>j</sub>      [*PRO*<sub>j</sub>      *perpeti*]],      *an*      *pro*<sub>j</sub>      *sis*      *abitura*<sub>j</sub>  
be able-2-S-IMPERF-SUBJ      allow-INFIN-DEPON      or           be-2-S-SUBJ      go away-PART-FUT-F-S-NOM  
*a*      {*tuo*      *viro*}<sub>k</sub>]<sub>i</sub>?  
from      your-M-S-ABL      man-M-S-ABL

‘What [is] that to me, whether you could allow yourself to be married [lit. ‘to have been veiled] or are going to leave your husband?’ (Pl. *Mil.* 722-723)

- (365) *pro*<sub>i</sub>      *pro*<sub>j</sub>      [*PRO*<sub>j</sub>      *biennium*      *in*      *sole*...]      *sinito*<sub>i</sub>      [...*positum*<sub>j</sub>  
two years-N-S-ACC      in      sun-M-S-ABL      allow-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT      place-PPP-N-S-ACC  
*esse*].  
be-INFIN

‘Allow [the jar of brine] to sit [lit. ‘to have been placed’] for two years in the sun.’ (Cato *Agri.* 105)

In (366) the use of *patimini* with the infinitival *pulsum* (i.e. the PPP with a non-overt copula) is especially striking since the other object-control predicates, including a form of *sinere*, take a [+ present] infinitive.

- (366) *pro*<sub>i</sub>      *pro*<sub>j</sub>      [*PRO*<sub>j</sub>      *exulare*]      *sinitis*<sub>i</sub>,      *pro*<sub>i</sub>      *sistis*<sub>i</sub>      *pro*<sub>j</sub>      [*PRO*<sub>j</sub>  
be an exile-INFIN      allow-2-PL      allow-2-PL-PERF  
*PELLI*],      *pro*<sub>i</sub>      *pro*<sub>j</sub>      [*PRO*<sub>j</sub>      *pulsum*<sub>j</sub>]      *patimini*<sub>i</sub>.  
push-INFIN-PASS      push-PPP-M-S-ACC      allow-2-PL-DEPON

‘You allow [him] to be an exile, you allowed [him] to be pushed out, you allow [him] to have been pushed out.’ (Acc. *Trag.* 359)

Three of the [+ perfect] infinitivals with object control have the matrix predicate *facere* ‘to make’, shown in (367-369).

- (367) *pro*<sub>i</sub>      *nos*<sub>j</sub>      [*PRO*<sub>j</sub>      *missos*<sub>j</sub>]      *face*<sub>i</sub>.  
I-PL-ACC      send-PPP-M-PL-ACC      make-2-S-IMPERAT

‘Send us away [lit. ‘make us having been sent’].’ (Ter. *And.* 833)

- (368) *pro*<sub>i</sub>      [*PRO*<sub>j</sub>      *ademptum*<sub>j</sub>      *tibi*<sub>k</sub>]      *iam*      *faxo*<sub>i</sub>      {*omnem*  
take away-PPP-M-S-ACC      you-S-DAT      now      make-1-S-FUTPERF      all-M-S-ACC  
*metum*}<sub>j</sub>.  
fear-M-S-ACC

‘I’ll remove all your fear [lit. ‘I’ll have made all fear having been taken away from you’].’ (Ter. *Heau.* 341)

- (369)  $\text{pro}_i$  *hoc\_j*  $[\text{PRO}_j$  *missum\_j]* *facies\_i*  $\text{pro}_i$  *illo\_j* *me\_k*  
 this-N-S-ACC send-PPP-N-S-ACC make-2-S-FUT that-N-S-ABL I-S-ABL  
*utere\_i* *libente\_k*.  
 use-2-S-FUT-DEPON please-PART-M-S-ABL

‘You’ll send this one away [lit. ‘you’ll make this having been sent’], that one you’ll use while I please.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 1038)

Example (370) is interesting not only because of the [+ perfect] infinitival complement with *habere* ‘to have’, but also because it shows an early instance of *habere* + PPP in a sense that clearly anticipates the much later development of the Romance perfect participles, grammaticalization from the structure here into a periphrastic form.

- (370)  $\text{pro}_i$  *boves\_j*  $[\text{PRO}_j$  *{maxima diligentia}\_k* *curatos\_j]*  
 cattle-M-PL-ACC greatest-F-S-ABL diligence-F-S-ABL take care of-PPP-M-PL-ACC  
*habeto\_i*.  
 have-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT

‘Have the cattle cared for [lit. ‘having been cared for’] with the greatest diligence.’ (Cato *Agr.* 5)

Three instances of [+ perfect] tense complements with object-control predicates occur with impersonal object verbs (see section 6.4.2.2). Two of these are with *pigere* ‘to annoy, disgust’, shown in (371-372), and the other is with *dolere* ‘to pain’, shown in coordination with *pigere* in (372). Example (371) is repeated from (193), and (372) from (361).

- (371) *Qui\_i* *in* *his* *agris* *praedia\_j* *vendiderint,* *[eos\_i/j...]*  
 REL-M-PL-NOM in this-M-PL-ABL field-M-PL-ABL farm-N-PL-ACC sell-3-PL-FUTPERF ANA-M-PL-ACC  
*pigeat* *[...vendidisse].*  
 cause regret-3-S-SUBJ sell-3-PL-IMP-DEPON

‘Those who have sold farms in this region, it should cause them regret to have sold [them] / [them] to have sold them.’ (Cato *Agr.* 1)

- (372) *Dolet\_i* *piget\_i* *-que* *magis* *magis -que* *me\_j*  $[\text{PRO}_j$  *conatum\_j*  
 pain-3-S annoy-3-S -and more more -and I-S-ACC try-PPP-DEPON-M-S-ACC  
*hoc\_k* *nequiquam* *itiner\_k].*  
 this-N-S-ACC in vain journey-N-S-ACC



‘It pains and annoys me more and more to have attempted this journey in vain.’ (Pac. Trag. 54)

Finally, the remaining three infinitival complements have [+ perfect] tense with the matrix verb *iubere* ‘to order’. These are shown in (373-374); note that all come from Cato, although they represent his two distinct texts (the treatise and the orations).

(373)  $\text{pro}_i$   $\text{pro}_j$  [ $\text{PRO}_j$  *incenatum*<sub>j...</sub>] *iubeto*<sub>i</sub> [...*esse*].  
not dine-PPP-DEPON-M-S-ACC order-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT be-INFIN

‘Order [him] not to dine [lit. ‘not to have dined’].’ (Cato Agr. 127)

(374)  $\text{pro}_i$   $\text{pro}_j$  [ $\text{PRO}_j$  *prorsum* *quodcumque*<sub>k...</sub>] *iubebat*<sub>i</sub> [...*fecisse*]  
absolutely INDEFIN-N-S-ACC order-2-S-IMPERF do-INFIN-PERF

*neque* [ $\text{PRO}_j$  *quemquam*<sub>i</sub> *observavisse*].  
nor INDEFIN-M-S-ACC observe-INFIN-PERF

‘He ordered [someone] not to do [lit. ‘to have done’] anything whatsoever nor to observe [lit. ‘to have observed’] anyone.’ (Cato Or. 101)

These occurrences of various matrix verbs with the [+ perfect] infinitive are unusual since they happen in only 5% of the corpus contexts. Comparing the same matrix predicates with their infinitival complements in all object-control clauses, the [+ perfect] tense for the complement is indeed infrequent. The highest rate of a perfect-tense infinitive occurs at 50% with *pigere*, which has only 6 total contexts in the corpus. With *pati* and *perpeti*, the rate of [+ perfect] tense is 22% out of 18 instances. Of the object-control predicates that take [+ perfect] infinitivals, *iubere* is by far the most frequent lexeme. Tellingly, the perfect-tense infinitive occurs with *iubere* in only 2% of 121 contexts. Moreover, the three instances of [+ perfect] tense occur in Cato, but overall Cato uses [+ present] tense for an infinitive with *iubere* in 10 (77%) of 13 total contexts; even for Cato, the [+ perfect] infinitival is not the norm. While unusual, the [+ perfect] infinitivals with these object-control verbs are a variant available to multiple authors, not merely one person’s individual style or aim for variety.

#### 6.4.2.4 Finite Variant

While the general pattern for object-control verbs is an infinitival complement, in 51 instances such predicates take a finite variant. In the variant structure, the embedded verb is subjunctive rather than infinitive. Note that this change from infinitive to finite complement clause results in the embedded subject as *pro* rather than *PRO*. Typically, the control clause is headed by the complementizer *ut(i)* ‘in order that’, with the negative counterpart *ne* ‘lest’; in 14 (26%) instances, the (positive) complementizer is not overt. Some examples with the overt complementizer *ut* are in (375-377).

- (375) *Si* *ea<sub>i</sub>* *domi* *'st<sub>i</sub>* *si* *pro<sub>j</sub>* *facio<sub>j</sub>* [*ut* [*eam<sub>i</sub>* *exire* *hinc*]] *pro<sub>k</sub>* *videas<sub>k</sub>*], *dignu<sub>k</sub>* *-n* *es<sub>k</sub>* {*verberibus* *multis*}<sub>1</sub>?  
 if ANA-F-S-NOM home-F-S-LOC be-3-S if make-1-S COMP ANA-F-S-ACC go out-*INFIN*  
 from here see-2-S-SUBJ worthy-M-S-NOM -Y/N be-2-S whipping-N-PL-ABL many-N-PL-ABL

‘If she’s at home, if I make it so you see her come out of here, do you deserve a good whipping? [i.e. because the addressee had claimed she wasn’t there]?’ (Pl. *Mil.* 341)

- (376) *pro<sub>i</sub>* [*id<sub>k</sub>...*] *oro<sub>i</sub>* *te<sub>j</sub>* [...*in* *commune* *ut* *pro<sub>j</sub>* *consulas<sub>j</sub>*].  
 ANA-N-S-ACC beg-1-S you-S-ACC in common-N-S-ABL COMP consider-2-S-SUBJ

‘I beg you to consider it mutually.’ (Ter. *And.* 548)

- (377) *Ego<sub>i</sub>* *enim* *an* *perficiam<sub>i</sub>* [*ut* *pro<sub>k</sub>* [*PRO<sub>k</sub>* *me<sub>i</sub>* *amare*]]  
 I-S-NOM for Y/N accomplish-1-S-FUT COMP I-S-ACC love-*INFIN*  
*expediat<sub>j</sub>*?  
 be useful-3-S-SUBJ

‘Will I ever bring it about so that it’s worthwhile [to her] to love me?’ (Luc. *Sat.* 741)

In (378-380) the positive complementizer is null.

- (378) *Tu<sub>i</sub>* *servos<sub>j</sub>* *iube<sub>i</sub>* [*pro<sub>j</sub>* *hunc<sub>k</sub>* *ad* *me<sub>i</sub>* *ferant<sub>j</sub>*].  
 you-S-NOM slave-M-PL-ACC order-2-S-*IMPERAT* this-M-S-ACC to I-S-ACC carry-3-PL-SUBJ

‘Command the slaves to bring him to me.’ (Pl. *Men.* 955-956)

- (379) *pro<sub>i</sub>* *sine<sub>i</sub>* [*pro<sub>j</sub>* *te<sub>i</sub>* *hoc<sub>k</sub>* *exorem<sub>j</sub>*].  
 allow-2-S-*IMPERAT* you-S-ACC this-N-S-ACC beg from-1-S-SUBJ

‘Allow me to beg this from you [lit. ‘allow I beg this from you’].’ (Ter. *And.* 902)

- (380) *pro<sub>i</sub>* [*pro<sub>j</sub>* *rem<sub>k</sub>* *cognoscas<sub>j</sub>* *simul*] *et* [*pro<sub>j</sub>* *dictis<sub>m</sub>*]  
 affair-F-S-ACC recognize-2-S-SUBJ at same time and say-PPP-N-PL-DAT

*animum*<sub>i</sub>      *attendas*<sub>j</sub>]      *postulo*<sub>i</sub>.  
mind-M-S-ACC      stretch to-2-S-SUBJ      demand-1-S

‘I’m demanding [you] look into the matter with me and direct your mind to my words.’  
(Luc. *Sat.* 770)

An example of the object-control finite variant with the negative complementizer is in (381).

(381) *pro*<sub>i</sub>      *sine*<sub>i</sub>      *me*<sub>j</sub>      [{*vocivom*      *tempus*]<sub>k</sub>      *ne*      *quod*<sub>k</sub>      *dem*<sub>j</sub>  
allow-2-S-IMPERAT      I-S-ACC      empty-N-S-ACC      time-N-S-ACC      lest      INDEFIN-N-S-ACC      give-1-S-SUBJ  
  
*mihi*<sub>j</sub>      *laboris*<sub>i</sub>].  
I-S-DAT      work-M-S-GEN

‘Let me not have any free time from work [lit. ‘Allow me not to give any free time from work to myself’].’ (Ter. *Heau.* 90-91)

Note the overt controllee *me*.

Table 38 shows the matrix predicates that take the finite variant for object control. Note that two verbs (*pergere* and *monere*) occur in the corpus only with the finite variant. The ‘order’ verbs represent the largest semantic group, and they are overwhelmingly more likely (92%) to occur with an infinitival rather than a finite complement. The data in the table suggest that no general semantic grouping explains the use of the finite variant, but rather the option appears to be lexical.

In (382) the subjunctive *dicant* appears to be simply a variant of the more usual infinitival clause controlled by *iubere* in 95% of the corpus instances.

(382) *pro*<sub>i</sub>      *Telobois*<sub>j</sub>      *iubet*<sub>i</sub>      [*pro*<sub>j</sub>      *sententiam*      *ut*      *dicant*<sub>j</sub>      *suam*<sub>i</sub>].  
Teloboian-M-PL-DAT      order-3-S      opinion-F-S-ACC      COMP      say-3-PL-SUBJ      own-F-S-ACC

‘He orders the Teloboians to speak his opinion.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 205)

Similarly, *imperat* in (383) takes the finite subjunctive *deducere*.

(383) *pro*<sub>i</sub>      *mihi*<sub>j</sub>      [*classem*<sub>k</sub>...]      *imperat*<sub>i</sub>      [...*Thessalum*<sub>i</sub>      *nostram*<sub>k</sub>-*que*      *in*  
I-S-DAT      fleet-F-S-ACC      order-3-S      Thessalian-M-PL-GEN      our-F-S-ACC      -and      into  
  
*altum*<sub>m</sub>      *ut*      *pro*<sub>j</sub>      *properiter*      *deducere*<sub>j</sub>].  
high-N-S-ACC      COMP      rapidly      lead down-1-S-IMPERF-SUBJ

‘He orders me to rapidly lead the Thessalians’ and our own fleet into the deep.’ (Pac. *Trag.* 350-351)

Table 38: Complement Types with Object Control.

Matrix Verb	Complement				
	Non-Finite		Finite		Total
ALLOW – <i>sinere</i> all others	43 <u>23</u> 66	84% 100% 89%	8 <u>0</u> 8	16% 0% 11%	51 <u>23</u> 74
BEG – <i>obsecrare</i> <i>orare</i> all others	2 4 <u>1</u> 7	67% 24% 100% 33%	1 13 <u>0</u> 14	33% 76% 0% 67%	3 17 <u>1</u> 21
FORCE – <i>cogere</i> all others	5 <u>3</u> 68	83% 100% 89%	1 <u>0</u> 1	17% 0% 11%	6 <u>3</u> 9
MAKE – <i>facere</i> all others	6 <u>1</u> 7	33% 100% 37%	12 <u>0</u> 12	67% 0% 63%	18 <u>1</u> 19
ORDER – <i>iubere</i> <i>postulare</i> <i>imperare</i> all others	107 18 4 <u>3</u> 132	95% 82% 67% 100% 92%	6 4 2 <u>0</u> 12	5% 18% 33% 0% 8%	113 22 6 <u>3</u> 144
PROHIBIT – <i>pergere</i> all others	0 <u>21</u> 21	0% 100% 95%	1 <u>0</u> 1	100% 0% 5%	1 <u>21</u> 22
URGE – <i>hortari</i>	1	33%	2	67%	3
WARN – <i>monere</i>	0	0%	1	100%	1
ALL OTHERS	19	100%	0	9%	18
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>261</b>	<b>84%</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>312</b>

However, in (384-385) the command verb *orare* ‘to beg’ is itself embedded by *iussit*, and it may be that double structure with similar verbs that promotes the finite verb in the last clause (i.e. to disambiguate).

- (384) *pro*<sub>i</sub> *pro*<sub>j</sub> [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *orare*]<sub>beg-INFIN</sub> *iussit*<sub>k, order-3-S-PERF</sub> *si*<sub>if</sub> *se*<sub>k, ANA-ACC</sub> *ames*<sub>j, love-2-S-SUBJ</sub>  
*era*<sub>k, mistress-F-S-NOM</sub> [*iam*<sub>now</sub> *ut*<sub>COMP</sub> *ad*<sub>to</sub> *sese*<sub>k, ANA-ACC</sub> *venias*]<sub>j, come-2-S-SUBJ</sub>.

‘My mistress ordered [me] to beg [you], if you love her, to come to her right now.’ (Ter. *And.* 687)

- (385) *Nunc*<sub>now</sub> [*hoc...*]<sub>k, this-N-S-ACC</sub> *me*<sub>j, I-S-ACC</sub> [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *orare*]<sub>beg-INFIN</sub> *a*<sub>from</sub> *vobis*]<sub>you-PL-ABL</sub> *iussit*<sub>i, order-3-S-PERF</sub>  
*Iuppiter*<sub>i, Jupiter-M-S-NOM</sub> [*ut*<sub>COMP</sub> *conquaestores*<sub>inspector-M-PL-NOM</sub> *singula*<sub>each-N-PL-ACC</sub> *in*<sub>into</sub> *subsellia*<sub>seat-N-PL-ACC</sub> *eant*<sub>go-3-PL-SUBJ</sub> *per*<sub>through</sub>  
*totam*<sub>all-F-S-ACC</sub> *caveam*<sub>seating-F-S-ACC</sub> *spectatoribus*]<sub>k, spectator-M-PL-DAT</sub>.

‘Now Jupiter has ordered me to beg this of you, that the inspectors go into all of the seats for spectators throughout the auditorium.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 64-66)

Another example of the finite subjunctive with multiple embedding is in (386).

- (386) *pro*<sub>i</sub> [*pro*<sub>j</sub> *prohibere*]<sub>prohibit-INFIN</sub> *pro*<sub>k</sub> *ad*<sub>to</sub> *cenam*<sub>dinner-F-S-ACC</sub> [*ne*<sub>lest</sub> *pro*<sub>j</sub> *promittat*]<sub>j, promise-3-S-SUBJ</sub>  
*postules*<sub>i, order-2-S-SUBJ</sub> *neu*<sub>nor</sub> [*pro*<sub>j</sub> *quemquam*]<sub>k, INDEFIN-M-S-ACC</sub> *accipiat*<sub>j, receive-3-S-SUBJ</sub> *alienum*<sub>k, other-M-S-ACC</sub> *apud*<sub>among</sub> *se*]<sub>j, ANA-ACC</sub>?

‘Would you demand that he promise to prevent anyone [from coming] to dinner or that he not meet with anyone else at home?’ (Pl. *Men.* 794-795)

*Imperare* in (387) has a similar meaning to both *iubere* and *orare*, but even without multiple embedding it takes the subjunctive finite clause like *iubere* in (382).

- (387) [*postquam*<sub>after</sub> *advorsum*<sub>toward</sub> *mi...*]<sub>I-S-DAT</sub> *pro*<sub>i-obj</sub> *imperavi*<sub>order-1-S-PERF</sub> [*...ut*<sub>COMP</sub> *huc*<sub>hither</sub> *venires*]<sub>i, come-2-S-IMPERF-SUBJ</sub>.

‘after I ordered [you] to come here to me’ (Pl. *Men.* 1050-1051)

In (388) *monere* ‘to remind’ is a weaker kind of ‘command’ but it too has a finite variant in the complementary clause.

- (388) *Tempus*<sub>time-N-S-NOM</sub> *'st*<sub>be-3-S</sub> [*monere*]<sub>remind-INFIN</sub> *me*<sub>I-S-ACC</sub> [*hunc*<sub>this-M-S-ACC</sub> *vicinum*<sub>neighbor-M-S-ACC</sub> *Phaniam*<sub>Phania-M-S-ACC</sub> *ad*<sub>to</sub>

*cenam*      *ut*      *veniat*]].  
dinner-F-S-ACC    COMP    come-3-S-SUBJ

‘It’s time for me to remind this neighbor Phania to come to dinner.’ (Ter. *Heau.* 169-170)

Example (389) has *pergere* ‘to continue, allow’, and this too takes the finite variant. This example is particularly interesting since the more usual infinitival control structure also occurs in the last clause. The parallel structure of the two parts of (389) supports the idea that the finite variant is semantically equivalent to the more typical infinitival structure.

(389) *Si resto<sub>i</sub> pergit [ut eam<sub>i</sub>]; si ire conor<sub>i</sub> pro<sub>i</sub>-obj*  
if stand back-1-S continue-3-S COMP go-1-S-SUBJ if go-1-S-DEPON attempt-1-S-DEPON  
*prohibet baetere.*  
prohibit-2-S go-1-S-DEPON

‘If I stand back he tells me to go; if I try to go he keeps [me] from going.’ (Pac. *Trag.* 240)

The dative NP *Telobois* in (382) and *mihi* in (383) show that at least *imperare* has a  $\theta$ -role for goal. Maybe a better way to translate (382) is ‘He commands [it] to the Teloboians that ...’, where ‘it’ is a pro object in apposition to the *ut*-clause. However, there is no such overt dative NP in the other examples, and in (385) the controllee is a pronoun unambiguously marked accusative, not dative. Therefore, thematic roles alone do not account for the finite variant with control verbs.

Nor does the variant appear to be merely stylistic, since it occurs in all but three of the corpus authors. Moreover, the examples in (382-389) range from tragic poetry to comedy, and two additional examples not cited here are from Cato’s prose.

For *sinere* ‘to allow’, the finite subjunctive variant typically occurs with an imperative, as in (379) and (381). However, in (390) the two *sinere* clauses are different, since the first one has a null complementizer with finite subjunctive but the second one has the more use accusative

controllee + infinitive. Therefore, the finite variant is not uniquely identifiable with the imperative of *sinere*.

(390)  $\text{pro}_i$  *sine*<sub>i</sub>  
allow-2-S-IMPERAT  $[\text{pro}_j$  {*tuos*  
your-M-PL-ACC *ocellos*}<sub>k</sub> *deosculer*<sub>j</sub>], {*voluptas*  
kiss-1-S-SUBJ-DEPON desire-F-S-VOC  
*mea*}<sub>i</sub>,  $\text{pro}_i$  *sine*<sub>i</sub>,  $\text{pro}_j$   $\text{pro}_i$  *amabo*<sub>j</sub>, *ted*<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub>  
my-F-S-VOC allow-2-S-IMPERAT love-1-S-FUT you-S-ACC  
*amari*].  
love-INFIN-PASS

‘Let me kiss [lit. ‘allow that I kiss’] your little eyes, my love, please allow yourself to be loved.’ (Pl. *Cas.* 136-137)

Finally, note that the finite variant appears in (386) with a negative command. If the more typical *nolle* + infinitival structure occurred, ambiguity would result from the multiple infinitives and scrambled word order. In this example, at least, the subjunctive variant for control appears to prevent syntactic ambiguity.

Together, these examples show that there are different reasons for the finite subjunctive variant to occur with verbs that otherwise take an accusative controllee and an infinitival complement. Sometimes the variant appears to prevent syntactic ambiguity, while in other instances it may occur simply for variety’s sake but is constrained to a small set of object-control lexemes.

#### 6.4.2.5 Object pro: Controllee vs. Embedded

Given the pro-drop setting allowing null objects, there are three possibilities for null objects in object-control clauses: (a) a null controllee, (b) a null embedded direct object, and (c) both null controllee and null embedded direct object. Option (a) with a null controllee occurs in 88 (29%) of 303 contexts. (The total number of contexts, 303, is higher than the 274 shown in Table 29 because some examples contain more than one controllee NP entity.) Option (b) with a null embedded direct object occurs in 27 (20%) of 134 contexts with a transitive infinitive.

Option (c) with both null controllee and null embedded object occurs in only 15 (12%) of 134 instances. The least transparent examples are those in which both objects are null but are not coordinated with an overt NP elsewhere in the immediate context, thus making recovery of the referent relatively difficult. An example is in (391).

- (391) *Sic* <sub>thus</sub> *pro<sub>i</sub>* *sine<sub>i</sub>* <sub>allow-2-S-IMPERAT</sub> *pro<sub>j</sub>* [*PRO<sub>j</sub>* *habere* <sub>have-INFIN</sub> *pro<sub>k</sub>*].

‘So allow [her] to have [the sword].’ (Pl. *Cas.* 750)

In some examples, the *pro* objects may be null through coordination with an NP in the immediate environment, such as in (392), repeated here from (240).

- (392) *Ecce,* <sub>behold</sub> *Apollo<sub>i</sub>,* <sub>Apollo-M-S-VOC</sub> *denuo* <sub>anew</sub> *me<sub>j</sub>* <sub>I-S-ACC</sub> *iubes<sub>i</sub>* <sub>order-2-S</sub> [*PRO<sub>j</sub>* *facere* <sub>make-INFIN</sub> *impetum<sub>k</sub>* <sub>attack-M-S-ACC</sub> *in* <sub>into</sub> *eum<sub>l</sub>*]  
<sub>ANA-M-S-ACC</sub> *qui<sub>i</sub>* <sub>REL-M-S-NOM</sub> *stat<sub>l</sub>* <sub>stand-3-S</sub> *atque* <sub>and</sub> [*PRO<sub>j</sub>* *occidere* <sub>kill-INFIN</sub> *pro<sub>l</sub>*].

‘Behold, Apollo, once again you order me to make an attack against that man who is standing and to kill [him].’ (Pl. *Men.* 868-869)

Other examples exhibit a combination of a simple null object and a coordinated null object, as in sentence (393).

- (393) *pro<sub>i</sub>* *iube<sub>i</sub>* <sub>order-2-S-IMPERAT</sub> *pro<sub>j</sub>* [*PRO<sub>j</sub>* *nunc* <sub>now</sub> *adtemptare* <sub>attack-INFIN</sub> *pro<sub>k</sub>*], *pro<sub>i</sub>*  
*iube<sub>i</sub>* <sub>order-2-S-IMPERAT</sub> *pro<sub>j</sub>* [*PRO<sub>j</sub>* *nunc* <sub>now</sub> *animo<sub>l</sub>* <sub>mind-M-S-ABL</sub> *ruspari* <sub>investigate-INFIN-DEPON</sub> *Phrygas<sub>k</sub>*].  
<sub>Phrygian-M-PL-ACC</sub>

‘Order [someone] now to attack [the Phrygians], order [someone] now to heartily search out the Phrygians.’ (Acc. *Trag.* 489)

In summary, the overall rate for object *pro* across all types of clauses is 23% (see Table 26). In object-control complements, the rate for null direct objects is similar to the overall rate at 20%. However, for main-clause controllee objects, the omission rate of 29% is somewhat less than for both overall and embedded direct objects. An even lower rate of 12% occurs with combined null objects, the simultaneous omission of both the controllee object and the embedded direct object. The general trend of these combined data is a preference for object NPs with a



higher-ranking thematic role to be overt rather than null. For instance, the controllee NP is co-indexed with the PRO infinitival subject and thus indirectly expresses the  $\theta$ -role of agent in most control complements. In contrast, an embedded direct object typically bears the patient or theme role, which ranks lower on the thematic hierarchy. There is thus a tendency to overtly express the higher-ranking NP, and this tendency is supported by the relatively low rate (12%) of sentences in which both the controllee and embedded object are null.

### 6.4.3 Impersonal Control

As indicated in Table 29, 93 (6%) of infinitival clauses in the corpus are complements to an impersonal control verb. Unlike the object-control impersonal verbs such as *pudere* and *pigere*, these impersonal predicates take an internal argument NP with the thematic role of goal (i.e. marked for dative case). The dative NP controls the infinitival complement, with its subject as PRO. The most frequently occurring impersonal control verb is *licere* ‘to be allowed’, which occurs 54 times. Some examples are in (394-397).

- (394) *Nec* [causam<sub>k</sub>...] *liceat*<sub>i</sub> [...PRO<sub>j</sub> *dicere*] *mihi*<sub>j</sub>.  
nor cause-F-S-ACC be allowed-3-S-SUBJ say-INFIN I-S-DAT

‘Nor should I be allowed to plead a cause [lit. ‘nor should it be allowed to me to plead a cause’]. (Pl. *Amph.* 158).

- (395) *Nimis* *vile* *'st* *vinum* *atque* *amor,* *si* *ebrio*<sub>j</sub>  
too much cheap-N-S-NOM be-3-S wine-N-S-NOM and love-M-S-NOM if drunk-M-S-DAT  
*atque* *amanti*<sub>j</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> *impune* *facere* *pro*<sub>k</sub> [*quod*<sub>k</sub>  
and love-PART-M-S-DAT without punishment do-INFIN REL-N-S-NOM  
*lubeat*]] *licet*<sub>i</sub>.  
please-3-S-SUBJ be allowed-3-S

‘Wine and love are too cheap, if a drunken lover is allowed [lit. ‘if it is allowed for a drunk and a lover’] to do what he pleases [lit. ‘what pleases [him]’].’ (Pl. *Aul.* 751).

- (396) [PRO<sub>j</sub> *ire*] *igitur* *tibi*<sub>j</sub> *licet*<sub>i</sub> *Nausistrata*<sub>j</sub>.  
go-INFIN therefore you-S-DAT be allowed-3-S Nausistrata-F-S-VOC

‘So you’re allowed [lit. ‘it is allowed to you’] to go, Nausistrata.’ (Ter. *Phor.* 813)

- (397) *Licet*<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> *lacrumare*] *plebi*<sub>j</sub> *regi*<sub>k</sub> [PRO<sub>k</sub>  
be allowed-3-S weep-INFIN common people-F-S-DAT king-M-S-DAT

*honeste*<sub>i</sub>      *non*      *licet*<sub>i</sub>.  
honorably      not      be allowed-3-S

‘The common people are allowed to weep, but a king it is not honorable’ [lit. ‘it is allowed to the common people to weep, to the king it is not allowed honorably [to weep]’].’ (Enn. *Trag.* 235-236)

While the examples in (394-397) all have an overt controllee marked for dative case, sometimes the controllee remains covert as *pro*. Some examples are in (398-402).

(398) *Nam hic nunc licet*<sub>i</sub>      [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *dicere*].  
for      here      now      be allowed-3-S      say-*INFIN*

‘For one may speak here now [lit. ‘for here it is now allowed to speak’].’ (Pl. *Cas.* 195)

(399) [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *te -cum aetatem*<sub>k</sub> *exigere*] *ut liceat*<sub>i</sub>.  
you-S-*ABL* -with      age-F-S-*ACC*      live out-*INFIN*      COMP      be allowed-3-S-SUBJ

‘[I request] that [I] be allowed [lit. ‘that it be allowed [to me]’] to live out my life with you.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 1039)

(400) *si pro*<sub>j</sub> *liceat*<sub>i</sub>      [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *facere*] *et* [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *iam hoc*<sub>k</sub> *versibus*  
if      be allowed-3-S-SUBJ      do-*INFIN*      and      now      this-N-S-*ACC*      verse-M-PL-*ABL*  
*reddere*      *pro*<sub>i</sub>] *quod*<sub>i</sub>      *pro*<sub>m</sub>      *do*<sub>m</sub>.  
render-*INFIN*      REL-N-S-*ACC*      give-1-S

‘if [I] be allowed [lit. ‘it should be allowed [to me]’] to do this and render it in verse as I’m doing’ (Luc. *Sat.* 1066).

(401) [[*Naumachiam*...]<sub>i</sub>      *pro*<sub>j</sub>      *licet*<sub>i</sub>      [...*haec* *j*...], *inquam*, [...*alveolum -que*...]<sub>j</sub>  
sea fight-F-S-*ACC*      be permitted-3-S      this-N-PL-*ACC*      say-1-S      board-N-S-*ACC*      -and  
[*PRO*<sub>j</sub>      *putare*]<sub>k</sub>      [...*et calces*]<sub>i</sub>.  
think-*INFIN*      and      stone-F-PL-*ACC*

‘It is permissible [for someone] to think these things are a sea fight or a board and counters [i.e. a game].’ (Luc. *Sat.* 489)

(402) [*Quanto*      *peiores*      *civem*...]<sub>k</sub>      *existimarint*      [...*feneratorem*      *quam*  
how much-N-S-*ABL*      worse-M-S-*ACC*      citizen-M-S-*ACC*      consider-3-PL-PLUPERF-SUBJ      usurer-M-S-*ACC*      than  
*furem*]<sub>k</sub>      *hinc*      *pro*<sub>j</sub>      *licet*<sub>i</sub>      [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *existimare*].  
thief-M-S-*ACC*      from here      be permitted-3-S      consider-*INFIN*

‘How much worse they considered a usurer than a thief, [one] may judge from this.’ (Cato *Agr.* Intro.)

When the controllee is null, its referent is sometimes recoverable from a coordinated clause, as in example (403).

- (403) *pro*<sub>i</sub> *obsecro*<sub>i</sub> *ut* [*PRO*<sub>i</sub> *per* *pacem*...] *liceat*<sub>j</sub> [...*te*<sub>k</sub>  
beseech-1-S COMP through peace-F-S-ACC be allowed-3-S-SUBJ you-S-ACC  
*adloqui*], *ut* *ne*<sup>53</sup> *vapulem*<sub>i</sub>.  
speak to-INFIN-DEPON COMP lest be beaten-1-S-SUBJ

‘I beseech you that [I] be allowed to speak to you calmly and not get beaten.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 388).

In (404) a cultural schema provides the necessary information for recovery of the null controllee. Only a husband can be said to *ducere* ‘lead’ a wife (i.e. formally and legally ‘lead’ her into his household); a father gives away (*dare*) his daughter, and the bride veils herself (*nubere*) for the marriage ceremony. Thus, the unexpressed subject of the *ducere* clause must be the potential husband, co-indexed with the referent of *meas* (i.e. the speaker). Without the cultural context, it would be grammatically possible to interpret the speaker as providing the dowry to the bride (i.e. so she could marry someone else) but not actually marrying her himself.

- (404) *Propter* {*divitias* *meas*} *pro*<sub>j</sub> *licuit*<sub>i</sub> [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> {*uxorem*  
because of riches-F-PL-ACC my-F-PL-ACC be allowed-3-S-PERF wife-F-S-ACC  
*dotatam*}<sub>k</sub> {*genere* *summo*} *ducere*].  
endow-PPP-F-S-ACC origin-N-S-ABL highest-N-S-ABL lead-INFIN

‘Because of my wealth [I] was allowed to marry a bride with a dowry and of the highest rank.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 679-680).

The second most frequent impersonal control verb is *lubere* ‘to please’ with 14 instances.

Examples are in (405-406).

- (405) *Qui* *lubitum*<sub>i</sub> *est* *illi*<sub>j</sub> [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *condormiscere*]?  
how please-PPP-DEPON-N-S-NOM be-3-S that-M-S-DAT go to sleep-INFIN

‘How has he thought fit [lit. ‘was it pleasing to him’] to go to sleep?’ (Pl. *Mil.* 826)

- (406) [*quae*<sub>k</sub>...] *meo*<sub>j</sub> *quomque*<sub>i</sub> *animo*<sub>j</sub> *lubitum*<sub>i</sub> *’st*<sub>i</sub>  
REL-N-PL-ACC my-M-S-DAT INDEFIN-N-PL-ACC mind-M-S-DAT please-PPP-DEPON-N-S-NOM be-3-S  
[...*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *facere*]  
do-INFIN

‘whatever I wanted to do [lit. ‘whatever it pleased my mind to do]’ (Ter. *And.* 96-97)

<sup>53</sup> *Ne* is a negative complementizer; a discussion of complementizer doubling is beyond the scope of this study.

Out of the 93 instances of impersonal control complements, all 93 (100%) have the infinitive with [+ present] tense. There are no finite variants.

#### 6.4.4 Deontic Control

Of the 1,479 control complements, 32 (2%) are deontic control. As with impersonal control verbs, deontic control predicates also have an implicit NP serving as the goal, and control passes from that dative NP to the infinitival complement. The difference is that deontic control predicates have a deontic force, meaning something is ‘good’ (Goble, 1990, p. 169), ‘necessary’ and the like, or their opposites. Most deontic predicates are nouns or [+ neuter, + singular] adjectives (i.e. they share some agreement features with impersonal control predicates but belong to a different semantic field of meaning).

Examples (407-412) all have a deontic predicate meaning something ‘good’ or ‘necessary’ or their opposites.

- (407) [PRO]<sub>j</sub> *palam* *muttire* *plebeio*<sub>j</sub> *piaculum*<sub>i</sub> *est*<sub>i</sub>.  
 openly mumble-INFIN commoner-M-S-DAT sacrifice-N-S-NOM be-3-S

‘It is a crime for the commoner to grumble openly.’ (Enn. *Trag.* 340)

- (408) *Mih*<sub>j</sub> *necesse*<sub>i</sub> *est*<sub>i</sub> [PRO]<sub>j</sub> *eloqui*, *nam* *scio*<sub>j</sub> [*Amyclae*<sub>k</sub>  
 I-S-DAT necessary-N-S-NOM be-3-S speak out-INFIN-DEPON for know-I-S Amyclae-M-PL-ACC  
*tacendo* *periire*].  
 be silent-GERUND-N-S-ABL perish-INFIN-PERF

‘I must speak out [lit. ‘it is necessary for me to speak out’], for I know Amyclae perished by keeping silent.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 696-697)

- (409) *uti* *tibi*<sub>j</sub> *ius*<sub>i</sub> *est*<sub>i</sub> [PRO]<sub>j</sub> *porco*<sub>k</sub> *piaculo*<sub>i</sub> *facere*]  
 as you-S-DAT right-N-S-NOM be-3-S pig-M-S-ABL sacrifice-N-S-DAT do-INFIN

‘as it is right for you to make a sacrifice with a pig’ (Cato *Agr.* 139)

- (410) *Virtus*<sub>i</sub> [PRO]<sub>j</sub> *scire* [*homini* *rectum* *utile* *quid*  
 excellence-F-S-NOM know-INFIN human-M-S-DAT right-N-S-ACC useful-N-S-ACC INTERROG-N-S-NOM  
*sit* *honestum*, *quae* *bona*, *quae* *mala*  
 be-3-S-SUBJ honorable-N-S-NOM INTERROG-N-PL-NOM good-N-PL-NOM INTERROG-N-PL-NOM bad-N-PL-NOM  
*item*, *quid* *inutile*, *turpe*, *inhonestum*]].  
 likewise INTERROG-N-S-NOM useless-N-S-NOM base-N-S-NOM dishonorable-N-S-NOM

‘Excellence is knowing what is right and what is honorable for a man, what things are good and likewise what things are bad, what is useless, base, [or] dishonorable.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 1199-1200)

- (411) *Melius*<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> *sanam...*] *est*, *mulier*, [...*mentem sumere*].  
better-N-S-NOM sound-F-S-ACC be-3-S woman-F-S-VOC mind-F-S-ACC take-*INFIN*

‘Woman, it’s better to have a sound mind.’ (Pl. *Men.* 802)

- (412) pro<sub>i</sub> [[PRO<sub>k</sub> *tacere*]...] *opino*<sub>i</sub> [...*esse optimum*]<sub>j</sub>;  
be silent-*INFIN* think-I-S be-*INFIN* best-N-S-ACC

‘I think it best to be silent.’ (Enn. *Trag.* 147)

The examples in (413-414) have a deontic meaning of convenience or near-necessity.

- (413) pro<sub>i</sub> [*commodius esse...*]<sub>j</sub> *opinor*<sub>i</sub> [...[PRO<sub>k</sub> *duplici spe*  
convenient-N-S-COMPAR be-*INFIN* think-I-S-DEPON twofold-F-S-ABL hope-F-S-ABL  
*utier*]<sub>l</sub>]<sub>j</sub>.  
use-*INFIN*-DEPON

‘I think it’s more convenient to enjoy a two-way hope.’ (Ter. *Phor.* 603)

- (414) pro<sub>i</sub> *nil*<sub>j</sub> *satis*<sub>j</sub> *firmi* *video*<sub>i</sub> *quam ob*  
nothing-N-S-ACC enough-N-S-ACC firm-N-S-GEN see-I-S INTERROG-F-S-ACC because of  
*rem* [PRO<sub>i</sub> *accipere hunc*...] *mi*<sub>i</sub> *expediat*<sub>k</sub> [...*metum*]<sub>l</sub>.  
affair-F-S-ACC take-*INFIN* this-M-S-ACC I-S-DAT be fitting-3-S-SUBJ fear-M-S-ACC

‘I don’t see any firm reason why I should take on [lit. ‘why it should be fitting for me to take on’] this fear.’ (Ter. *Hea.* 337)

In (415) the PPP *decretum* is from the verb *decernere* ‘to decide (what is right)’, and so as a stative adjective *decretum* means ‘that which has been deemed (morally) right’.

- (415) *Nolo*<sub>i</sub> *hercle, nam mihi* [PRO<sub>i</sub> *bibere...*] *decretum*<sub>j</sub> *est*<sub>j</sub>  
not wish-I-S indeed for I-S-DAT drink-*INFIN* decide-PPP-N-S-NOM be-3-S  
[...*aquam*]<sub>k</sub>.  
water-F-S-ACC

‘Indeed I don’t want [to drink wine], for I’m supposed [lit. ‘it has been decided for me’] to drink water.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 572)

Out of 32 deontic control complements, all 32 (100%) have an infinitive marked for [+ present] tense. No finite clauses variants occur. In both respects, deontic control complements pattern exactly like impersonal control.

### 6.4.5 Sentential Control

Sentential control occurs with 44 (3%) of control complements. In the sentential-control construction, the infinitival clause is treated as an NP with [+ neuter, + singular] agreement features. For example, in (416) the infinitival complement is the bare infinitive *mentiri* ‘to lie’, and the neuter singular adjective *meum* ‘mine’ modifies it.

- (416) *Non* *est*<sub>i</sub> [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *mentiri*]<sub>i</sub> *meum*<sub>i</sub>.  
not be-3-S lie-INFIN-DEPON my-N-S-NOM

‘It is not my [habit, duty, ...] to lie.’ (Ter. *Heau.* 549)

Grammatically, the PRO infinitival subject is arbitrary, although it is pragmatically constrained to refer to the speaker. It is the same construction as in English ours is not to wonder why. A similar construction with the same modifying adjective is in (417).

- (417) [*{Homini amico et familiari}*]<sub>k...</sub> *non* *est*<sub>i</sub> [...*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *mentiri*]<sub>i</sub> *meum*<sub>i</sub>.  
human-M-S-DAT friend-M-S-DAT and family member-M-S-DAT not be-3-S lie-INFIN-DEPON my-N-S-NOM

‘It is not my [habit, duty, ...] to lie to a friend and family member [or, ‘friend and acquaintance’].’ (Luc. *Sat.* 695)

In (418) the modifying adjective is the [+ neuter, + singular] *nostrum*, and in (419) it is *aliud*, which has the same agree features as *nostrum*.

- (418) *Sed* *nostrum*<sub>i</sub> *est*<sub>i</sub> [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *intelligere* [*utquomque atque ubi quomcum*]<sub>k</sub> *opus*]<sub>k</sub> *sit*]<sub>i</sub><sup>54</sup> [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *obsequi* *pro*]<sub>k</sub>].  
but our-N-S-NOM be-3-S understand-INFIN INDEFIN-N-S-ACC and where INDEFIN-N-S-NOM work-N-S-NOM be-3-S-SUBJ obey-INFIN

‘But our part is to understand whatever and wherever a need may be, to fulfill [it].’ (Ter. *Heau.* 578)

- (419) *Aliud*<sub>i</sub> *est*<sub>i</sub> [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *properare*]<sub>i</sub> *aliud*<sub>k</sub> [*PRO*<sub>j/l</sub> *festinare*]<sub>i</sub><sup>55</sup>.  
other-N-S-NOM be-3-S hasten-INFIN other-N-S-NOM hasten-INFIN

<sup>54</sup> In collocation with the copula, *opus* ‘work’ idiomatically means ‘need, opportunity.’

<sup>55</sup> The semantic difference between these two verbs is probably in transitivity: *Properare* can be either transitive or transitive, while *festinare* is only intransitive.

‘It is one thing to hasten [something], another thing to hasten.’ (Cato *Or.* 131)

In (420) the infinitives *colere*, *arare*, and *stercorare* are in apposition to the neuter singular forms *quid*, *secundum*, and *tertium*.

- (420) *Quid* *est* [*agrum bene colere*]? *Bene arare.*  
 INTERROG-N-S-NOM be-3-S field-M-S-ACC well cultivate-INFIN well plough-INFIN  
*Quid secundum? Arare. Quid tertium? Stercorare.*  
 INTERROG-N-S-NOM following-N-S-NOM plough-INFIN INTERROG-N-S-NOM third-N-S-NOM manure-INFIN

‘What is good cultivation? Good plowing. What’s next? Plowing. What’s third? Manuring.’ (Cato, *Agr.*, LXI)

Note especially that in the first question, the predicate includes the internal argument of the infinitive *colere*, the NP *agrum*. All three of these infinitives have arbitrary subjects, which are naturally left non-overt. The main verb is the copula, which is overt only in the first question.

For some sentential infinitives, there is no modifying adjective. Instead, the copula links the infinitival clause with another infinitival clause or a noun. Example (421) has two infinitival clauses linked by the copula. Note that the second infinitival clause has the overt NP subject *te*, a construction discussed in section 6.5.2.

- (421) [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *prodigere...*] *est*<sub>i</sub> [...*cum* *pro*<sub>j</sub> *nihil*<sub>k</sub> *habeas*<sub>j</sub>]<sub>i</sub> [*te*<sub>j</sub> *inriderier*]<sub>i</sub>.  
 waste-INFIN be-3-S when nothing-N-S-ACC have-2-S-SUBJ you-S-ACC laugh at-INFIN-PASS

‘To be wasteful when you have nothing is to make yourself a laughing-stock.’ (Caec. Fab. 67)

Syntactically, the PRO subject of *prodigere* is arbitrary, but the sentence as a whole constrains it to be co-indexed with the referent of *te*. In (422), repeated here from (354), two infinitives are also linked by the copula.

- (422) [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *salvere* *pro*<sub>k</sub> [*PRO*<sub>k</sub> *iubere*]<sub>i</sub> [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *salutem*<sub>1</sub>...]] *est*<sub>i</sub>  
 be well-INFIN order-INFIN safety-F-S-ACC be-3-S  
 [...*mittere amico*<sub>k/m</sub>]<sub>i</sub>.  
 send-INFIN friend-M-S-DAT

‘To order [someone] to be well is to send greetings [lit. ‘safety’] to a friend.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 261)

In (423) there is no overt noun in apposition to the infinitival phrase, but the genitive NP *praetorum* implies a noun such as *officium* ‘duty’.

- (423) *Ergo*  $\text{pro}_i$  *praetorum*<sub>j</sub><sup>56</sup> *est*<sub>i</sub> [ $\text{PRO}_j$  *ante* *et* *praeire*].  
 therefore praetor-M-PL-GEN be-3-S before and go ahead of-INFIN  
 (Luc. *Sat.* 1215)

Examples like (416-419) explicitly show the infinitive in apposition to an NP marked as [+ neuter, + singular]. This grammatical agreement feature has implications for passivization in certain types of AcI clauses (see section 7.2.4).

Of the 44 sentential-control complements, all 44 (100%) have a present-tense infinitive and there are no finite variants.

#### 6.4.6 Case Assignment for PRO

A significant issue regarding PRO in early Latin is which, if any, case assignment it receives. According to the PRO Theorem, PRO cannot receive a full-fledged case assignment since it would have to have a governing category. Because PRO fulfills a  $\theta$ -role in relation to the infinitive, there is only an invisible case marking on it. Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) argue that the case assigned to PRO is null case.

However, evidence from early Latin suggests a case assignment somewhat more robust than mere null. PRO assumes the case assigned with the clause type – it takes on whatever case an overt NP would have in the same position. Such a case assignment is not null, but default. In most control complements, there is no overt evidence of any case assignment to PRO. However,

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<sup>56</sup> This is an agentive noun derived from *praeire*; a *praetor* is literally ‘one who goes before’ = ‘a leader’. As a technical political term, it had probably lost its derivational transparency by Lucilius’ time (in the same way that *senator* < *senex* ‘old (man)’ was probably not understood literally but rather just as the denotation of a particular political rank), so that this statement is likely meant as descriptive rather than tautological.



certain constructions provide the necessary conditions to examine PRO's case. For example, in an obligatory subject-control clause with a copula, any adjective or other nominal in agreement with the subject is marked with nominative case. Since the copula always links nominative-to-nominative NPs (Leumann & Hofmann, pp. 624-626), it follows that PRO linked by a copula must be nominative. Since [+ neuter] nominals have the same morphology in the nominative and accusative cases, only [- neuter] NPs can unambiguously demonstrate the case marking on PRO with a copula.

Two corpus examples include the matrix predicate *nolle* 'not to wish'. In example (424) PRO has the features [+ feminine, + singular] in agreement with *molesta*, while PRO in (425) is [+ masculine, + singular] in agreement with (the human male) *Sosia*. Both instances of PRO are apparently nominative.

(424)  $pro_i$  [PRO<sub>i</sub> *molesta\_i* *ei\_j* *esse*] *nolo\_i*.  
bothersome-F-S-NOM ANA-S-DAT be-*INFIN* not wish-1-S

'I don't want to be bothersome to him.' (Pl. *Cas.* 545)

(425) *Ubi* *ego\_i* [PRO<sub>i</sub> *Sosia...* *nolim\_i* [...*esse*], *tu\_j* *esto\_j*  
where I-S-NOM Sosia-M-S-NOM not wish-1-S-SUBJ be-*INFIN* you-S-NOM be-2-S-*IMPERAT*  
*sane* *Sosia.*  
truly Sosia-M-S-NOM

'When I don't want to be Sosia, you be Sosia.' (Pl. *Amph.* 439)

Example (426) has the adjective *tardus* with overt features of [+ masculine, + singular] in agreement with PRO with the subject-control verb *coepere*.

(426)  $pro_i$  [PRO<sub>i</sub> *tardus\_i* *esse*] *ilico* *coepi\_i*.  
slow-M-S-NOM be-*INFIN* there begin-1-S-*PERF*

'Then I began to go [lit. 'be'] slow.' (Pl. *Cas.* 884)

In (427) the [+ masculine, + singular] NP *bonus vates* is linked with PRO under *posse*.

(427)  $pro_i$  [PRO<sub>i</sub> {*bonus* *vates*}<sub>i...</sub>] *poteras\_i* [...*esse*], *nam*  $pro_i$   
good-M-S-NOM prophet-M-S-NOM be able-2-S-*PLUPERF* be-*INFIN* for

pro<sub>j</sub> [quae<sub>j</sub> sunt<sub>j</sub> futura<sub>j</sub>] dicis<sub>i</sub>.  
REL-N-PL-ACC be-3-PL be-PART-FUT-N-PL-NOM say-2-S

‘You could have been a good prophet, for you say what is going to be.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 911)

Example (428) also has a [+ masculine, + singular] adjective linked to PRO.

(428) pro<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> tibi<sub>j</sub> servire] malui<sub>i</sub> multo quam [PRO<sub>i</sub> alii<sub>k</sub>  
you-S-DAT serve-1-PL-ACC prefer-1-S-ACC much than other-M-S-GEN  
libertus<sub>i</sub> esse].  
freedman-M-S-NOM be-1-PL-ACC

‘I much preferred to serve you [i.e. as a slave] than to be another man’s freedman.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 1355-1356).

Three corpus examples involve raising to subject position with a control complement (discussed further in section 7.2.1). In sentence (429) PRO has [+ feminine, + singular] agreement with *subacta* (referring to *Alcumena*).

(429) Tu<sub>i</sub> cum {Alcumena uxore}<sub>j</sub> antiquam in gratiam  
you-S-NOM with Alcmena-F-S-ABL wife-F-S-ABL former-F-S-ACC into agreeableness-F-S-ACC  
redi<sub>i</sub>: haud pro<sub>j</sub> promeruit<sub>j</sub> quam ob rem  
go back-2-S-IMPERAT not deserve-3-S-ACC INTERROG-F-S-ACC on account of affair-F-S-ACC  
pro<sub>i</sub> pro<sub>j</sub> vitio<sub>k</sub> vorteres<sub>i</sub>; {mea vi}<sub>l</sub> pro  
wrongdoing-N-S-ABL turn-2-S-IMPERF-SUBJ my-F-S-ABL force-F-S-ABL  
subacta<sub>j</sub> ’st<sub>j</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> facere pro<sub>m</sub>].  
compel-PPP-F-S-NOM be-3-S do-1-PL-ACC

‘Return to your former agreeable relationship with your wife Alcmena: she has not done anything wrong to deserve that you should turn away [from her]; she was forced by me to do [it].’ (Pl. *Amph.* 1140-1142)

A similar raised nominative [+ feminine, + singular] PPP in (430-431) also link to PRO.

(430) Era<sub>i</sub> atque haec<sub>j</sub> dolum<sub>k</sub> ex proximo hunc<sub>k</sub>  
mistress-F-S-NOM and this-F-S-NOM trick-M-S-ACC out of nearest-M-S-ABL this-M-S-ACC  
protulerunt<sub>i+j</sub>; ego<sub>l</sub> [PRO<sub>l</sub> hunc<sub>m</sub>...] missa<sub>l</sub> sum [...ludere].  
carry forth-3-PL-ACC I-S-NOM this-M-S-ACC send-PPP-F-S-NOM be-1-S play-1-PL-ACC

‘The mistress and this woman from next door have carried out this trick; I was sent to fool him.’ (Pl. *Cas.* 687-688)

(431) Ut {ne-quid turpe}<sub>j</sub> civi<sub>i</sub> in se<sub>i</sub> admitteret<sub>i</sub> propter  
COMP NEG -INDEFIN-N-S-ACC base-N-S-ACC citizen-S-NOM into ANA-ACC let in-3-S-IMPERF-SUBJ because of  
egestatem<sub>k</sub> [proximo<sub>l</sub>...] iussa<sub>i</sub> ’st<sub>i</sub> [...PRO<sub>i</sub> dari]?  
need-F-S-ACC nearest-M-S-DAT order-PPP-F-S-NOM be-3-S give-1-PL-ACC

‘Or, so that a citizen might take on no shame on account of her poverty, has she been ordered to be given to her nearest male [relative]?’ (Ter. *Phor.* 415-416)

In all these examples the appositive adjective or noun linked to PRO<sup>57</sup> is nominative.

Therefore, PRO is assigned nominative case by default through its linking to an overt nominative NP. The next question is whether PRO is assigned accusative case when linked to an overt accusative NP in a control complement. Already we have seen several examples of control complements with a [+ perfect] tense passive infinitive, in which the form of the infinitive is the PPP + (overt or non-overt) copula. In these examples the overt morphology on the PPP is unambiguously accusative for [- neuter] NPs. Sentence (432), repeated from (363), has the PPP *insulatam* linked by a null copula to PRO.

- (432) *Neque* <sub>nor</sub> *pro*<sub>i</sub> *me*<sub>i</sub> <sub>I-S-ACC</sub> *quidem* <sub>indeed</sub> *patiar*<sub>i</sub> <sub>allow-I-S-FUT-DEPON</sub> [*PRO*<sub>i</sub> *probri*<sub>j</sub> <sub>wrong-N-S-GEN</sub> *falso* <sub>falsely</sub>  
*impune* <sub>without punishment</sub> *insulatam*<sub>i</sub>]. <sub>accuse-PPP-F-S-ACC</sub>

‘Nor indeed will I allow myself to be falsely accused of wrong.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 395)

In (433), repeated from (367), the PPP *missos* is [+ masculine, + plural].

- (433) *pro*<sub>i</sub> *nos*<sub>j</sub> <sub>I-PL-ACC</sub> [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *missos*<sub>j</sub>] <sub>send-PPP-M-PL-ACC</sub> *face*<sub>i</sub>. <sub>make-2-S-IMPERAT</sub>

‘Send us away [lit. ‘make us having been sent’].’ (Ter. *And.* 833)

Example (434), repeated from (373), has the PPP *incenatum* with the object-control predicate *iubere*.

- (434) *pro*<sub>i</sub> *pro*<sub>j</sub> [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *incenatum*<sub>j...</sub>] <sub>not dine-PPP-DEPON-M-S-ACC</sub> *iubeto*<sub>i</sub> <sub>order-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT</sub> [...*esse*]. <sub>be-INFIN</sub>

‘Order [him] not to dine [lit. ‘not to have dined’].’ (Cato *Agr.* 127)

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<sup>57</sup> Alternatively, it can be argued that these examples do not have PRO since they have some NP constituent overt. However, since the copula’s function is to link and one of the two linked elements is non-overt, PRO is a valid label here.

In addition to these examples with a PPP, sentence (435) has the ordinary [+ feminine, + plural] adjective *bonas* linked with the overt copula *esse* to PRO.

(435) *Nam expedit<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> bonas<sub>j</sub> esse] vobis<sub>j</sub>; nos<sub>i</sub> quibus<sub>i</sub> -cum*  
 for useful-3-S good-F-PL-ACC be-1NFIN you-PL-DAT I-PL-ACC REL-M-PL-ABL -with  
*est<sub>m</sub> res<sub>m</sub> non pro<sub>k</sub> sinunt<sub>k</sub>.*  
 be-3-S affair-F-S-NOM not allow-3-PL

‘For it’s useful for you women to be good; they don’t allow us, whose business it is, [to be good].’ (Ter. *Heau.* 388)

The combined evidence shows that PRO gets either nominative or accusative case assignment, depending on the case assignment of the NP in apposition to it. This is not a null case, but rather a default structural assignment.

## 6.5 ECM

Out of the 3,828 infinitival complements in the corpus, 2,210 (58%) are ECM. These can be classified into four main types, discussed below. A summary of the classifications is in Table 39.

Table 39: ECM Complements.

ECM Type	Frequency	%
Subject Control ~ ECM	266	12%
Impersonal	17	1%
Deontic	434	20%
AcI	1,493	68%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,210</b>	

Note that AcI complements alone are so numerous as to represent 39% of all the infinitives in the corpus.

What is called ‘exceptional’ in ECM is the embedded NP argument being assigned accusative case by the matrix verb even though that verb does not subcategorize such an argument. Example (436) is particularly interesting in this regard, since the matrix verb *habeo* ‘I

have’ is not an ECM verb in itself. But with its internal argument *gratiam* the meaning becomes lit. ‘I have thankfulness’, or ‘I am grateful’. What the speaker is grateful for is expressed in an ECM clause. Since *habere* can normally take only one accusative NP (here, *gratiam*), the infinitival subject *id* is clearly not an actual argument of the matrix verb.

- (436) [*Id* ANA-N-S-ACC *gratum* pleasing-N-S-ACC *fuisse* be-INFIN-PERF *avorsum* toward *te* you-S-ACC *habeo* have-1-S *gratiam*. gratefulness-F-S-ACC

‘I’m pleased it was pleasing to you.’ (Ter. *And.* 41-42)

Other verbs that are not inherently AcI but which become so with an internal argument are *dare* ‘to give’ + *fidem* ‘faith’ in (437) and *inducere* ‘to lead in’ + *animus* ‘mind’ in (438). As part of the synopsis at the beginning of the play, example (437) summarizes what Pamphilus does and what he believes will happen.

- (437) [*Sororem*<sub>j</sub> sister-F-S-ACC *falso* falsely *creditam*<sub>j</sub> believe-PPP-F-S-ACC *meretriculae*<sub>k</sub> prostitute-DIMIN-F-S-GEN *genere* birth-N-S-ABL *Andriae*<sub>k</sub> from Andros-F-S-GEN  
*Glycerium*<sub>j</sub>] *Glycerium*-N-S-ACC *vitiat*<sub>i</sub> spoil-3-S *Pamphilus*<sub>i</sub> Pamphilus-M-S-NOM *gravidam*<sub>j</sub> heavy-F-S-ABL *-que* -and *factam*<sub>j</sub> make-PPP-F-S-ABL *pro*<sub>i</sub> *dat*<sub>i</sub> give-3-S  
*fidem*<sub>i</sub> faith-F-S-ACC [*uxorem*<sub>j</sub> wife-F-S-ACC *sibi*<sub>i</sub> ANA-DAT *fore* be-INFIN-FUT *hanc*<sub>j</sub>]. this-F-S-ACC

‘Pamphilus debauches Glycerium, [who is] falsely believed [to be] the sister of the little prostitute from Andria and when she’s pregnant he believes [lit. ‘he gives faith’] she will become his wife.’ (Ter. *And.* Arg.)

- (438) *pro*<sub>i</sub> [*quanto* -que as much -and {*suam* own-F-S-ACC *vitam*}<sub>k</sub> *superiorem*<sub>k</sub> above-COMPAR-F-S-ACC *atque* and *ampliorem*<sub>k</sub> great-COMPAR-F-S-ACC  
*atque* and *antiquiorem*<sub>k</sub>...] preferred-COMPAR-F-S-ACC *animum*<sub>j</sub> mind-M-S-ACC *inducant*<sub>i</sub> lead in-3-PL-FUT [...*esse* be-INFIN *quam* than  
*innoxiiorem*<sub>k</sub>]. harmless-COMPAR-F-S-ACC

‘They will believe [lit. ‘lead the mind into’] their own life is so much more superior and greater and more preferable than more harmless.’ (Cato Or. 178)

Altogether the corpus contains seven instances of compound AcI predicates of this kind.

Bolkestein (1979, pp. 20-21) makes a similar argument with *dicere* ‘to say’ and other AcI matrix verbs, showing that a NP referring to a person cannot by itself be the direct object of the verb,

but must instead be an argument of the infinitive. That claim is not completely right, because *dicere* does actually take a true internal direct object in a context like (439) .

(439) Pyth. *Sed* *uter* *vestrorum* *est* *celerior?* *pro* *memora*  
 but which-M-S-NOM you-PL-GEN be-3-S swift-COMPAR-M-S-NOM tell-2-S-IMPERAT  
*pro* *mihi.*  
 I-S-DAT

Anthr. *Ego,* *et* *multo* *melior.*  
 I-S-NOM and much better-M-S-NOM

Pyth. *Cocum* *ego,* *non* *furem* *rogo.*  
 cook-M-S-ACC I-S-NOM not thief-M-S-ACC ask-1-S

Anthr. *Cocum* *ergo* *dico.*  
 cook-M-S-ACC therefore say-1-S

‘Pyth. But which of you is the faster? Tell me.

Anthr. I am, and much better too.

Pyth. I’m asking about a cook, not a thief.

Anthr. So I say a cook.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 321-323)

Here the NP *cocum* in the last line of the citation clearly undergoes the action of saying.

Generally, though, *dicere* and the many other ECM verbs have no direct semantic relationship to the NP marked as accusative.

In addition, impersonal predicates such as *placere* ‘to please’ have only one argument, which is realized as an ECM theme complement. Since that argument has no inherent thematic role for an NP (only for a clause), the accusative-marked NP necessarily comes from the infinitival complement and not the matrix verb itself. An example is in (440).

(440) *Quom* *id<sub>i</sub>* *mihi<sub>j</sub>* *placebat<sub>i</sub>* [*tum* {*uno* *ore*} *omnes<sub>k</sub>*  
 when ANA-N-S-NOM I-S-DAT please-3-S-IMPERF then one-N-S-ABL mouth-N-S-ABL all-M-PL-ACC  
 {*omnia* *bona*}<sub>l</sub> *dicere* *et* [*pro<sub>k</sub>* *laudare* {*fortunas* *meas*}<sub>m</sub>].  
 all-N-PL-ACC good-N-PL-ACC say-1-PL and praise fortune-F-PL-ACC my-F-PL-ACC

‘Then that was pleasing to me, that everyone with one voice said all good things and praised my good luck.’ (Ter. *And.* 96-97)

Similarly, deontic ECM predicates have no internal argument for the infinitival subject, which must therefore come from outside the matrix clause. Some examples are in (441-442).

- (441) *Ut* [*filium<sub>j</sub>* *bonum<sub>j</sub>* *patri<sub>k</sub>* *esse*] *oportet<sub>i</sub>* *itidem* *ego<sub>l</sub>* *sum<sub>l</sub>*  
as son-M-S-ACC good-M-S-ACC father-M-S-DAT be-INFIN be fitting-3-S same I-S-NOM be-1-S  
*patri<sub>k</sub>*.  
father-M-S-DAT

‘As a son should be good to his father, so am I good to my father.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 992)

- (442) [*Nos<sub>j</sub>* *quiescere*] *aequum<sub>i</sub>* *est<sub>i</sub>?*  
I-PL-ACC become quiet-INFIN fair-N-S-NOM be-3-S

‘Is it right for us to become quiet?’ (Enn. *Trag.* 166)

Finally, a trace in 12 (1%) of ECM contexts shows that the infinitival clause itself is embedded by the matrix predicate. That is, the clause is in apposition to the trace, which is either a demonstrative or a form of the unbound anaphor *is*. An example of a trace with the ECM verb *velle* ‘to wish’ is in (443), where the anaphoric pronoun *id* refers to the proposition in the ECM clause.

- (443) *pro<sub>i</sub>* *id<sub>j</sub>* *voluit<sub>i</sub>* [[*nos<sub>k</sub>* *sic* *necopinantis<sub>k</sub>* *duci*  
ANA-N-S-ACC wish-3-S-PERF I-PL-ACC thus unaware-PART-M-PL-ACC lead-INFIN-PASS  
{*falso* *gaudio*]<sub>l</sub>, *sperantis<sub>k</sub>* *iam*, {*amoto* *metu*]<sub>m</sub>], [*pro<sub>k</sub>*  
FALSE-N-S-ABL joy-N-S-ABL hope-PART-M-PL-ACC now remove-PPP-M-S-ABL fear-M-S-ABL  
*interoscitantis<sub>k</sub>* *opprimi*]<sub>j</sub>, *ne* *esset<sub>n</sub>* *spatium<sub>n</sub>* *cogitandi*  
be agape-PART-M-PL-ACC oppress-INFIN-PASS lest be-3-S-IMPERF-SUBJ space-N-S-NOM think-GERUND-N-S-GEN  
*ad* *disturbandas* *nuptias*; *astute*.  
to disturb-GERUNDIVE-F-PL-ACC marriage-F-PL-ACC cunningly

‘He wanted this, for us to be lead unaware by false hope, now hoping, with fear removed, [for us] while we were gaping to be taken by surprise, so that there wouldn’t be any time for devising how to ruin the wedding; [he did it] cunningly.’ (Ter. *And.* 180-183)

In (444) the same anaphor *id* is also used with an AcI clause.

- (444) *Scelestissime<sub>i</sub>* *audes<sub>i</sub>* *mihi<sub>j</sub>* *praedicare* *id<sub>k</sub>*, [*domi* *te<sub>i</sub>*  
scoundrel-SUPER-M-S-VOC dare-2-S I-S-DAT proclaim-INFIN ANA-N-S-ACC home-F-S-LOC you-S-ACC  
*esse* *nunc*]<sub>k</sub> *qui<sub>i</sub>* *hic* *ades<sub>i</sub>?*  
be-INFIN now REL-M-S-NOM here be near-2-S

‘Utter scoundrel, do you dare proclaim this to me, that you’re at home now when you’re right here?’ (Pl. *Amph.* 561-562)

(445)     $\text{pro}_i$      $\frac{\{unum \quad hoc\}_j}{\text{one-N-S-ACC} \quad \text{this-N-S-ACC}}$      $\frac{scio_i}{\text{know-I-S}}$      $\frac{[hanc_k]}{\text{this-F-S-ACC}}$      $\frac{meritam_k}{\text{earn-PPP-DEPON-F-S-ACC}}$      $\frac{esse_j}{\text{be-IPFV}}$      $\frac{ut}{\text{COMP}}$

$\text{pro}_l$      $\frac{memor_l}{\text{mindful-M-S-NOM}}$      $\frac{esses_l}{\text{be-2-S-IMPERF-SUBj}}$      $\frac{sui_k}{\text{ANA-S-GEN}}$

(446)    *pro*<sub>i</sub>        *credo*<sub>i</sub>    *-n*        *tibi*        *hoc*<sub>j</sub>        *nunc*,        [*peperisse*        *hanc*<sub>k</sub>        *e*  
                 believe-I-S   -Y/N        you-S-DAT        this-N-S-ACC        now        give birth-*INFIN*-*PERF*        this-F-S-ACC        out of  
  
                 *Pamphilo*]<sub>j</sub>?  
                 Pamphilus-M-S-*ABL*

The clausal appositives show that the entire infinitival complement – not the ECM subject – is treated as a direct object of the matrix verb.

As in English, one type of ECM is the contrast between verbs that can take either a control or an ECM structure. Example (447) is adapted here from (27).

- The essential difference between these two sentences is the type of NP in the embedded subject: PRO for control and an overt NP for ECM. In this example, there is also a difference in co-indexing: the control sentence has co-indexed subjects, while the ECM sentence does not. (English does allow some reflexive subjects in ECM to be co-indexed depending on the lexeme, so co-indexing of subjects alone does not distinguish between the two complement types.)

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(448) a.

	pro <sub>i</sub>	[PRO <sub>i</sub>	<i>domum</i>	<i>ire</i> ]	<i>cupio</i> <sub>i</sub> .
			home-F-S-ACC	go-INFIN	wish-I-S

'I want to go home.' (Pl. *Men.* 963)

b.

	pro <sub>i</sub>	[ <i>eiius</i> ...]	<i>cupio</i> <sub>i</sub>	[{ <i>filiam</i>	<i>virginem</i> } <sub>j</sub>	<i>mi</i> <sub>i</sub>	<i>desponderi</i> ].
		ANA-M-S-GEN	wish-I-S	daughter-F-S-ACC	maiden-F-S-ACC	I-S-DAT	promise-INFIN-PASS

'I wish (for) his maiden daughter to be promised to me [i.e. in marriage]'. (Pl. *Aul.* 172-173)

(449) a.	<i>Numquam</i> never	pro <sub>i</sub>	[PRO <sub>i</sub>	<i>indicare</i> show-INFIN	<i>id</i> ANA-N-S-ACC	<i>filio</i> ...] son-M-S-DAT	<i>voluit</i> <sub>i</sub> wish-3-S-PERF
	[... <i>suo</i> ] <sub>j</sub> own-M-S-DAT	[PRO <sub>i</sub>	<i>inopem</i> <sub>j</sub> without means-M-S-ACC	<i>-que</i> ...] -and	<i>optavit</i> <sub>i</sub> choose-3-S-PERF	[... <i>potius</i> rather	
	<i>eum</i> <sub>j</sub> ANA-M-S-ACC	<i>relinquere</i> ] leave-INFIN	<i>quam</i> than	[ <i>eum</i> [ANA-M-S-ACC	<i>thensaurum</i> treasure-M-S-ACC	<i>commostraret</i> <sub>i</sub> show-3-S-IMPERF-SUBJ	
	<i>filio</i> ] <sub>j</sub> . son-M-S-DAT						

‘[He] never wanted to show it to his son; he chose to leave him without means rather than show that treasure to his son.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 9-12)

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- b.  $[Vos_j \text{ -ne } \dots] \text{ velit}_i \text{ } [\dots \text{ an } me_k \text{ regnare}] \text{ era}_i?$   
 you-PL-ACC -Y/N wish-3-S-SUBJ or I-S-ACC rule-INFIN master-F-S-NOM

‘Would the mistress wish (for) you or (for) me to rule?’ (Enn. *Ann.* 189)

Similarly, examples (451-452) show the two embedded complement types with *nolle*, and (453) has *malle*.

- (451) a.  $pro_i \text{ } [in \text{ } coloniam \dots], \text{ mercurus}, \text{ } [\dots PRO_i \text{ } scribere \dots] \text{ nolim}_i,$   
 into colony-F-S-ACC my Hercules write-INFIN wish-1-S-SUBJ  
 $si \text{ } trium \text{ } virum \text{ } sim_i, \text{ } [\dots spatiatorem_j \text{ } atque$   
 if three-M-PL-GEN man-M-PL-GEN be-1-S-SUBJ walker-M-S-ACC and  
*Fescenninum\_k*].  
 from Fescennia-M-S-ACC

‘Really, I wouldn’t want to send a walker and a Fescennian into the colony if I were one of the triumvirs.’ (Cato. *Or.* 113)

- b. *Atque ego\_i quidem arbitror\_i [Rodienses\_j noluisse*  
 and I-S-NOM indeed think-1-S-DEPON from Rhodes-M-PL-ACC not wish-INFIN-PERF  
 $[nos_j \text{ } ita \text{ } depugnare], \text{ } uti \text{ } depugnatum \text{ } est, \text{ } neque \text{ } [pro_k$   
 I-PL-ACC thus fight out-INFIN as fight out-PPP-N-S-NOM be-3-S nor  
 $\{regem \text{ } Persem\}_1 \text{ } vinci \text{ } t_i]$ .  
 king-M-S-ACC Persis-M-S-ACC conquer-INFIN-PASS

‘And indeed I think the Rhodians didn’t want to fight it out with us the way it was fought out, nor did they want (for) king Persis to be conquered.’ (Cato *Or.* 164)

- (452) a. *Nolo\_i ego\_i [PRO\_i hanc\_j adeo efflictim amare].*  
 not wish-1-S I-S-NOM this-F-S-ACC to there destruction-F-S-ACC love-INFIN

‘I don’t want to love her to death.’ (Naev. *Fab.* 37-38)

- b.  $pro_i \text{ } [mirari \dots] \text{ } nolim_i \text{ } [\dots vos_j \text{ } [quapropter \text{ } Iuppiter$   
 wonder-INFIN-DEPON not wish-1-S-SUBJ you-PL-ACC why Jupiter-M-S-NOM  
*nunc \text{ } histriones \text{ } curet]*]  
 now actor-M-PL-ACC care about-3-S-SUBJ

‘I wouldn’t want (for) you to wonder why Jupiter now cares about the actors.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 86-87)

- (453) a.  $pro_i \text{ } malis_i \text{ -ne } [PRO_i \text{ } esse]?$   
 prefer-2-S -Y/N eat-INFIN

‘Do you prefer to eat?’ (Luc. *Sat.* 663)

- b.  $pro_i \text{ } [regnum_j \text{ } tibi_k \text{ } permitti] \text{ } malunt_i.$   
 kingdom-N-S-ACC you-S-DAT grant-INFIN-PASS prefer-3-PL

‘They prefer (for) the kingdom to be granted to you.’ (Acc. *Trag.* 468)

In (454) the same contrast between subject control and ECM occurs with *studere*.

- (454) a. *Sed ita*  $\text{pro}_i$  [ $\text{PRO}_i$  *Achilli* *armis* *inclutis*  
but thus Achilles-M-S-GEN weapon-N-PL-ABL famous-N-PL-ABL  
*vesci*] *studet*<sub>i</sub> *ut* [*cuncta* *opima* *levia* *iam*  
feed upon-*INFIN-DEPON* be eager-3-S COMP remaining-N-PL-ACC spoils-N-PL-ACC light-N-PL-ACC now  
*prae illis*] *putet*<sub>i</sub>.  
before that-N-PL-ABL think-3-S-SUBJ

‘But he is so eager to feed upon Achilles’ famous weapons that he now thinks the rest of the spoils are trivial compared with them.’ (Acc. *Trag.* 96-97)

- b. *Faciundum* *est* *mi*<sub>i</sub> *illud* *fieri* *quod* *illaec*<sub>j</sub>  
do-GERUNDIVE-N-S-NOM be-3-S I-S-DAT that-N-S-NOM do-*INFIN-PASS* REL-N-S-ACC that-F-S-NOM  
*postulat* *si* [*me*<sub>i</sub> {*illam* *amantem*}<sub>j</sub> *ad* *sese*<sub>j</sub>...] *studeam*<sub>i</sub>  
demand-3-S if I-S-ACC that-F-S-ACC love-PART-F-S-ACC to ANA-ACC be eager-1-S-SUBJ  
[... *recipere*]  
take back-*INFIN*

‘I must do what she demands to be done if I want (for) her to lovingly take me back to her [lit. ‘to herself’].’ (Pl. *Amph.* 891-892)

Another group of control/ECM verbs includes two verbs meaning ‘promise’: *polliceri* ‘to offer, proffer, promise’ and *promittere* ‘to promise’, together representing 22 (1%) of the control ~ ECM verbs. Examples of these verbs in the two structure types are in (455-456), again with the (a) sentences as control and (b) as ECM.

- (455) a.  $\text{pro}_i$  *negabo*<sub>i</sub> -*n* [*velle* *me*<sub>i</sub>], *modo* *qui*<sub>i</sub> *sum*  
deny-1-S-FUT -Y/N wish-*INFIN* I-S-ACC just now REL-M-S-NOM be-1-S  
*pollicitus*<sub>i</sub> [ $\text{PRO}_i$  *ducere*]?  
promise-PPP-DEPON-M-S-NOM lead-*INFIN*  
‘Am I going to deny I want to, when just now I promised I would [i.e. marry her]?’ (Ter. *And.* 612-613)
- b.  $\text{pro}_i$  [[*puerum*<sub>j</sub>...] *autem* *ne* *resciscat*<sub>i</sub> [...*mi*<sub>k</sub> *esse* *ex*  
boy-M-S-ACC however lest find out-3-S-SUBJ I-S-DAT be-*INFIN* out of  
*illa*] *cautio* ‘*st*, *nam*  $\text{pro}_k$  *pollicitus*<sub>k</sub> *sum*<sub>k</sub>  
that-F-S-ABL caution-F-S-NOM be-3-S for promise-PPP-DEPON-M-S-NOM be-1-S

[pro<sub>k</sub> *suscepturum*<sub>k</sub><sup>58</sup> pro<sub>j</sub>]  
take up-M-S-ACC

‘I must be careful that [he] doesn’t find out I have a boy with her, for I have promised [I] will raise [him] up.’ (Ter. *And.* 400-401)

- (456) a. [*Casinam*<sub>j</sub> ...] *ego*<sub>i</sub> [...*uxorem*<sub>j</sub>...] *promisi*<sub>i</sub> [... *vilico* *nostro*  
Casina-F-S-ACC I-S-NOM wife-F-S-ACC promise-I-S-PERF overseer-M-S-DAT our-M-S-DAT  
*dare*].  
give-*INFIN*

‘I promised to give Casina as wife to our overseer.’ (Pl. *Cas.* 288)

- b. pro<sub>i</sub> *promitte*<sub>i</sub> [*hoc*<sub>j</sub> *fore*]  
promise-2-S-*IMPERAT* this-N-S-ACC be-*INFIN-FUT*

‘Promise this will be.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 219)

In the following sections, certain predicates are classified as ECM or control based on their syntactic patterns.

#### 6.5.1.1 ‘Hope’

In English, ‘hope’ is distinctly a control verb (e.g. I hope to win), and it lacks an ECM counterpart for either reflexive (e.g. \*I hope myself to win) or disjoint subjects (e.g. \*I hope him to win). When the matrix subject is not co-indexed with the ‘hope’ subject in English, the embedded clause must be finite (e.g. I hope he will win). However, in Latin, *sperare* ‘to hope’ and the related noun *spes* ‘hope’ behave as ECM rather than control, as shown from two patterns of distribution.

First, the embedded subject with *sperare* is typically an overt NP. In (457) with the noun *spes* as the matrix predicate, having the lower subject overt makes its meaning easier to interpret than otherwise since the matrix noun does not mark [person] for who does the hoping as the verb *sperare* would.

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<sup>58</sup> See footnote 36. The meaning is somewhat ironic here, since the speaker – although an adult – is still under his father’s legal responsibility and therefore cannot legally ‘raise’ the child. The plot of the play hinges on the felicity condition of the speaker’s promise.

- (457) *Spes* *mihi* *est*, [*pro*<sub>i</sub> *vos*<sub>j</sub> *inventurum*<sub>i</sub> {*fratres*  
hope-F-S-NOM I-S-DAT be-3-S you-PL-ACC find-PART-FUT-M-S-ACC brother-M-PL-ACC  
*germanos* *duos* *geminos*}<sub>j</sub>, {*una* *matre*} *natos*<sub>j</sub>  
brother-M-PL-ACC two-M-PL-ACC twin-M-PL-ACC one-F-S-ABL mother-F-S-ABL be born-PPP-DEPON-M-PL-ACC  
*et* {*patre* *uno*} {*uno* *die*}].  
and father-M-S-ABL one-M-S-ABL one-M-S-ABL day-M-S-ABL

‘My hope is [he] will discover you [are] two twin brothers born of one mother and one father on the same day.’ (Pl. *Men.* 1101-1102)

However, even when the matrix predicate is the verb *sperare* and the main and embedded subjects are co-indexed, the lower subject is also typically overt, as in the selections in (458-462) from a wide variety of authors.

- (458) *Et* *qui* [*se*<sub>i</sub> ...] *sperat*<sub>i</sub> [*Romae* *regnare* *Quadratae*]?  
and how ANA-ACC hope-3-S Rome-F-S-LOC rule-INFIN square-F-S-LOC

‘And how does he hopes [lit. ‘himself’] to rule at Square Rome?’ (Enn. *Ann.* 123)

- (459) *quae*<sub>i</sub> *sperat*<sub>i</sub> [*se*<sub>i</sub> *nupturam*<sub>i</sub> *viridulo* *adolescentulo*]  
REL-F-S-NOM hope-3-S ANA-ACC marry-PART-FUT-F-S-ACC green-M-S-DAT youth-M-S-DAT

‘who hopes to marry [lit. ‘herself to (fut.) marry’] a green young man’ (Naev. *Frag.* 7-8)

- (460) *sperans*<sub>i</sub> [[*aetatem* *eadem*...] *me*<sub>i</sub> [...*haec* *proferre*] *potesse*]  
hope-PART-S-NOM age-F-S-ACC same-N-PL-ACC I-S-ACC this-N-PL-ACC offer-INFIN be able-INFIN  
*et* [*mansum* *ex* *ore* *daturum*<sub>i</sub>]  
and chew-PPP-N-S-ACC out of mouth-N-S-ABL give-PART-FUT-M-S-ACC

‘hoping I’ll be able to offer [lit. ‘myself to be able to offer] these same things for a lifetime and to give [lit. ‘(fut.) to give’] something chewed up from the mouth.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 1059-1060).<sup>59</sup>

- (461) [*quod*...] *ego* [...*me*...] *spero* [...*ostenturum*].  
REL-N-S-ACC I-S-NOM I-S-ACC hope-1-S show-FUT-M-S-ACC

‘which I hope I’ll show’ (Cato *Or.* 209)

- (462) *pro*<sub>i</sub> [*orationem* ...] *sperat*<sub>i</sub> [...*invenisse* *se*<sub>i</sub>] *qui* *differat*<sub>i</sub> *te*.  
plea-F-S-ACC hope-3-S find-INFIN-PERF ANA-ACC how discredit-3-S-SUBJ you-S-ACC

‘He hopes he’s found [lit. ‘himself to have found’] a plea by which he discredits you.’ (Ter. *And.* 407-408)

<sup>59</sup> As Warmington (pp. 3:343) notes, the meaning is uncertain but it appears to refer to a parent and child, perhaps on the metaphor of birds.

To maintain transparency in communication, an overt subject would also be expected for an embedded subject that is disjoint from the main subject. That is what occurs in examples (463-465), again from a range of writers.

- (463) *Amphitruo*, *speravi*<sub>i</sub> *ego*<sub>i</sub> [*istam*<sub>j</sub> *tibi*<sub>i</sub> *parituram*<sub>j</sub> *filium*<sub>k</sub>].  
 Amphitryon-M-S-VOC hope-1-S-PERF I-S-NOM that-F-S-ACC you-S-DAT give birth-PART-FUT-F-S-ACC son-M-S-ACC

‘Amphitryon, I hoped she would bear you a son.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 718)

- (464) *Hem*, *pro*<sub>i</sub> [*tibi*<sub>i</sub> *-ne haec*<sub>k</sub> *diutius licere*...] *speras*<sub>i</sub> [... *me*<sub>j</sub>  
 well you-S-DAT -Y/N this-N-PL-ACC longer be allowed-INFIN hope-2-S I-S-ACC  
*vivo* *patre*], *amicam* *ut* *habeas* *prope* *iam* *in*  
 alive-M-S-ABL father-M-S-ABL friend-F-S-ACC COMP have-2-S-SUBJ nearly already in  
*uxoris* *loco*?  
 wife-F-S-GEN place-M-S-ABL

‘Well, do you hope it’s allowed for me to do these things any longer for you while your father is alive, that you have a girlfriend in the place of a wife?’ (Ter. *Heaut.* 103-105)

- (465) *pro*<sub>i</sub> [*nupturum*<sub>i</sub><sup>60</sup> *te*]<sub>i</sub> *nupta*<sub>i</sub> *negas*<sub>i</sub> *quod* *pro*<sub>i</sub> [*vivere*  
 marry-PART-FUT-M-S-ACC you-ACC veil-PPP-F-S-NOM deny-2-S because live-INFIN  
*Ulixen*]<sub>j</sub> *speras*<sub>i</sub>.  
 Ulysses-M-S-ACC hope-2-S

‘Already married, you deny you’ll [ever] marry, because you believe Ulysses is alive.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 565-566)

A summary of how infinitival subjects occur with *sperare* is in Table 40. The infinitival subject with ‘hope’ is more likely to be overt whether or not it is co-indexed with the matrix subject, occurring as an overt NP in nearly three fourths (71%) of the 24 instances. This is not the pattern expected from a subject-control predicate.

The second pattern with ‘hope’ is its range of tense marking on the infinitival, summarized in Table 41.

<sup>60</sup> Here the future-active participle *nupturum* does not agree in [gender] with the [+feminine] subject *nupta*, apparently an allusion to Ulysses’ wife Penelope.

Table 40: Subjects with ‘Hope’.

Subject	Overt		Null		Total
Co-Indexed	5	71%	2	29%	7
Disjoint	12	71%	5	29%	17
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>71%</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>24</b>

Table 41: Infinitival Tenses on ‘Hope’.

Infinitival Tense	Frequency	%
Present	10	42%
Perfect	2	8%
Future	12	50%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>24</b>	

The infinitive is future tense in 12 (50%) and perfect tense in 2 (8%) of the 24 clauses embedded by *sperare* or the NP *spes*. While the [+ present] tense infinitive occurs almost as frequently as the [+ future], the 42% rate is misleading because 4 (40%) of the 10 instances are embedded by a single matrix verb, shown in (466).

- (466)  $pro_i$  [ $pro_i$  *depoclassere* *aliqua...*] *sperans*<sub>i</sub> [...*me*<sub>j</sub> *ac*  $pro_i$   
ungoblet-INFIN-PRES INDEFIN-N-PL-ACC hope-PART-S-NOM I-S-ACC and  
*deargentassere*,  $pro_i$  *decalauticare*,  $pro_i$  *eburno* *speculo*  
unsilver-INFIN-PRES unshawl-INFIN-PRES ivory-N-S-DAT mirror-N-S-DAT  
*despeculassere*].  
unmirror-INFIN-PRES

‘eagerly hoping somehow to ungoblet me, to unsilver and unshawl me, to unmirror me from my ivory mirror.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 640-641)

The unusualness of these present-tense infinitives is emphasized by the satirical humor, not only of the sentence's meaning but also because all four verbs are neologisms (see Andrews, pp. 414-415).<sup>61</sup>

Future infinitives are shown above in examples (457,459-461,463,465). One of the two corpus examples of 'hope' with a perfect infinitive is in (462). The other example is in (467); both are from Terence.

(467)	<i>Sperabit<sub>i</sub></i>	<i>[sumptum<sub>j</sub></i>	<i>sibi<sub>i</sub>...</i>	<i>senex<sub>i</sub></i>	<i>[...levatum<sub>j</sub></i>	<i>esse</i>
	hope-3-S-FUT	expense-M-S-ACC	ANA-DAT	old-M-S-NOM	lift-PPP-M-S-ACC	be-INFIN
	<i>harunc<sub>l</sub></i>	<i>abitu<sub>k</sub>].</i>				
	this-INTENS-F-PL-GEN	departure-M-S-ABL				

'The old man will hope the expense has been lessened for him [lit. 'himself'] by their departure.' (Ter. *Heau.* 746)

As mentioned in section 3.2.3, evidence from Ennius (one of the earliest authors represented in the corpus and, significantly, the one who most prefers older forms) suggests that [+ present] was the original form of the infinitival, and the other two tenses developed diachronically. Whatever the historical development of tense on *sperare* complements, by the time of the works in the corpus this verb is freely able to take a [- present] infinitival complement.

Finally, the 7 (29%) of 24 examples with 'hope' and a null infinitival subject do not behave as subject-control complements. Two of those examples are shown above in (457) and (466); the remaining occurrences are in (468-472).

(468)	<i>pro<sub>i</sub></i>	<i>spero<sub>i</sub></i>	<i>[pro<sub>j</sub></i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>futurum<sub>j</sub>].</i>
		hope-1-S		thus	be-PART-FUT-N-S-ACC

'I hope [it] will be that way.' (Pl. *Mil.* 1231)

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<sup>61</sup> Andrews, otherwise faithful to the label "copious" in the dictionary's subtitle, does not mention this instance of *depoclassare* and *despeculassere* in Lucilius or anywhere else (p. 447). Although three of these verbs have an ending in *-ssere*, they do not appear to be [+ future] since they syntactically parallel the unambiguously [+ present] form *decalauticare*. Each verb is transparently derived from a noun (e.g. *speculum* 'mirror' > *despeculassere*). Cf. *capessere* 'to take eagerly', an intensive form of *capere* 'to take'; the meaning of the verbs here in *-ssere* is apparently 'to X eagerly', where X with *de-* has the sense of privation.



- (469) *Sin* <sub>pro<sub>i</sub></sub> *eveniat<sub>i</sub>* <sub>turn out-3-S-SUBJ</sub> *{quod<sub>j</sub>* <sub>REL-N-S-ACC</sub> *pro<sub>k</sub>* *volok<sub>s</sub>* <sub>wish-1-S</sub> *in* *Pamphilo<sub>n</sub>* <sub>Pamphilus-M-S-ABL</sub> *ut* <sub>COMP</sub>
- nil<sub>i</sub>* <sub>nothing-N-S-NOM</sub> *sit<sub>i</sub>* <sub>be-3-S-SUBJ</sub> *morae<sub>m</sub>* <sub>delay-F-S-GEN</sub> *restat<sub>o</sub>* <sub>remain-3-S</sub> *Chremes<sub>o</sub>* <sub>Chremes-M-S-NOM</sub> *qui<sub>o</sub>* <sub>REL-M-S-NOM</sub> *mi<sub>k</sub>* <sub>I-S-DAT</sub>
- exorandus<sub>o</sub>* <sub>plead-GERUNDIVE-M-S-NOM</sub> *est<sub>o</sub>* <sub>be-3-S</sub> *et* <sub>and</sub> *pro<sub>k</sub>* *spero<sub>k</sub>* <sub>hope-1-S</sub> [*pro<sub>p</sub>* *confore*]. <sub>happen-INFIN-FUT</sub>

‘If it turns out the way I wish, so that Pamphilus makes no delay, there remains only Chremes for me to convince, and [I] hope [it] will happen.’ (Ter. *And.* 165-166)

- (470) *Ita* <sub>thus</sub> *magnae<sub>i</sub>* <sub>great-F-PL-NOM</sub> *ut* <sub>COMP</sub> *pro<sub>j</sub>* *sperem<sub>j</sub>* <sub>hope-1-S-IMPERF-SUBJ</sub> [*pro<sub>k</sub>* *posse* <sub>be able-INFIN</sub>
- avelli*]. <sub>pluck away-INFIN-PASS</sub>

‘[Their quarrels were] so great that [I]’d hope [she] could be plucked away [from him].’ (Ter. *And.* 553)

- (471) *Hem,* <sub>well</sub> *pro<sub>i</sub>* *[tibi<sub>i</sub> -ne* <sub>you-S-DAT -Y/N</sub> *[haec<sub>j</sub>* <sub>this-N-PL-ACC</sub> *diutius* <sub>longer</sub> *licere]...* <sub>be allowed-INFIN</sub> *speras<sub>i</sub>* <sub>hope-2-S</sub>
- ...[facere* <sub>do-INFIN</sub> *me<sub>k</sub>* <sub>I-S-ACC</sub> *{vivo* <sub>alive-M-S-ABL</sub> *patre<sub>i</sub>}]*, <sub>father-M-S-ABL</sub> [*pro<sub>i</sub>* *amicam<sub>m</sub>* <sub>friend-F-S-ACC</sub> *ut* <sub>COMP</sub>
- habeas<sub>i</sub>* <sub>have-2-S-SUBJ</sub> *iam* <sub>already</sub> *in* <sub>in</sub> *uxoris<sub>o</sub>* <sub>wife-F-S-GEN</sub> *loco<sub>n</sub>]*? <sub>place-M-S-ABL</sub>

‘Well, are you hoping it’s allowed to you that I do these things any longer while your father is alive, that you should have your girlfriend now in the place of a wife?’ (Ter. *Heaut.* 103-105)

- (472) *pro<sub>i</sub>* *non* <sub>not</sub> *in* <sub>in</sub> *sperando* <sub>hope-GERUND-N-S-ABL</sub> *cupide* <sub>eagerly</sub> *rem<sub>j</sub>* <sub>affair-F-S-ACC</sub> *prodere* <sub>ruin-INFIN</sub> *summam<sub>j</sub>* <sub>highest-F-S-ACC</sub>
- ‘not to ruin the state in eagerly hoping’ / ‘not in eagerly hoping to ruin the state’ (Enn. *Ann.* 408)

In all but example (472) the lower subject is disjoint from the main one, so that subject control is not possible. However, in (472) it is syntactically possible to interpret the infinitive *prodere* as the complement of *sperando*, but the presumed context makes the first interpretation shown more plausible (Warmington, p. 1:153).

The combined evidence, then, is that ‘hope’ is not a subject-control predicate. Compared with the infinitival tenses typical for unambiguous control verbs, *sperare* and *spes* behave like an

ECM rather than control predicate since the preferred tense is [+ future] rather than [+ present]. The 7 (29%) of 24 cases with a null infinitival subject shown in Table 40 are thus better treated not as PRO in subject control but as pro with ECM – however paradoxical the resulting terminology is.

### 6.5.1.2 ‘Pretend’

As with *sperare* ‘to hope’, *simulare* lit. ‘to make like’ = ‘to pretend’ and  *fingere* ‘to fashion, pretend’ occur in Latin as ECM rather than subject control. The corpus contains 28 instances of these verbs meaning ‘pretend’. The most frequently occurring form is *adsimulare*, which occurs in 16 instances. Some examples are in (473), repeated here from (151), and (474).

- (473) *Quid* INTERROG-N-S-NOM *mihij* I-S-DAT *melius* better-N-S-NOM *'st* be-3-S *quam,* than *quando* when *illi<sub>i</sub>* that-M-PL-NOM *[me<sub>j</sub>*  
*insanire]* be insane-*INFIN* *praedicant<sub>i</sub>,* say before-3-PL-SUBJ *ego<sub>j</sub>* I-S-NOM *[med<sub>j</sub>...]* I-S-ACC *adsimulem<sub>j</sub>* pretend-1-S-SUBJ *[...insanire],* be insane-*INFIN* *ut* COMP  
*illos<sub>i</sub>* that-M-PL-ACC *a* from *me<sub>j</sub>* I-S-ABL *absterream<sub>j</sub>?* frighten away-1-S-SUBJ

‘What’s better for me than, when they claim I’m insane, I pretend I’m insane in order to frighten them away from me?’ (Pl. *Men.* 831-832)

- (474) *Quo* when *pro<sub>i</sub>* *[me<sub>i</sub>...]* I-S-ACC *adsimularam<sub>i</sub>* pretend-1-S-IMPERF-SUBJ *[...ire* go-*INFIN* *ad* to *mercaturum<sub>j</sub>],* market-M-S-ACC *non* not *pro<sub>i</sub>*  
*eo<sub>i</sub>.* go-1-S

‘Though I’d pretend I was going to the market, I’m not going.’ (Ter. *Phor.* 127-128)

A summary of infinitival subjects with ‘pretend’ verbs is in Table 42

Table 42: Subjects with ‘Pretend’.

Subject	Overt		Null		Total
Co-Indexed	14	82%	3	18%	17
Disjoint	8	89%	1	11%	9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>85%</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>26</b>

As with ‘hope’, the infinitival subject with ‘pretend’ verbs is more likely to be overt whether or not it is co-indexed with the matrix subject. An overt NP occurs in 85% of all instances, which patterns more like ECM than subject control. Examples of co-indexed subjects with ‘pretend’ are in (475-476).

- (475) *Nempe ut pro<sub>i</sub> adsimule<sub>i</sub> [me<sub>i</sub> amore<sub>j</sub> istius<sub>k</sub>*  
 certainly COMP pretend-1-S-SUBJ I-S-ACC love-M-S-ABL that-M-S-GEN  
*differri*.  
 carry away-INFIN-PASS

‘Certainly, [the plan is] that I should pretend I’m carried away with love for him.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 1163)

- (476) *pro<sub>i</sub> adsimulet<sub>i</sub> -que [se<sub>i</sub> esse uxorem<sub>i</sub>].*  
 pretend-3-S-SUBJ -and ANA-ACC be-INFIN wife-F-S-ACC

‘And [she] should pretend she’s [your] wife.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 792-793)

The infinitival tenses with ‘pretend’ are summarized in Table 43. The tenses pattern less like ECM than subject control, but ‘pretend’ prototypically involves an event (i.e. the pretense) occurring at the same time as the main event. In other words, [+ present] is the default tense from the meaning of ‘pretend’, and so these infinitivals tenses are to be expected; they differ from the overall ECM pattern in a predictable way.

Table 43: Infinitival Tenses on ‘Pretend’.

Infinitival Tense	Frequency	%
Present	25	96%
Perfect	1	4%
Future	0	0%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>26</b>	

### 6.5.1.3 ‘Promise’

The corpus contains two distinct predicates meaning ‘promise’, *promittere* and the semi-deponent *polliceri*. Both occur with subject-control and ECM complements. Examples of these two verbs with a subject-control clause are in (477-478).

- (477) *si* <sub>if</sub> *pro*<sub>i</sub> *me*<sub>j</sub> <sub>I-S-ACC</sub> *consulas*<sub>i</sub> <sub>consult-2-S-SUBJ</sub> *{nummum illum}*<sub>k</sub> <sub>coin-M-S-ACC that-M-S-ACC</sub> *[quem*<sub>k</sub> <sub>REL-M-S-ACC</sub> *mihi*<sub>j</sub>...]<sub>I-S-DAT</sub>
- dudum* <sub>just now</sub> *pro*<sub>i</sub> *pollictu*<sub>i</sub> <sub>promise-PPP-DEPON-M-S-NOM</sub> *'s*<sub>i</sub> <sub>be-2-S</sub> *[...PRO dare]* <sub>give-INFIN</sub>

‘if you consult me, [I’d tell you to take] that coin which you just now promised to give me’ (Pl. *Men.* 310-311)

- (478) *[Casinam*<sub>j</sub>...]<sub>Casina-F-S-ACC</sub> *ego*<sub>i</sub> <sub>I-S-NOM</sub> *[...uxorem*<sub>j</sub>...]<sub>wife-F-S-ACC</sub> *promisi*<sub>i</sub> <sub>promise-1-S-PERF</sub> *[...{vilico nostro}*<sub>k</sub> <sub>overseer-M-S-DAT our-M-S-DAT</sub>
- PRO dare]*. <sub>give-INFIN</sub>

‘I promised to give Casina as wife to our overseer.’ (Pl. *Clas.* 288)

Although both of these examples are from Plautus, Terence also has ‘promise’ verbs with subject-control complements. An example is in (479).

- (479) *{decem minas}*<sup>62</sup> <sub>ten mina-F-PL-ACC</sub> *[quas mihi PRO dare]* <sub>REL-F-PL-ACC I-S-DAT give-INFIN</sub> *pro*
- pollicitus* <sub>promise-PPP-DEPON-M-S-NOM</sub> *'t* <sub>BE-3-S</sub>

‘ten minas which he promised to give me’ (Ter. *Heau.* 724)

While the examples in (477-479) are clearly subject-control complements, 6 (55%) of the 11 corpus examples with a ‘promise’ verb take ECM complements instead. Even though the overall frequency is low, these examples range across four separate authors, showing that the ECM complement is not mere authorial preference but rather a more widely distributed phenomenon. The four examples with *promittere* are in (480-483).

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<sup>62</sup> The *mina* is a Greek silver coin worth 100 drachmas.

- ‘[He] will be fine, on my honor I promise that.’ (Pl. Men. 894)

- ‘Promise this will be.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 219)

- ‘Sceledrus, I promise that fate will be upon your [head].’ (Pl. *Mil.* 326)

- ‘Promise that these things [will] be correctly given and done and satisfactorily given to the master or whomever he orders, and with the master’s judgment satisfactorily given [i.e. so that the master is satisfied with the result].’ (Cato *Agr.* 146)

(484) *[puerum<sub>j</sub>...]*      *ne*      *resciscat<sub>i</sub>*      *[...mi<sub>k</sub>*      *esse*      *ex*      *illa<sub>l</sub>]*  
 boy-M-S-ACC      lest      become aware-3-S-SUBJ      I-S-DAT      be-INFIN      out of      that-F-S-ABL

*cautio<sub>i</sub>*      *'st<sub>i</sub>*      *nam*      *pro<sub>k</sub>*      *pollicitus<sub>k</sub>*      *sum<sub>k</sub>*      *[pro<sub>k</sub>*  
 precaution-F-S-NOM      be-3-S      for           promise-PPP-DEPON-M-S-NOM      be-1-S      ]

*suscepturum<sub>k</sub>*      *pro<sub>j</sub>].*  
 raise up-PART-FUT-M-S-ACC

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Similarly, in example (485) from Lucilius the two subjects are co-indexed and the embedded structure is not subject control but ECM.

- (485) *Qui<sub>i</sub>*      *te<sub>j</sub>*      *diligat<sub>i</sub>*,   *pro<sub>i</sub>*   *[aetatis*   *facie<sup>63</sup>*      *-que*   *tuae<sub>j</sub>*  
REL-M-S-NOM   you-S-ACC   like-3-S      age-F-S-GEN   appearance-F-S-DAT-and   your-F-S-GEN
- se<sub>i</sub>*      *fautorem<sub>i</sub>]*      *ostendat<sub>i</sub>*,   *[pro<sub>i</sub>*   *fore*      *amicum<sub>i</sub>]*  
ANA-ACC   admirer-M-S-ACC   show-3-S-SUBJ      be-INFIN-FUT   friend-M-S-ACC
- polliceatur<sub>i</sub>*.  
promise-DEPON-3-S-SUBJ

‘He who likes you, [who] shows himself [to be] an admirer of your youth and appearance, promises [he] will be your friend.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 294-295)

Although the evidence here is scanty, it nonetheless appears that ‘promise’ verbs have an ECM variant even with a co-indexed infinitival subject. A summary is in Table 44.

Table 44: Subjects with ‘Promise’.

Subject	Overt		Null		Total
Co-Indexed	5	71%	2	29%	7
Disjoint	12	71%	5	29%	17
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>71%</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>24</b>

A summary of the infinitival tenses with ‘promise’ verbs is in Table 45. The relative frequency of [+ future] infinitivals with ‘promise’ verbs in ECM contrasts with what occurs with the same verbs and subject-control complements. While the number of corpus examples is low, the trend shows a distinction between the subject-control and ECM complements with ‘promise’ verbs. It appears that such verbs can take either embedded clause type when the subjects are co-indexed, and if the ECM clause is selected it is freely able to pattern like other ECM complements.

<sup>63</sup> Although this form appears to be ablative case, it is cited by the ancient commentator Gellius as an early dative form (Warmington, pp. 3:90-91), and this is confirmed elsewhere in Lucilius with *fautor* (cf. Andrews, p. 604).

Table 45: Infinitival Tenses on ‘Promise’.

Infinitival Tense	Frequency	%
PRESENT Subject Control ECM	$\begin{array}{r} 5 \\ \underline{3} \\ 8 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{r} 100\% \\ \underline{38\%} \\ 62\% \end{array}$
PERFECT Subject Control ECM	$\begin{array}{r} 0 \\ \underline{0} \\ 0 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{r} 0\% \\ \underline{0\%} \\ 0\% \end{array}$
FUTURE Subject Control ECM	$\begin{array}{r} 0 \\ \underline{5} \\ 5 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{r} 0\% \\ \underline{63\%} \\ 38\% \end{array}$
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>13</b>	

#### 6.5.1.4 ‘Wish’ and Compounds

One other sets of verbs alternates between subject-control and ECM complements, *velle* ‘to wish’ and its compounds *nolle* ‘not to wish’ and *malle* ‘to wish more, prefer’. By far the most frequently occurring of these is *velle*. The first issue to consider is how likely infinitival subjects with *velle* are to be overt. As with ‘promise’ verbs, the *velle* predicates vary between subject-control and ECM complements when the subjects are co-indexed. Some examples with *velle* with subject control are in (486-487).

- (48) *Di<sub>i</sub>*                      *me<sub>j</sub>*                      *perdant<sub>i</sub>*                      *si*                      *ego<sub>j</sub>*                      *tui*                      *quicquam*                      *apstuli<sub>j</sub>*  
god-M-PL-NOM                      I-S-ACC                      destroy-3-PL-SUBJ                      if                      I-S-NOM                      you-S-GEN                      INDEF-N-S-ACC                      take away-1-S-PERF
- ni -ve*                      *pro<sub>j</sub>*                      [*PRO<sub>j</sub>*                      *adeo*                      *apstulisse*]                      *vellem<sub>j</sub>*.  
not -or                                                                                     to there                      take away-INFIN-PERF                      wish-1-S-IMPERF-SUBJ

‘May the gods destroy me if I stole anything from you, nor would [I] wish to have stolen anything.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 645-646)

- (487)     $\text{pro}_i$              $[\text{PRO}_i$     *ne-quid}\_j                    *emisse ...*                    *velit}\_i                     $[\dots \textit{insciente}$   
                                  not -INDEFIN-N-S-ACC                    buy-INFIN-PERF                    wish-3-S-SUBJ                    not know-PART-M-S-ABL**

*domino*], *neu* *pro*<sub>i</sub> [*PRO*<sub>i</sub> *quid*<sub>k</sub> *dominum*<sub>i</sub> *celavisse*]  
 master-M-S-ABL nor I-S-ACC INDEFIN-N-S-ACC master-M-S-ACC hide-INFIN-PERF  
*velit*<sub>i</sub>.  
 wish-3-S-SUBJ

‘[He] should not wish to have sold anything without the master’s knowledge, nor should [he] wish to have hidden anything from the master.’ (Cato *Agr.* V)

In (488-489) *velle* occurs with an overt co-indexed infinitival subject as ECM, from the same two authors as above.

(488) *Nunc* *pro*<sub>i</sub> *volo*<sub>i</sub> [*me*<sub>i</sub> *emitti* *manu*<sub>j</sub>].  
 now wish-1-S I-S-ACC send out-INFIN-PASS hand-F-S-ABL

‘Now I want [lit. ‘myself’] to be manumitted.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 823)

(489) *pro*<sub>i</sub> *domi* *cum* *auspicamus*<sub>i</sub>, *pro*<sub>j</sub> [*honorem*<sub>k</sub> *me*<sub>j</sub> {*dium*  
 home-F-S-LOC when take auspices-1-PL honor-M-S-ACC I-S-ACC god-M-PL-GEN  
*immortalium*}<sub>1...</sub>] *velim*<sub>j</sub> [...*habuisse*].  
 immortal-M-PL-GEN wish-1-S-SUBJ have-INFIN-PERF

‘When we take auspices at home, I’d want [lit. ‘me’] to have had honor for the immortal gods’. (Cato *Or.* 73)

Note that ECM necessarily occurs when the complement has two subjects, one of which is co-indexed with the matrix subject; an example is in (490).

(490) *Sed* *utrum* *nunc* *tu*<sub>i</sub> [*caelibem*<sub>i</sub> *te*<sub>i</sub> *esse...*] *mavis*<sub>i</sub>  
 but whether now you-S-NOM unmarried-M-S-ACC you-S-ACC be-INFIN prefer-2-S  
 [...*liberum*<sub>i</sub>] *an* [*pro*<sub>i</sub> *maritum*<sub>i</sub> *servom*<sub>i</sub> *aetatem* *degere* *et*  
 free-M-S-ACC or married-M-S-ACC slave-M-S-ACC age-F-S-ACC live out-INFIN and  
 {*gnatos* *tuos*}<sub>j</sub>]?  
 offspring-M-PL-ACC your-M-PL-ACC

‘But now would you prefer [lit. ‘yourself’] to be single and free or to live out your life married and a slave, you and your children?’ (Pl. *Cas.* 290-291)

Here the two embedded subjects are *te* ‘you’, co-indexed with *tu* as the main subject, and *gnatos tuos* ‘your children’. In addition, ECM sometimes appear to occur for emphasis, as in (491).

(491) *Ego*<sub>i</sub> [*me*<sub>i</sub>...] *nunc* *volo*<sub>i</sub> [{*ius* *pontificium*}<sub>j</sub> *optime* *scire*].  
 I-S-NOM I-S-ACC now wish-1-S law-N-S-ACC of high priest-N-S-ACC best know-INFIN

‘I now wish [lit. ‘me’] to know the priestly law very well.’ (Cato *Or.* 197)



The temporal adverb *nunc* suggests urgency (or perhaps contrast from an unexpressed earlier mental state) in the desire expressed in this statement.

A summary of subjects with *velle* and its compounds is in Table 46. Note that the overall rate for an overt infinitival subject is similar for co-indexed (88%) and disjoint (89%) subjects. However, there are individual differences among the three verbs in this group. *Velle* and *malle* have similar rates for overt subjects, but *nolle* has a greater tendency to mark a co-indexed subject as null (22% overall, or twice the rate of the other two verbs). *Nolle* also shows a greater distinction in overtness between co-indexed and disjoint subjects, although the total count is too low for any statistical significance.

Table 46: Subjects with ‘Wish’ and Compounds.

Subject	Overt		Null		Total
CO-INDEXED					
<i>velle</i>	11	92%	1	8%	12
<i>nolle</i>	0	0%	1	100%	1
<i>malle</i>	4	100%	0	0%	4
	<u>15</u>	<u>88%</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>12%</u>	<u>17</u>
DISJOINT					
<i>velle</i>	119	89%	14	11%	133
<i>nolle</i>	14	82%	3	18%	17
<i>malle</i>	8	89%	1	11%	9
	<u>141</u>	<u>89%</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>11%</u>	<u>159</u>
TOTAL					
<i>velle</i>	130	90%	15	10%	145
<i>nolle</i>	14	78%	4	22%	18
<i>malle</i>	<u>12</u>	<u>92%</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8%</u>	<u>13</u>
	<u>156</u>	<u>89%</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>11%</u>	<u>176</u>

Some examples of ECM with *nolle* are in (492-494), and with *malle* in (495-497).

- (492)  $\text{pro}_i$  [*mirari*...] *nolim*<sub>i</sub> [...*vos*<sub>j</sub> [*quapropter* *Iuppiter*<sub>k</sub>]]  
wonder-INFIN-DEPON not wish-1-S-SUBJ you-PL-ACC why Jupiter-M-S-NOM
- nunc* *histriones*<sub>i</sub> *curet*<sub>k</sub>]].  
now actor-M-PL-ACC care about-3-S-SUBJ

‘I wouldn’t want you to wonder why Jupiter now cares about actors.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 86-87)

- (493)  $\text{pro}_i$  [*id\_j...*] *noluerint\_i* [...*evenire*].  
ANA-N-S-ACC not wish-3-PL-SUBJ happen-*INFIN*

‘They wouldn’t have wanted that to occur.’ (Cato Or. 164)

- (494)  $\text{pro}_i$  *adiuret\_i* *insuper* [ $\text{pro}_i$  *nolle* [ $\text{pro}_j$  *esse dicta\_j*]  
swear to-3-S-SUBJ on top not wish-*INFIN* be-*INFIN* say-PPP-N-PL-ACC  
*quae\_j*  $\text{pro}_i$  *in me\_k* *insontem\_k* *protulit\_i*.  
REL-N-PL-ACC into I-S-ACC innocent-S-ACC bring forward-3-S-PERF

‘On top of that [he] should vouch [he] wishes unsaid those things he brought to bear on innocent me.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 887-890)

- (495)  $\text{pro}_i$  [*eos\_j* *reduci* *quam* *relinqui*,  $\text{pro}_j$   
ANA-M-PL-ACC lead back-*INFIN*-PASS than leave behind-*INFIN*-PASS  
*devehi* *quam* *deseri*] *malui\_i*.  
drag away-*INFIN*-PASS than desert-*INFIN*-PASS prefer-1-S-PERF

‘I preferred for them to be lead back rather than left behind, carried away rather than deserted.’ (Enn. *Trag.* 392-393)

- (496) *nisi quidem qui\_i* [*sese\_i...*] *malit\_i* [*pugnitus pessum*<sup>64</sup>  
unless indeed REL-M-S-NOM ANA-ACC prefer-3-S with fists downward  
*dari*].  
give-*INFIN*-PASS

‘indeed, unless one who prefers to be beaten in a fight’<sup>65</sup>

- (497)  $\text{pro}_i$  [*sese\_i -que i* *perire...*] *mavolunt\_i* [...*ibidem* *quam* *cum*  
ANA-ACC -and then die-*INFIN* prefer-3-PL same place than with  
*stupro* *redire* *ad suos* *popularis*].  
shame-N-S-ABL return-*INFIN* to own-M-PL-ACC fellow countryman-M-PL-ACC

‘They prefer themselves to die then and there than to return with shame to their own countrymen.’ (Naev. *Bell.* 59-60)

The other issue regarding the classification of *velle* and its compounds is the tense on infinitivals. Recall from Table 33 that subject-control complements take an infinitive marked for

<sup>64</sup> *Pessum dare*, lit. ‘to give downward’, is idiomatic for ‘ruin’ (Simpson, 1968, p. 445).

<sup>65</sup> Warmington (p. 1:487) renders this as ‘unless one who prefers a knock-out to perdition,’ but there is no direct comparison made with *quam*, the usual word with a form of *malle*. Instead, the dispreferred option is not mentioned, and *pugnitus* appears to describe the particular ‘ruin’ the subject would prefer over an unspecified alternative.

[- present] in only 3% of instances, and that most of the 23 instances with [+ perfect] infinitives are with *velle*. The findings for infinitival tense with *velle* and its compounds are shown in Table 47. According to these data, the main tense difference between the *velle* verbs in subject control and ECM is a greater frequency of [+ perfect] with ECM complements.

Table 47: Infinitival Tenses on ‘Wish’ and Compounds.

Subject	Subject Control		ECM		Total	
PRESENT						
<i>velle</i>	176	91%	121	82%	297	87%
<i>nolle</i>	30	100%	12	86%	42	95%
<i>malle</i>	<u>12</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>95%</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>97%</u>
	218	92%	151	84%	369	89%
PERFECT						
<i>velle</i>	18	9%	26	18%	44	13%
<i>nolle</i>	0	0%	2	14%	2	5%
<i>malle</i>	<u>0</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5%</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3%</u>
	18	8%	29	16%	47	11%
FUTURE						
<i>velle</i>	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
<i>nolle</i>	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
<i>malle</i>	<u>0</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0%</u>
	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>TOTAL</b>						
<i>velle</i>	<b>194</b>		<b>147</b>		<b>341</b>	
<i>nolle</i>	<b>30</b>		<b>44</b>		<b>44</b>	
<i>malle</i>	<u><b>12</b></u>		<u><b>19</b></u>		<u><b>31</b></u>	
	<b>236</b>		<b>180</b>		<b>416</b>	

One issue regarding these three verbs is a special construction involving an embedded form based on the PPP stem. The question is whether the form is actually a supine (which has an active meaning) or a PPP. An example is in (498).

(498)  $Di_i$                        $[me_j$      $servatum_{j/\emptyset}]$                        $volunt_i.$   
           god-M-PL-NOM    I-S-ACC    save-PPP-M-S-ACC/save-SUPINE-N-S-ACC    want-3-pl

‘The gods want me kept safe / The gods want to keep me safe.’ (Pl. *Men.* 1120)

If *servatum* is a supine, then the literal meaning is ‘the gods want to keep me safe’, while *servatum* as the [+ masculine, + singular, + accusative] form of the PPP means ‘the gods want me kept safe’. The basic meaning is the same, but supine vs. PPP makes a difference in terms of pragmatic focus. With the supine, the focus is on the matrix subject, here *di* ‘gods’, but with the PPP focus shifts to the ECM subject, here *me*.

In (499) the same ambiguity occurs again with *servatum*, but here it is syntactically coordinated with a regular adjective, *salvom* ‘safe’. The resulting structure is similar to English safe and sound, and the coordination itself shows that the structure is a PPP rather than a supine (i.e. the PPP is an adjective but the supine is not).

(499) *Euge, euge, di<sub>i</sub> [me<sub>j</sub> salvom<sub>j</sub> et servatum<sub>j</sub>] volunt<sub>i</sub>.*  
 well well god-M-PL-NOM I-S-ACC safe-M-S-ACC and save-PPP-M-S-ACC want-3-PL

‘Great, the gods want me [to be] safe and sound.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 677)

The embedded passive structure with ECM is discussed in section 7.2.4.

Finally, note that *malle* ‘wish more, prefer’ usually connects the two alternatives with *quam* ‘than’. The preferred choice is expressed in an infinitival complement, while the less preferred option often occurs as subjunctive (i.e. contrary-to-fact), which is thus iconic. An example is in (500).

(500) [*Emortuom<sub>i</sub>...*] *ego<sub>i</sub>* [...*me<sub>i</sub>...*] *mavelim<sub>i</sub>* [...*leto* *malo*] *quam*  
 die off-PPP-DEPON-M-S-ACC I-S-NOM I-S-ACC prefer-1-S-SUBJ death-N-S-ABL bad-N-S-ABL than  
 [*non ego<sub>i</sub> illi dem<sub>i</sub> hodie insidias seni*].  
 not I-S-NOM that-M-S-DAT give-1-S-SUBJ today trap-F-PL-ACC old-M-S-DAT

‘I’d prefer [lit. ‘me’] to be dead by some horrible death than not lay a trap for that old man today.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 661-662)

### 6.5.1.5 Finite Variant

The ECM verbs discussed above take a finite subjunctive variant in 20 instances. No finite variants occur with *sperare* ‘to hope’ or *promittere/polliceri* ‘to promise’. The three

examples with ‘pretend’ all occur within the same play of Plautus, shown in (501-503). Note that all these finite variants have the overt complementizer *quasi* ‘as if’.

- (501) *Quasi* *pro*<sub>i</sub> *militi*<sub>k</sub> *animum*<sub>j</sub> *adieceris*<sub>i</sub> *simulare*.  
as if soldier-M-S-DAT mind-M-S-ACC throw to-2-S-PERF-SUBJ pretend-*INFIN*

‘Pretend as if you’d fallen for [lit. ‘given your mind toward’] the soldier.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 909)

- (502) *Sed* *ubi* *ille*<sub>i</sub> *exierit*<sub>i</sub> *intus*, *pro*<sub>j</sub> [*istinc* *te*<sub>k</sub>  
but when that-M-S-NOM go out-3-S-FUTPERF (from) inside from there you-S-ACC  
*procul* *ita...* *volo*<sub>j</sub> [...*adsimulare*], [*prae* *illius*<sub>i</sub> *forma*<sub>l</sub>  
from a distance thus wish-1-S pretend-*INFIN* before that-M-S-GEN appearance-F-S-ABL  
*quasi* *pro*<sub>k</sub> *spernas*<sub>k</sub> *tuam*<sub>k</sub>].  
as if scorn-2-S-SUBJ your-F-S-ACC

‘But when he’s gone outside, I want you from over there at a distance to pretend as if you scorned your own beauty compared with his.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 1169-1170)

- (503) *pro*<sub>i</sub> *adsimulato*<sub>i</sub> *quasi* *pro*<sub>i</sub> *gubernator*<sub>i</sub> *sies*<sub>i</sub>.  
pretend-2-S-*IMPERAT-FUT* as if pilot-M-S-NOM be-2-S-SUBJ

‘Pretend as if you were the ship’s pilot.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 1181)

In (502) the finite complement of *adsimulare* may be to avoid ambiguity, since *adsimulare* itself is already an embedded infinitive.

A finite subjunctive variant also occurs 14 times with *velle* ‘to wish’ and three times with *nolle* ‘to not wish’; no finite complements occur with *malle* ‘to prefer’. Some examples of the finite variant with these verbs are in (504-506). Note that the complementizer *ut* ‘in order that’ may or may not be overt; in (504) *ut* heads a purpose clause.

- (504) [*Diu* *pro*<sub>j</sub> *vivat*<sub>j</sub>] *pro*<sub>i</sub> *volo*<sub>i</sub> [*ut* *pro*<sub>j</sub> [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *mihi*<sub>i</sub>  
long time live-3-S-SUBJ wish-1-S COMP I-S-DAT  
*prodesse*] *possit*<sub>j</sub>].  
be profitable-*INFIN* be able-3-S-SUBJ

‘I want [her] to live for a long time so that [she] can be profitable to me.’ (Naev. *Fab.* 38-39)

- (505) *pro*<sub>i</sub> [*me*<sub>i</sub>...] *nolo*<sub>i</sub> [...*in* {*tempore* *hoc*}<sub>k</sub> *videat*<sub>j</sub> *senex*<sub>j</sub>].  
I-S-ACC not wish-1-S in time-N-S-ABL this-N-S-ABL see-3-S-SUBJ old-M-S-NOM

‘I don’t want the old man to see me at this time.’ (Ter. *And.* 819)

- (506) [*{Fici aridae}*<sub>j...</sub>] *si* *pro*<sub>i</sub> *voles*<sub>i</sub> [...*ut integrae sint*]<sub>j</sub>,  
 fig-F-PL-NOM dry-F-PL-NOM if wish-2-S-SUBJ COMP whole-F-PL-NOM be-3-PL-SUBJ  
*pro*<sub>i</sub> *pro*<sub>j</sub> *in* *{vas fictile}*<sub>k</sub> *condito*<sub>i</sub>.  
 into vessel-N-S-ACC shaped-N-S-ACC place-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT

‘If [you] want the dried figs to be fresh, place [them] in an earthenware vessel.’ (Cato *Agr.* 99)

## 6.5.2 Impersonal ECM

As shown in Table 39, impersonal ECM complements occur in 17 (1%) of the 2,210 ECM infinitivals in the corpus. With control impersonals, the embedded action is made available to the NP assigned dative case (i.e. as the beneficiary), while ECM impersonals overtly express the subject of the embedded action. For example, with *licere* ‘to be allowed’ in (507), in the (a) sentence control passes from the dative beneficiary *mi* to the PRO infinitival subject, while in (b) no beneficiary is expressed but *hominem* is the experiencer of the embedded verb *esse*.

- (507) a. *Nunc licet*<sub>i</sub> *mi*<sub>j</sub> [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *libere quidvis*<sub>k</sub> *loqui*].  
 now be allowed-3-S I-S-DAT freely INDEFIN-N-S-ACC speak-INFIN-DEPON  
 ‘Now I’m allowed to freely speak anything at all.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 393)
- b. *Non licet*<sub>i</sub> [[*hominem esse*]<sub>j</sub> *saepe ita ut pro*<sub>j</sub> *volt*]<sub>k</sub>,  
 not be allowed-3-S human-M-S-ACC be-INFIN often thus as wish-3-S  
*si res*<sub>i</sub> *pro*<sub>j/k</sub> *non sinit*<sub>i</sub>.  
 if affair-F-S-NOM not allow-3-S  
 ‘Often one is not allowed to be as one wishes, if circumstances don’t allow [one/it].’ (Ter. *Heau.* 666)

Other impersonal ECM predicates include *placere* ‘to please’, shown in (508), and *referre* ‘to make a difference, concern’ in (509).

- (508) *Apage, non placet*<sub>i</sub> [*me hoc noctis esse*]<sub>j</sub>; *pro cenavi*<sub>j</sub>  
 away not please-3-S I-S-ACC this-N-S-ACC night-F-S-GEN eat-INFIN dine-I-S-PERF  
*modo*.  
 just now

‘Go away, I don’t want to eat at this time of night; I ate just recently.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 310)

(509) *Quid<sub>i</sub>* *[me<sub>j</sub> amare]* *refert<sub>i</sub>* *nisi* *pro<sub>j</sub>* *sim<sub>j</sub>* *doctus<sub>j</sub>*  
 INTERROG-N-S-NOM I-S-ACC love-INFIN matter-3-S unless be-1-S-SUBJ learn-PPP-M-S-NOM  
*ac dicaculus<sub>j</sub>?*  
 or speaking-DIMINUT-M-S-NOM

‘What good does it do for me to be in love unless I’m learned or articulate?’ (Pl. *Cas.* 529)

No control impersonals have an overt (accusative) infinitival subject, and no ECM impersonals have a dative NP co-indexed with an overt accusative subject. When the beneficiary role is overt in impersonal ECM complements, it is not co-indexed with the ECM subject. An example is in (510), repeated from (440).

(510) *Quom id<sub>i</sub>* *mihi<sub>j</sub>* *placebat<sub>i</sub>* *[tum {uno ore} omnes<sub>k</sub>*  
 when ANA-N-S-NOM I-S-DAT please-3-S-IMPERF then one-N-S-ABL mouth-N-S-ABL all-M-PL-ACC  
*{omnia bona}<sub>l</sub>* *dicere et* *[pro<sub>k</sub> laudare {fortunas meas}<sub>m</sub>]*.  
 all-N-PL-ACC good-N-PL-ACC say-INFIN and praise fortune-F-PL-ACC my-F-PL-ACC

‘Then that was pleasing to me, that everyone with one voice said all good things [or, ‘said all things [were] good’] and praised my good luck.’ (Ter. *And.* 96-97)

All 17 (100%) of the impersonal ECM infinitivals have [+ present] tense, and there are no finite (subjunctive) variants.

### 6.5.3 Deontic ECM

Deontic ECM complements account for 434 (20%) of the ECM structures. Recall that deontic control structures are like impersonal control in that control goes from an implicit dative NP to the infinitival complement. With deontic ECM, the controllee is an accusative NP. The contrast between deontic control and deontic ECM can be seen in (511), where the dative NP *praegnanti* is the goal of *dari* ‘to be given’ rather than the subject of the deontic clause, which is the overt NPs *malum* ‘bad’ and *malum* ‘apple’ (i.e. a pun).

(511) *Enim vero [praegnanti...] oportet [et malum et malum*  
 for truly pregnant-S-DAT be fitting-3-S and bad-N-S-ACC and apple-N-S-ACC  
*dari], ut quod pro obodat sit, [PRO animo...]*  
 give-INFIN-PASS COMP INDEF-N-S-ACC pro gnaw at-3-S-SUBJ be-3-S-SUBJ mind-M-S-ABL

<i>si</i>	[... <i>male</i>	<i>esse</i> ]	<i>occeperit.</i>
if	badly	be- <small>INFIN</small>	begin-3-S- <small>PERF-SUBJ</small>

‘For truly it’s right for both pain [i.e. of childbirth] and an apple to be given to be given to a pregnant woman so there’ll be something she can gnaw at if she’s begun to feel badly.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 723-724)

The pun on the two forms of *malum* (‘bad’ has a short vowel, while ‘apple’ has a long one) is continued with the final clause in the citation: the adverb *male* straightforwardly means ‘badly’ and *esse* is the copular infinitive, but the phrase could also be an adverbial from *mālum* ‘apple’ and *esse* ‘to eat’. The general idea seems to be similar to that contained in the proverbial English expression an apple a day.

Among the deontic predicates, the three most frequently occurring lexemes are *oportere* ‘it is fitting, it behooves’ with 165 tokens, *aequum* ‘equal, right, fitting’ with 33, and *decere* ‘it is proper’ with 31. Together, these account for 53% of the ECM deontic constructions in the corpus. Some examples are in (512-519).

(512) *satius*<sub>i</sub>                      [*me*<sub>j</sub>    *queri*                      {*illo*                      *modo*}]<sub>1</sub>  
enough-COMPAR-N-S-NOM    I-S-ACC    complain-INFIN-DEPON    that-M-S-ABL    manner-M-S-ABL

*servitutem*<sub>k</sub>].  
slavery-F-S-ACC

‘It [would be] better for me to complain that way about being a slave.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 176)

(513) *Decet*<sub>i</sub>                      [*te*<sub>j</sub>                      *equidem*    *vera*<sub>k</sub>                      *proloqui*].  
be fitting-3-S    you-S-ACC    indeed    true-N-PL-ACC    speak out-INFIN-DEPON

‘Indeed it’s right for you to speak the truth.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 138)

(514) {*Ridiculum*    *caput*}<sub>i</sub>                      *quasi*    *necessus*<sub>j</sub><sup>66</sup>                      *sit*<sub>j</sub>                      *si*                      *pro*<sub>k</sub>                      *pro*<sub>l</sub>  
laughable-N-S-VOC    head-N-S-VOC    as if    necessary-N-S-NOM    be-3-S-SUBJ    if

*huic*<sub>m</sub>                      *non*                      *dat*<sub>k</sub>                      [*te*<sub>n</sub>                      *illam*<sub>l</sub>                      *uxorem*<sub>l</sub>                      *ducere*].  
this-M-S-DAT    not    give-3-S    you-S-ACC    that-F-S-ACC    wife-F-S-ACC    lead-INFIN

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<sup>66</sup> Although the *-us* ending appears to be [+ masculine], it clearly refers to a proposition, not any gendered NP entity. The expected [+ neuter] form occurs, e.g. *Necessum est vorsis depugnarier* ‘it needs to be fought [by us] to fight with drawn [swords]’ (Pl. *Cas.* 344) and *Necesse’st, Clitipho, consilia consequi consimilia* ‘it is necessary, Clitipho, to follow very similar plans’ (Ter. *Heau.* 209). The *-us* ending here may be an early-Latin variant or simply a manuscript error.



‘Silly man, as if it were necessary, if [he] doesn’t give [her] to him [in marriage], for you to take her as your wife.’ (Ter. *And.* 371-372)

- (515) [[{*Prima* *adulescentia*}<sub>l</sub> *patrem*<sub>j</sub> *familiae* [PRO]<sub>j</sub> *agrum*<sub>k</sub> *conserere*<sup>67</sup>]  
 first-F-S-ABL youth-F-S-ABL father-M-S-ACC family-F-S-GEN field-M-S-ACC sow-INFIN  
*studere*<sub>i</sub> *oportet*<sub>i</sub>.  
 be eager for-INFIN benefit-3-S

‘It is fitting for the head of the household to seek from earliest youth to manage a farm.’ (Cato *Agro.* III)

- (516) *Sed* [{*quo* *modo*}<sub>k</sub> *et* {*verbis* *quibus*}<sub>l</sub> *me*<sub>j</sub>...] *deceat*<sub>i</sub>  
 but Q-M-S-ABL means-M-S-ABL and word-N-PL-ABL Q-N-PL-ABL I-S-ACC be proper-3-S-SUBJ  
 [...*fabularier*], *prius* *ipse*<sub>j</sub> [*me*<sub>j</sub> -*cum*...] *etiam* *volo*<sub>j</sub> [...PRO]<sub>j</sub>  
 tell-INFIN-DEPON before self-M-S-NOM I-S-ABL -with and wish-I-S  
*meditari*].  
 consider-INFIN-DEPON

‘But in what way and with what verbs it’s proper for me to tell the story, first I want to consider by myself.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 201-202)

- (517) *tempu*<sub>i</sub>’ *’st*<sub>i</sub> [*monere* *me*<sub>j</sub> {*hunc* *vicinum* *Phaniam*}<sub>k</sub>]  
 time-N-S-NOM be-3-S remind-INFIN I-S-ACC this-M-S-ACC neighbor-M-S-ACC Phania-M-S-ACC

‘It’s time for me to remind this neighbor Phania.’ (Ter. *Hea.* 169)

- (518) *Ergo* *istaec* *quom* *ita* *sint*, *Antipho*<sub>j</sub> *tanto* *magis* [*te*<sub>j</sub>]  
 therefore this-N-PL-NOM when thus be-3-PL-SUBJ Antipho-M-S-VOC so much more you-S-ACC  
*advigilare*] *aequom*<sub>i</sub> *’st*<sub>i</sub>.  
 guard by-INFIN equal-N-S-NOM be-3-S

‘Since these things are this way now, Antipho, so much is it right for you to be on your guard.’ (Ter. *Phor.* 203)

- (519) *melius*<sub>i</sub><sup>68</sup> *’st*<sub>i</sub> [*nos*<sub>j</sub> *adire* *atque* *hunc*<sub>k</sub> *percontarier*]  
 good-N-S-COMPAR be-3-S we-PL-ACC come to-INFIN and this-M-S-ACC interrogate-INFIN-DEPON

‘It’s better for us to go there and question him.’ (Pl. *Men.* 1091)

In each instance the infinitival subject is assigned accusative case.

<sup>67</sup> If from *consero*, *conserere*, *conserui*, *consertum* this means ‘to sow’ but it could also be from *consero*, *consere*, *conserui*, *consertum* ‘to connect’. The first sense is the more straightforward in an agricultural treatise. However, since the topic is the farm owner’s duties as a Roman citizen to ‘bind together’ his household with that of the republic, the second meaning is not only possible but always implied within the cultural context. Here one must suspect the famously dour Cato of a (perhaps unintended) pun.

<sup>68</sup> As in English, the allomorph of the comparative of ‘good’ is lexical; in Latin it is *melius* (superlative *optimum*).

In example (520) there is an overt dative NP, *mihi*, but it is the goal of *dari* rather than the subject of the ECM predicate *aequom*. Instead, the multiple overt ECM subjects spell out the speaker's wish list.

- (520) *Enim* [mihi<sub>r...</sub>] *quidem* *aequom*<sub>i</sub> 'st<sub>i</sub> [...*purpuram*]<sub>j</sub> *atque* *aurum*<sub>k</sub>  
 for I-S-DAT indeed fair-N-S-NOM be-3-S purple-F-S-ACC and gold-N-S-ACC  
*dari*, *ancillas*<sub>l</sub>, *mulos*<sub>m</sub>, *muliones*<sub>n</sub>, *pedisequos*<sub>o</sub>,  
 give-1-PL-PASS maid-F-PL-ACC mule-M-PL-ACC mule driver-M-PL-ACC footman-M-PL-ACC  
 {*salutigerulos* *pueros*}<sub>p</sub>, *vehicla*<sub>q</sub>] *qui* *pro*<sub>r</sub> *vehar*<sub>r</sub>.  
 well wisher-M-PL-ACC boy-M-PL-ACC vehicle-N-PL-ACC how carry-1-S-SUBJ-PASS

‘For indeed I should be given purple and gold [i.e. expensive clothing and jewelry], handmaids, mules, coachmen, footmen, pages, and vehicles to ride in.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 500-502)

Example (521) has ambiguity with the inherent dative. *Tibi* could be the subject of the infinitive, but the next clause resolves the ambiguity, such that *tibi* is the goal of *credere* and the subject of *certum* is not overt but easily recoverable.

- (521) [pro<sub>j</sub> *tibi*<sub>k</sub> *credere*] *certum*<sub>i</sub> *est*<sub>i</sub> *nam* *pro*<sub>j</sub> [pro<sub>k</sub> *esse*  
 you-S-DAT believe-1-PL-PASS decide-PPP-N-S-NOM be-3-S for be-1-PL-PASS  
*bonum*<sub>l</sub>] *ex* *voltu*<sub>m</sub> *cognosco*<sub>j</sub>.  
 good-M-S-ACC out of face-M-S-ABL recognize-1-S

‘It’s okay [for me] to believe you, for I recognize from your appearance that you’re good.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 717)

In example (522), *fieri* is passive, so the NP *quod* must be the infinitival subject, not the object, and that bars the dative NP *tibi* from being the infinitival subject (i.e. as a deontic control structure).

- (522) *Atque* *is* *si* *denegat* [pro *facta*] [*quae*...] *tu*  
 and ANA-M-S-NOM if deny-3-S do-PPP-N-PL-ACC REL-N-PL-ACC you-S-NOM  
 [...*facta*] *dicis*, [*quod* *tibi*...] *aequom* *est* [...*fieri*]?  
 do-PPP-N-PL-ACC say-2-S INTERROG-N-S-ACC you-S-DAT right-N-S-NOM be-3-S do-1-PL-PASS

‘And if he denies those things are done that you say are done, what should be done to you?’ (Pl. *Amph.* 850-851)

### 6.5.3.1 Infinitival Tense

Infinitival tenses with ECM deontic complements can be analyzed in two different ways.

First is a summary of all infinitival tenses with ECM predicates, shown in Table 48.

Table 48: Infinitival Tenses on ECM Deontics.

Infinitival Tense	Frequency	%
Present	397	92%
Perfect	35	8%
Future	1	0%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>433</b>	

The overwhelming preference is for [+ present] tense.

Next, there is a greater tendency for [+ perfect] than for [+ present] matrix predicates to take a [+ perfect] infinitive. The data are summarized in Table 49. It appears that the high rate of [+ perfect] infinitives with [+ perfect] matrix verbs is by attraction rather than as a true pluperfect reference frame. Some examples are in (523-525).

- (523) *Primum* [pro<sub>j</sub> *cavisse*] *oportuit*<sub>i</sub> [*ne* pro<sub>j</sub> *diceres*]<sub>j</sub>.  
 first be careful-INFIN-PERF be fitting-3-S-PERF lest say-2-S-IMPERF-SUBJ

‘First you should have taken care not to speak [lit. ‘first it was necessary for [you] to have taken care not to speak’].’ (Pl. *Amph.* 944)

- (524) {pro<sub>i</sub> [*uxorem*<sub>j</sub>...]} *decrerat*<sub>i</sub> [...*dare* *sese*<sub>i</sub> *mi*<sub>k</sub> *hodie*]<sub>i</sub>,  
 wife-F-S-ACC decide-3-S-PLUPERF give-INFIN ANA-ACC I-S-DAT today
- non -ne* *oportuit*<sub>m</sub> [*praescisse* *me*<sub>k</sub> *ante*], *non -ne* [pro<sub>i</sub>  
 not -Y/N be fitting-3-S-PERF know in advance-INFIN-PERF I-S-ACC before not -Y/N
- prius* *communicatum*<sub>i</sub>] *oportuit*<sub>m</sub>?  
 before communicate-PPP-N-S-ACC be fitting-3-S-PERF

‘He had decided to give me a wife today; shouldn’t I have know about it beforehand, shouldn’t it have been communicated in advance?’ (Ter. *And.* 238-239)

- (525) *Sed*, *mulier*<sub>i</sub>, *postquam* pro<sub>i</sub> *experrecta*<sub>i</sub> *es*<sub>i</sub>, [*te*<sub>i</sub>  
 but woman-F-S-VOC after rise up-PPP-DEPON-F-S-NOM be-2-S you-S-ACC
- {*prodigiali* *Iovi*]<sub>k</sub> *aut* {*mola* *salsa*]<sub>i</sub> *hodie* *aut*  
 portentous-M-S-DAT Jupiter-M-S-DAT or meal-F-S-ABL salt-PPP-F-S-ABL today or

‘But, woman, after you arose today, you should have prayed to wonder-working Jupiter either with salted meal or incense.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 739-740)

Matrix Tense	Infinitival Tense						
	Present		Perfect		Future		Total
Present	305	95%	16	5%	1	<1%	322
Perfect	20	56%	16	44%	0	0%	36
Future	5	83%	1	17%	0	0%	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>330</b>	<b>91%</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>&lt;1%</b>	<b>364</b>

The corpus contains four examples of a finite subjunctive variant for ECM deontics.

'I think it's best for me that I put on my armor.' (Pl. *Cas.* 695)

‘It seems to be time that we go to the forum.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 72)

‘And you should say it’s high time she should go home.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 1101)

‘If you contract for a new farmhouse to be built from the ground up, it’s fitting that a builder do these things.’ (Cato *Agr.* 14)

#### 6.5.4 AcI

As in English, AcI occurs in early Latin. The critical differences are in quantity and quality. First, ACI occurs in Latin with far more ECM lexemes than in English. Second, the finite-clause variant is extremely rare in Latin (see section 6.5.4.2), which makes for a qualitative difference from English. Examples of various AcI verbs across different authors are in (530-537), repeated here from (101-108).

- (530) [*Quem* *-nam* *te* *esse*] *dicam?*  
 INTERROG-M-S-ACC -for you-S-ACC be-INFIN say-1-S-FUT

‘Then who will I say you are?’ (Enn. *Trag.* 355)

- (531) [*Alcumenam* *ante* *aedis* *stare* *saturam*] *intellego.*  
 Alcmena-F-S-ACC before wall-F-PL-ACC stand-INFIN full-F-S-ACC understand-1-S

‘I understand the pregnant Alcmena is standing in front of the house.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 667)

- (532) [*Omnes* *cinaedos* *esse*] *censes* *quia* *tu* *es?*  
 all-M-PL-ACC lecher-ACC-M-PL be-INFIN believe-2-S because you-S-NOM be-2-S

‘Do you believe everyone is a lecher because you are?’ (Pl. *Men.* 513)

- (533) *Ne* [*tibi* *me* *esse* *ob* *eam* *rem* *obnoxium*]  
 not you-S-DAT I-S-ACC be-INFIN because of ANA-F-S-ACC thing-F-S-ACC subject-M-S-ACC

*reare.*  
 think-2-S-SUBJ

‘Don’t think I’m under your control for that reason.’ (Caec. *Com.* 20-21)

- (534) *At* *vereor* *cum* [*te* *esse* *Alcmeonis* *fratrem*] *factis*  
 but fear-1-S since you-S-ACC be-INFIN Alcmeon-M-S-GEN brother-M-S-ACC deed-N-PL-ABL

*dedicat.*  
 give out-3-S

‘But I’m afraid, since he claims with facts that you’re Alcmeon’s brother.’ (Acc. *Trag.* 43)

- (535) [*Pariter* *te* *esse* *erga* *illum*] *video* *ut* [*illum* *ted*]  
 equally you-S-ACC be-INFIN towards that-M-S-ACC see-1-S as that-M-S-ACC you-S-ACC

*erga]* *scio.*  
 towards know-1-S

‘I see you feel the same about him as I know he feels about you.’ (Pac. *Trag.* 270)

- (536) [*Eam* *nunc* *esse* *inventam* *probris* *conpotem*] *scis.*  
 ANA-F-S-ACC now be-INFIN found-PPP -S-F-ACC bad deed-N-PL-ABL sharing in-F-S-ACC know-2-S

‘You know she has been found participating in bad behavior.’ (Naev. *Trag.* 10-11)

- (537) *Scito* *[pro ratione fructum esse]*.  
 know-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT according to reckoning-F-S-ABL use-M-S-ACC be-INFIN

‘Realize that the result is in accordance with what you find.’<sup>69</sup> (Cato *Agr.* I)

In addition to the verbs shown above, certain other predicates also license AcI complements. These include the NP *argumentum* ‘argument’, as in (538).

- (538) *Vinco*<sub>i</sub> *-n* *pro*<sub>j</sub> *argumentis* *[te*<sub>j</sub> *non esse Sosiam]*?  
 conquer-1-S -Y/N argument-N-PL-ABL you-S-ACC not be-INFIN Sosia-M-S-ACC

‘Am I convincing [you] with my arguments that you’re not Sosia?’ (Pl. *Amph.* 433)

Note that although *vinco* ‘I conquer, win’ has the English derivative convince, it is only in collocation with *argumentis* that *vincere* can have such a meaning in Latin. That is, the matrix verb means ‘conquer’ and cannot in itself take an AcI complement. Similarly, a form of *esse* ‘to be’ in (539) cannot by itself take an AcI complement, but in collocation with the adverb *palam* ‘openly, publicly’ it has the effect of ‘to be open about, to be obvious’ and is thus AcI.

- (539) *Id*<sub>i</sub> *quidem* *palam* *est*<sub>i</sub> *[eam*<sub>j</sub> *esse]*, *ut* *pro*<sub>k</sub> *dicis*<sub>k</sub>.  
 ANA-N-S-NOM indeed openly be-3-S ANA-F-S-ACC be-INFIN as say-2-S

‘Indeed, it’s obvious that she is the one [you saw], just as you say.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 475)

NPs can also serve as the matrix predicate for AcI. An example is *rumor* in (540).

- (540) *[{Meum gnatum}*<sub>j...</sub> *]* *rumor*<sub>i</sub> *est*<sub>i</sub> *[...amare]*.  
 my-M-S-ACC offspring-M-S-ACC rumor-M-S-NOM be-3-S love-INFIN

‘The rumor is that my son’s in love.’ (Ter. *And.* 185)

In (541) the matrix predicate is the NP *dictu*, which bears a low-ranking thematic role in its clause.

- (541) *Sed ita dictu*<sub>j</sub> *opus*<sub>i</sub> *est*<sub>i</sub> *si* *pro*<sub>k</sub> *[me*<sub>l...</sub> *]* *vis*<sub>k</sub>  
 but thus speak-SUPINE-N-S-ABL work-N-S-NOM be-3-S if I-S-ACC wish-2-S  
*[...salvom*<sub>l</sub> *esse et rem*<sub>m</sub> *et filium*<sub>n</sub> *]*, *[me*<sub>l</sub> *{mea omnia*  
 safe-M-S-ACC be-INFIN and affair-F-S-ACC and son-M-S-ACC I-S-ACC my-N-PL-ACC all-N-PL-ACC

<sup>69</sup> Cato here advises the prospective owner to inspect the quantity of produce and wine jars on a farm before purchasing it; according to the volume of stored goods, one can judge how profitable the farm will likely be.

*bona* }<sub>o</sub>      *doti*<sub>p</sub>      *dixisse*      *illi*<sub>q</sub>].  
good-N-PL-ACC    dowry-F-S-DAT    say-INFIN-PERF    that-F-S-DAT

‘But there’s a need of speaking thus, if [you] wish me and my status and my son to be safe, that I have pledged all my good as a dowry for her.’ (Ter. *Heau.* 941-942)

In (542) the only matrix verb is *iubere* ‘to order’, which takes both an object-control and an AcI complement. Apparently the AcI clause is possible through the implied ‘speaking’ that inherently occurs with a spoken command, and this is the only such instance in the corpus.

(542) *pro*<sub>i</sub>    *hominem*<sub>j</sub>    [*PRO*<sub>j</sub>    *ad*    *forum*<sub>k...</sub>]    *iussi*<sub>i</sub>    [...*opperiri*],    [*eo*<sub>k</sub>  
human-M-S-ACC    to    forum-N-S-ACC    order-1-S-PERF    wait-INFIN-DEPON    there  
  
*me*<sub>i</sub>    *esse*    *adducturum*<sub>i</sub>    *senem*<sub>i</sub>].  
I-S-ACC    be-INFIN    lead to-PART-FUT-M-S-ACC    old-M-S-ACC

‘I ordered the man to wait at the forum, [I said] I would bring the old man.’ (Ter. *Phor.* 597-599)

The AcI predicates in the corpus fall into several semantic clusters, summarized in Table 50. The total frequency of 1,302 matrix predicates here is less than the 1,493 total AcI infinitives shown in Table 39 because some matrix verbs embed more than one infinitive.

Table 50: AcI Predicates by Semantic Cluster.

Meaning	Lexemes		Frequency		Cumulative Frequency
‘say’	45	38%	413	32%	32%
‘see’	6	5%	212	16%	48%
‘believe’	14	12%	203	16%	64%
‘know’	12	10%	190	15%	78%
‘think’	8	7%	144	11%	89%
‘hear’	1	1%	38	3%	92%
‘sense’	2	2%	27	2%	94%
emotion	9	8%	21	2%	96%
All others	23	19%	54	4%	100%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>		<b>1,302</b>		

The largest single AcI cluster is the predicates meaning ‘say’. Of these, the most frequently occurring lexeme is *dicere* ‘to say’ with 173 tokens, and *aio* ‘say yes, affirm’<sup>70</sup> has 81 tokens. The next most frequent verb in this cluster is *negare* ‘to say no, deny’, with 38 tokens. The remaining 121 ‘say’ tokens are distributed among 42 lexemes.

The cluster of predicates meaning ‘see’ forms an interesting contrast to those of ‘say’. Predicates meaning ‘see’ consist of only 6 distinct lexemes, but together they account for 212 (16%) of all AcI predicates. This means that, on average, a ‘see’ predicates occurs about four times as frequently as a ‘say’ predicate. Nonetheless, the most frequently occurring ‘see’ verb is *videre* ‘to see’, represented by 194 instances in the corpus – more than the tokens for *dicere*, the most common ‘say’ predicate. Put another way, for an AcI construction a speaker is more likely to use a verb meaning ‘say’, but among lexemes the verb *videre* is the most prevalent.

In the ‘believe’ group, 83 tokens come from *credere* ‘to give faith to, believe’, and 64 are from *censere* ‘to estimate, believe’; 12 other lexemes account for the other 56 ‘believe’ tokens. The ‘think’ cluster is comprised of two main lexemes. *Putare* ‘to trim, reason, think’ has 55 examples, and the semi-deponent (i.e. middle-voice) *arbitrari* ‘to adjudge, think (for oneself)’ accounts for 40 tokens; the remaining 40 tokens are from six other verbs. Finally, the cluster of verbs meaning ‘know’ comes primarily from the 140 tokens of *scire* ‘to know’. The remaining 50 tokens are divided among 11 other lexemes.

It is important to note the cumulative frequencies of these semantic clusters. The top five groups account for 89% of all tokens, and this is qualitatively different from the semantic clusters in both subject- and object-control complements. In subject control, only two semantic

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<sup>70</sup> Only finite forms of this verb are ever attested in extant data from any stage of the Latin language. Note also that the literal meaning of this verb appears to be a causative from \**ai* ‘yes’ (cf. *negare* ‘to deny’ < *neg-* ‘not’), although interestingly Latin has no word that exactly means ‘yes’ (Morris, 1989); common circumlocutions are *ita* and *sic*, both meaning ‘thus’.



groups are larger, and together they account for 66% of the tokens (see Table 30). Among object-control predicates, just one group is relatively large and it equals 46% of the instances (Table 34). Thus, the data in Table 50 show that AcI is a widespread phenomenon in early Latin: Not only is the number of AcI predicates larger than any type studied here, but the tokens for both individual predicates and semantic clusters of predicates are also higher. AcI occurs often, and it occurs with a variety of predicates having a variety of meanings.

In addition to bridge verb complements, non-bridge complements are also supported by AcI. One such cluster is the predicates of emotion, such as *gaudere* ‘to rejoice’ and *laetari* ‘to be happy’ plus the related adjective *laetus*. As shown in Table 50, these predicates account for only 2% of the AcI instances. Examples are in (543-545).

- (543) [*Quem<sub>j</sub>...*]    *hercle*    *ego<sub>i</sub>*    [...*litem<sub>k</sub>*    *adeo*    *perdidisse*]    *gaudeo<sub>i</sub>*.  
REL-M-S-ACC    indeed    I-S-NOM    lawsuit-F-S-ACC    to there    lose-INFIN-PERF    rejoice-I-S

‘Indeed, I’m glad he lost the case.’ (Pl. *Cas.* 568)

- (544) *pro<sub>i</sub>*    *crucior<sub>i</sub>*    [{*bolum*<sup>71</sup>    *tantum*}]<sub>j</sub>    *mi<sub>i</sub>*    *ereptum<sub>j</sub>*    *tam*  
torture-I-S-PASS    gain-M-S-ACC    such-M-S-ACC    I-S-DAT    snatch away-PPP-M-S-ACC    so  
  
*desubito*    *e*    *faucibus<sub>k</sub>*.  
suddenly    out of    throat-F-PL-ABL

‘I’m in torture that such a tasty morsel was so suddenly snatched out of my throat.’ (Ter. *Heau.* 673)

- (545) *pro<sub>i</sub>*    *laetus<sub>i</sub>*    *sum<sub>i</sub>*    [*laudari*    *me<sub>i</sub>*    *abs*    *te<sub>j</sub>...*],    *pater<sub>j</sub>*,  
happy-M-S-NOM    be-I-S    praise-INFIN-PASS    I-S-ACC    by    you-S-ABL    father-M-S-VOC  
  
[*a*    {*laudato*    *viro*}]<sub>j</sub>.  
by    praise-PPP-M-S-ABL    man-M-S-ABL

‘I’m happy I’m praised by you, father, by a man who has been praised himself.’ (Naev. *Trag.* 17)

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<sup>71</sup> *Bolus* is borrowed from Greek βόλυσ, a deverbal noun meaning ‘throw’. Here it appears to allude to a ‘throw’ of the dice (a common Roman leisurely pursuit), so that the intent is ‘a stroke of luck, good fortune, gain’, metaphorically extended to mean a ‘morsel’ (and that is the meaning of the English borrowing *bolus*).

#### 6.5.4.1 Subject pro

An embedded subject that occurs as non-overt is common in AcI, as shown in Table 51.

Table 51: Subjects with AcI.

Subject	Overt		Null		Total
Co-Indexed	221	75%	75	25%	296
Disjoint	591	68%	279	32%	870
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>812</b>	<b>70%</b>	<b>354</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>1,166</b>

The overall 30% rate of null infinitival subjects in AcI is nearly the same rate of pro-drop as for all infinitival complements (see Table 25), because the majority of infinitival clauses in the corpus as AcI. However, the AcI rate shown here is slightly lower than the combined rate of 33% subject pro in embedded clauses. For AcI complements, it does not appear to matter much whether the embedded subject is co-indexed with the matrix (25% null) or not (32% null).

#### 6.5.4.2 Object pro

A summary of how objects in AcI clauses occur is in Table 52.

Table 52: Objects with AcI.

Object	Overt		Null		Total
Co-Indexed	13	87%	2	13%	15
Disjoint	321	77%	95	23%	416
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>334</b>	<b>77%</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>431</b>

The overall rate of 23% for object pro is somewhat lower than for subject pro in AcI. What is particularly interesting is the distinction between co-indexed and disjoint embedded objects. While disjoint objects are less recoverable from the co-text, they are nearly twice as likely (23%) to be omitted than co-indexed objects (13%). Put another way, co-indexed objects occur as an

overt NP in 87% of possible contexts – even though they are more readily recoverable than disjoint NPs (77%). These patterns do not follow a straightforward prediction of transparency.

#### 6.5.4.3 Infinitival Tense

Compared with all other infinitival complements in this study, AcI clauses are distributed more evenly among the three possible tenses. A summary is in Table 53. This range of infinitival tense distribution is to be expected since AcI complements are mostly with bridge verbs, which may need to express an action occurring either past, present, or future with respect to the speech time. That is, there is no inherent link between speech time and the time of the embedded event.

Table 53: Infinitival Tenses on AcI.

Infinitival Tense	Frequency	%
Present	991	66%
Perfect	387	26%
Future	115	8%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,493</b>	

#### 6.5.4.4 Finite Variant

A finite subjunctive variant occurs 43 times with a matrix predicate that otherwise takes an AcI complement. Unlike the finite variants for control predicates and the other types of ECM, the subjunctive clauses with AcI follow a clear pattern. With an indirect question, a finite subjunctive clause is standard; some examples are in (546-548).

(546)  $\text{pro}_i$  *ut* [*alios*<sub>j</sub> *in* *tragoediis*<sub>k...</sub>] *vidi*<sub>i</sub>, [...{*Neptunum*,  
as other-M-PL-ACC in tragedy-F-PL-ABL see-1-S-PERF Neptune-M-S-ACC

*Virtutem,*      *Victoriam,*      *Martem,*      *Bellonam*}<sub>j</sub><sup>72</sup>      *commemorare*  
goodness-F-S-ACC    victory-F-S-ACC    Mars-M-S-ACC    Bellona-F-S-ACC    recollect-INFIN

[{*quae*      *bona*}<sub>l</sub>      *pro*<sub>j</sub>      *vobis*<sub>m</sub>      *fecissent*<sub>j</sub>]]  
INTERROG-N-PL-ACC    good-N-PL-ACC    you-PL-DAT    do-3-PL-PLUPERF-SUBJ

‘as I have seen others – Neptune, Goodness, Victory, Mars, and Bellona – recount what good things they have done for you.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 41-44)

(547) *pro*<sub>i</sub>    [*hominem*<sub>j</sub>      *conmonstrarier*      *mi*<sub>i</sub>      *istum*<sub>j</sub>...]      *volo*<sub>i</sub>      *aut*      [*ubi*  
human-M-S-ACC    show distinctly-INFIN-PASS    I-S-DAT    that-M-S-ACC    wish-1-S    or    where

*pro*<sub>j</sub>    *habitet*<sub>j</sub>      [*pro*<sub>k</sub>/PRO<sub>i</sub>    *demonstrarier*]].  
live-3-S-SUBJ    point out-INFIN-PASS

‘I want that man shown to me, or else where he lives to be pointed out.’ (Ter. *Phor.* 305-306)

(548) [*pro*<sub>i</sub>    {*qua*      *re*      *alia*}<sub>j</sub>      [PRO<sub>i</sub>    *ex*      *crimine*<sub>k</sub>  
INTERROG-F-S-ABL    affair-F-S-ABL    other-F-S-ABL    out of    reproach-N-S-ABL

*inimicorum*<sub>l</sub>      *effugere*]      *possis*<sub>i</sub>],      *pro*<sub>i</sub>      *delica*<sub>i</sub>.  
unfriendly-M-PL-GEN    flee out-INFIN    be able-2-S-IMPERF-SUBJ    clear up-2-S-IMPERAT

‘In what other way you could escape from the reproach of the unfriendly, explain.’ (Acc. *Trag.* 2)

In contrast, when the question is about the literal content of the embedded proposition, the clause is AcI rather than finite. Some examples are in (549-550).

(549) *pro*<sub>i</sub>    [*quid*<sub>k</sub>      *tam*      *intus*      *fuisse*      *te*<sub>j</sub>...]      *dicam*<sub>i</sub>      [...*diu*]?  
INTERROG-N-S-ACC    so    inside    be-INFIN-PERF    you-S-ACC    say-1-S-FUT    for a long time

‘For what reason will I say you were inside for such a long time?’ (Pl. *Mil.* 1201)

(550) *pro*<sub>i</sub>    [*quibus*<sub>k</sub>      *-nam*      *te*<sub>j</sub>...]      *aibant*<sub>i</sub>      [...*exortum*<sub>j</sub>  
INTERROG-M-PL-ABL    -for    you-S-ACC    say-3-PL-IMPERF    arise-PPP-DEPON-M-S-ACC

*locis*<sub>k</sub>]?  
place-M-PL-ABL

‘From what place [lit. ‘places’] were they saying you came?’ (Acc. *Trag.* 379)

<sup>72</sup> *Bellona* is the unimaginatively named goddess of war (*bellum*), the sister of Mars. Her name as a transparent derivation from what she represents parallels the patrician Roman practice of naming daughters after the father’s clan name (e.g. Marcus Tullius Cicero > Tullia, Gaius Julius Caesar > Julia), i.e. providing no inherent individuation (a second daughter would gain the tag *Secunda*, a third, *Tertia*, etc.). Perhaps because of her status as a (minor) deity, *Bellona* as a name does contain a derivational affix – one step more toward individuation than a Roman girl would have.

Note from (549) that the interrogative *quid* has the same potential clause-level ambiguity as the English translation shown.

#### 6.5.4.5 Present-Participle Variant

Although this study focuses on infinitival complements, it is important to note that some embedded complements have a participle rather than infinitive. That is, the variant form is also non-finite. The corpus contains 24 instances of a present participle in place of the more usual infinitive. Of those, all 24 (100%) are in AcI constructions. The present participle occurs only in the active (or with deponents, middle) voice.<sup>73</sup> Because it has [+ present] tense, this participle's action is simultaneous with that of the main verb. Some examples of a present participle in an infinitival complement are in (551-553). Note that (552) also has the present participle *manens* co-indexed with the pro subject of the main verb.

- (551) *Video*<sub>i</sub> *-n* *ego*<sub>i</sub> [*Getam*<sub>j</sub> *currentem*<sub>j</sub> *huc* *advenire*]<sub>j</sub>?  
 see-I-S -Q I-S-NOM Geta-M-S-ACC run-PART-S-ACC to here come to-INFIN

‘Do I see Geta running here?’ (Ter. *Phor.* 177)

- (552) *pro*<sub>i</sub> *ibi* *manens*<sub>i</sub> *sedeto*<sub>i</sub> *donecum* *videbis*<sub>i</sub> [*me*<sub>j</sub>  
 there remain-PART-S-NOM sit-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT until see-2-S-FUT I-S-ACC  
*carpento* *vehentem*<sub>j</sub> *en* *domum* *venisse*].  
 carriage-N-S-ABL ride-PART-S-ACC indeed home-M-S-ACC come-INFIN-PERF

‘Remain seated there until you see I’ve come home riding in a cart.’ (Liv. *Ody.* 20-21)

- (553) *nam* *pro*<sub>i</sub> *ut* [*pro*<sub>j</sub> *ludere* *laetantes*<sub>j</sub> *inter* *se*<sub>j</sub>...] *vidimus*<sub>i</sub>  
 for as play-INFIN be happy-PART-PL-ACC between ANA-ACC see-I-PL-PERF  
 [...*praeter* *amnem* *creterris* *sumere* *aquam* *ex* *fonte*].  
 before stream-M-S-ACC mixing bowl-F-PL-ABL take up-INFIN water-F-S-ACC out of fountain-M-S-ABL

‘for as we saw them happily playing there among themselves, taking up water from the fountain in front of the stream’ (Naev. *Trag.* 41-42)

In (551-553) the present participle expresses the manner in which the action is performed.

In (551) Geta is seen to arrive by ‘running’, and in (552) the unnamed addressee is supposed to

<sup>73</sup> Since there is no morphological participle for the present-tense passive voice (the closest circumlocution is the gerundive), active/middle is the only possibility in the [+ present] tense.

sit there ‘remaining’. Note that the finite verb and participle are expressed in Latin opposite from English (which would be ‘remain seated’ rather than literally ‘sit remaining’). In the embedded clause, the speaker will have come home in the manner of ‘riding’ in a carriage. Similarly, the persons observed in (553) were playing in a manner of ‘being happy’.

Example (554), repeated from (443), reinforces the idea of the participle as an expression of manner, since it co-occurs with the infinitive in the embedded clause.

(554)	pro <sub>i</sub>	<i>id<sub>j</sub></i> ANA-N-S-ACC	<i>voluit<sub>i</sub></i> wish-3-S-PERF	[[ <i>nos<sub>k</sub></i> I-PL-ACC	<i>sic</i> thus	<i>necopinantis<sub>k</sub></i> unaware-PART-M-PL-ACC	<i>duci</i> lead-INFIN-PASS
	{ <i>falso</i> FALSE-N-S-ABL	<i>gaudio<sub>i</sub></i> joy-N-S-ABL	<i>sperantis<sub>k</sub></i> hope-PART-M-PL-ACC	<i>iam</i> now	{ <i>amoto</i> remove-PPP-M-S-ABL	<i>metu<sub>m</sub></i> fear-M-S-ABL	[pro <sub>k</sub>
	<i>interoscitantis<sub>k</sub></i> be agape-PART-M-PL-ACC	<i>opprimi<sub>j</sub></i> oppress-INFIN-PASS	<i>ne</i> lest	<i>esset<sub>n</sub></i> be-3-S-IMPERF-SUBJ	<i>spatium<sub>n</sub></i> space-N-S-NOM	<i>cogitandi</i> think-GERUND-N-S-GEN	
	<i>ad</i> to	<i>disturbandas</i> disturb-GERUNDIVE-F-PL-ACC	<i>nuptias<sub>j</sub></i> marriage-F-PL-ACC	<i>astute</i> cunningly			

‘He wanted this, for us to be lead unaware by false hope, now hoping, with fear removed, [for us] while we were gaping to be taken by surprise, so that there wouldn’t be any time for devising how to ruin the wedding; [he did it] cunningly.’ (Ter. *And.* 180-183)

For some corpus examples, a manner interpretation is not so clear. Rather, the meaning of the two non-finite forms (infinitive and participle) appears to be identical. Some examples are shown in (555-560). Note that in each instance the matrix verb is one associated with AcI, and most are verbs of perception. The effect is apparently the same as the English variants I see you run and I see you running.

(555)	pro <sub>i</sub>	<i>vidi<sub>i</sub></i> see-1-S-PERF	[ <i>te<sub>j</sub></i> you-S-ACC	<i>Ulixes<sub>j</sub></i> Ulysses-M-S-VOC	<i>saxo</i> rock-N-S-ABL	<i>sternentem<sub>j</sub></i> spread-PART-S-ACC	<i>Hectora<sub>k</sub></i> Hector-M-S-ACC
	<i>vidi<sub>i</sub></i> see-1-S-PERF	[pro <sub>j</sub>	<i>tegentem<sub>j</sub></i> cover-PART-S-ACC	<i>clipeo</i> shield-M-S-ABL	{ <i>classem</i> fleet-F-S-ACC	<i>Doricam<sub>i</sub></i> Dorian-F-S-ACC	

‘I saw you, Ulysses, lay Hector flat with a rock, I saw you protecting the Dorian fleet with your shield. (Acc. *Trag.* 115-116)

(556)	pro <sub>i</sub>	<i>memini<sub>i</sub></i> remember-1-S-PERF	[ <i>ibi</i> there	{ <i>candelabrum</i> candelabrum-M-S-ACC	<i>ligneum<sub>j</sub></i> wooden-M-S-ACC	<i>ardentem<sub>j</sub></i> burn-PART-S-ACC
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‘I remember a wooden candelabrum burning there.’ (Caec. *Fab.* 107)

- (557) *Sed* *pro*<sub>i</sub> [*patruom*<sub>j</sub>...] *video*<sub>i</sub> [...*cum* *patre* *astantem*<sub>j</sub>].  
 but father's brother-M-S-ACC see-1-S with father-M-S-ABL stand near-PART-S-ACC

‘But I see [my] father’s brother standing nearby with [my] father.’ (Ter. *Phor.* 607)

- (558) *Interea* [{*uxorem tuam*}<sub>j</sub>] *neque* *gementem*<sub>j</sub> *neque* *plorantem*<sub>j</sub>]  
 see-1-S-PERF you-S-ACC Ulysses-M-S-VOC rock-N-S-ABL spread-PART-S-ACC Hector-M-S-ACC

{*nostrum quisquam*}<sub>i</sub> *audivimus*<sub>i</sub>.  
 I-PL-GEN INDEFIN-M-S-NOM hear-1-PL-PERF

‘Meanwhile not one of us heard your wife either sighing or weeping.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 1098-1099)

- (559) *Hic*<sub>i</sub> [*illam*<sub>j</sub>...] *vidit*<sub>i</sub> [...*osculantem*<sub>j</sub>], [*quantum hunc*<sub>i</sub>...]  
 this-M-S-NOM that-F-S-ACC see-3-S-PERF kiss-PART-S-ACC as much this-M-S-ACC

*audivi*<sub>k</sub> ...*loqui*].  
 hear-1-S-PERF speak-1-PL-PERF

‘He saw her kissing [someone], at least I heard him say so.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 275)

- (560) *Atque* *ego*<sub>i</sub> [*illi*...] *aspicio*<sub>i</sub><sup>74</sup> [...*osculantem*<sub>j</sub> *Philocomasium*<sub>j</sub> *cum*  
 but I-S-NOM there look at-1-S KISS-PART-S-ACC Philocomasium-N-S-ACC with

*altero nescioquo adulescente*].  
 another-M-S-ABL INDEFIN-M-S-ABL youth-M-S-ABL

‘But I’m looking at Philocomasium kissing some other young man over there.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 288-289)

In (561-566) the participle occurs in a double-embedded clause.

- (561) *Ut* *si* *illic*<sub>i</sub> *concriminatus* *sit*<sub>i</sub> *advorsum* *militem*  
 as if that-M-S-NOM allege-PPP-DEPON-M-S-NOM be-3-S-SUBJ opposite soldier-M-S-ACC

{*meu’ conservos*}<sub>i</sub>, [*pro*<sub>i</sub> [*eam*<sub>j</sub>...] *vidisse* [...*hic* *cum*  
 my-M-S-NOM fellow slave-M-S-NOM ANA-F-S-ACC see-1-PL-PERF here with

*alieno*<sub>k</sub> *osculari*]], [*pro*<sub>i</sub> [*eam*<sub>j</sub>...] *arguam*<sub>i</sub> [...*vidisse* [...*apud*  
 another-M-S-ABL kiss-1-PL-PERF ANA-F-S-ACC argue-1-S-FUT see-1-PL-PERF among

*te*] *contra* [...{*conservom meum*}<sub>i</sub>] [*cum* *suo*<sub>j</sub> *amatore*  
 you-S-ACC on the contrary fellow slave-M-S-ACC my-M-S-ACC with own-M-S-ABL lover-M-S-ABL

*amplexantem*<sub>j</sub> *atque* *osculantem*<sub>j</sub>]].  
 embrace-PART-S-ACC and kiss-PART-S-ACC

‘So if my fellow servant should allege to the soldier he saw her kiss someone else, I’ll argue to the contrary my fellow servant saw her at your place embracing and kissing her lover.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 242-245)

<sup>74</sup> The tense is so-called historical present because the speaker is vividly relating what he witnessed some time ago.

- (562) *Nam ill' i non potuit quin sermone suo i*  
 for that-M-S-NOM not be able-3-S-PERF but that speech-M-S-ABL own-M-S-ABL
- aliquem familiarium participaverit de amica j*  
 INDEF-M-S-ACC member of household-M-PL-GEN make share-3-S-PERF-SUBJ about friend-F-S-ABL
- eri, [sese i vidisse [eam j hic in proxumo*  
 INDEF-M-S-ACC member of household-M-PL-GEN make share-3-S-PERF-SUBJ about friend-F-S-ABL
- osculantem j cum alieno adolescentulo j]*.  
 kiss-PART-S-ACC with another-M-S-ABL youth-M-S-ABL

‘For he couldn’t help but inform someone in the household of the master’s girlfriend he saw her kissing some you here next door.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 262-264)

- (563) *pro i {Philocomasium eccam<sup>75</sup> j domi, [[quam j in proxumo...]*  
 Philocomasium-N-S-ACC that-F-S-ACC home-F-S-LOC REL-F-S-ACC in near-SUPER-M-S-ABL
- [...vidisse] aiebas i [...te i] [...osculantem j atque amplexantem j cum*  
 see-INFIN-PERF say-2-S-IMPERF you-S-ACC kiss-PART-S-ACC and embrace-PART-S-ACC with
- altero j]*.  
 another-M-S-ABL

‘Here’s Philocomasium at home – the one you said you saw kissing and embracing someone else.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 319-320)

- (564) *Atque pro i arguo i [[eam j...] me i vidisse [...osculantem j hic*  
 but argue-1-S ANA-F-S-ACC I-S-ACC see-INFIN-PERF kiss-PART-S-ACC here
- intus cum alieno viro j]*.  
 inside with another-M-S-ABL man-M-S-ABL

‘But I insist I saw her kissing some other man here inside.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 337-338)

- (565) *Tu i -n [pro i [me j...] vidisse [...in proxumo hic...],*  
 you-S-NOM -Y/N I-S-ACC see-INFIN-PERF in near-SUPER-M-S-ABL here
- sceleste i, ais i [...osculantem j]?*  
 scoundrel-M-S-VOC say-2-S kiss-PART-S-ACC

‘Do you claim you saw me kissing [her] here next door, you scoundrel?’ (Pl. *Mil.* 366)

- (566) *ut tu i suspicatus i es i [pro i [eam j...] vidisse*  
 as you-S-NOM suspect-PPP-DEPON-M-S-NOM be-2-S ANA-F-S-ACC see-INFIN-PERF
- [...osculantem j]*  
 kiss-PART-S-ACC

‘as you suspected [you] saw her kissing [someone]’ (Pl. *Mil.* 399-401)

<sup>75</sup> It is interesting to note that the determiner *eccam* is marked [+ feminine] in agreement with natural gender, even though the name *Philocomasium* has [+ neuter] grammatical gender. This kind of natural gender agreement is typical for Latin (cf. German, where grammatical gender is the norm).



In these examples, the first embedded AcI clause has the infinitive (as is usual), but the clause embedded inside of that has the participle. However, such a strategy for disambiguation does not explain the participles in the previous examples.

Nor does a double-embedded clause always have a present participle instead of a present infinitive, as for example *osculari* in (561) above and again with *habere* in (567).

- (567) *Venit*<sub>i</sub>      *Chremes*<sub>i</sub>      *postridie*      *ad*      *me*      *clamitans*<sub>i</sub>,      {*indignum*  
come-3-S-PERF      Chremes-M-S-NOM      next day      to      I-S-ACC      shout-PART-S-NOM      unworthy-N-S-NOM  
  
*facinus*},      [pro<sub>i</sub>      *comperisse*      [*Pamphilum*<sub>k</sub>      *pro*      *uxore*      *habere*  
deed-N-S-NOM      find out-1NFIN-PERF      Pamphilus-M-S-ACC      on behalf of      wife-F-S-ABL      have-1NFIN  
  
*hanc*      *peregrinam*]].  
this-F-S-ACC      foreigner-F-S-ABL

‘Chremes came to me the next day shouting – a terrible experience – he had discovered Pamphilus treated this foreigner as his wife.’ (Ter. *And.* 144-146)

Another example with a present-tense infinitive in a double-embedded AcI clause is in (568).

- (568) *Aliquot*<sub>i</sub>      *me*      *adierunt*<sub>i</sub>,      [*ex*      *te*      *auditum*...]      *qui*<sub>i</sub>  
INDEFIN-M-PL-NOM      I-S-ACC      come to-3-PL-PERF      out of      you-S-ABL      hear-PPP-N-S-ACC      REL-M-PL-NOM  
  
*aibant*<sub>i</sub>      [...*hodie*      *nubere*      *meam*      *filiam*      *tuo*      *gnato*]].  
say-3-PL-IMPERF      today      marry-1NFIN      my-F-S-ACC      daughter-F-S-ACC      your-M-S-DAT      offspring-M-S-DAT

‘Some came to me and said they heard from you [lit. ‘[it] was heard out of you’] my daughter is marrying your son today.’ (Ter. *And.* 534-535)

From most of the corpus examples, what governs the participial clause is typically a verb of perception such as *videre* ‘to see’ or *audire* ‘to hear’. However, verbs of perception take an infinitival complement in 258 (93%) of 278 contexts, or a participle in only 7% of instances. This distinction holds even when it is clear that the meaning of the matrix verb is literal (i.e. not merely figurative) perception, as in (569-575).

- (569) pro<sub>i</sub>      [*mare*<sub>j</sub>      *velis*      *florere*]      *videres*<sub>i</sub>.  
see-N-S-ACC      sail-N-PL-ABL      flower-1NFIN      see-2-S-IMPERF-SUBJ

‘You would see the sea flower(ing) with sails.’ (Cato *Or.* 29)

- (570) *Vide*<sub>i</sub> -n      tu<sub>i</sub>      [*illic*      *oculos*<sub>j</sub>      *virere*?]  
see-2-S -Y/N      you-S-NOM      there      eye-M-PL-ACC      be green-1NFIN

‘Don’t you see his eyes are green?’ (Pl. *Men.* 828)

(571) *Et* *pro*<sub>i</sub> [*civitatem*<sub>j</sub>...] *video*<sub>i</sub> [...*Argivum*<sub>j</sub> *incendere*].  
 and city-F-S-ACC see-1-S Argive-M-PL-GEN burn up-INFIN

‘And I see the city of the Greeks burn(ing) up.’ (Enn. *Trag.* 343)

(572) *Ubi* *pro*<sub>i</sub> *videt*<sub>i</sub> [*avenam*<sub>j</sub>, *lolium*<sub>k</sub> *crescere* *inter* *triticum*],  
 when see-3-S oats-F-S-ACC darnelweed-N-S-ACC grow-INFIN AMONG wheat-N-S-ACC  
*pro*<sub>i</sub> *pro*<sub>j</sub> *selegit*<sub>i</sub>, *pro*<sub>i</sub> *pro*<sub>j</sub> *secernit*<sub>i</sub>, *pro*<sub>i</sub> *pro*<sub>j</sub> *aufert*<sub>i</sub>.  
 cull-3-S separate-3-S carry away-3-S

‘When he sees oats or darnelweed grow(ing) among the wheat, he culls it, separates it out, and carries it away.’ (Enn. *Prae.* 1-2)

(573) *Ego*<sub>i</sub> *-met* *mihi*<sub>i</sub> *non* *credo*<sub>i</sub>, *quom* [*illaec*<sub>k</sub> *autumare* *illum*<sub>j</sub>]  
 I-S-NOM -INTENSIF I-S-DAT not believe-1-S WHEN that-N-PL-ACC say-INFIN that-M-S-ACC  
*audio*<sub>i</sub>.  
 hear-1-S

‘I don’t trust myself when I hear him say(ing) those things.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 416)

(574) *pro*<sub>i</sub> *audio*<sub>i</sub> [*pro*<sub>j</sub> *aperiri* *fores*]<sub>k</sub>.  
 hear-1-S open-INFIN-PASS door-F-PL-ACC

‘I hear the doors (being) opened.’ (Pl. *Cas.* 435)

(575) *Atque* *adeo* [*valvas* *sonere*...] *sensi* [...*regias*].  
 and to there folding door-F-PL-ACC sound-INFIN sense-1-S-PERF royal-F-PL-ACC

‘And there I felt the royal doors sound(ing).’ (Acc. *Trag.* 470)

Embedded participles in place of the infinitives are traditionally ascribed to Greek influence (Draeger, p. 2:775). While it is true that many verbs of perception in Greek regularly take an embedded complement with a participle, not an infinitive (Hansen & Quinn, 1992, pp. 465-470), it is not immediately clear why the participial variant occurs only sporadically in Latin. In fact, it is difficult to correlate the embedded participle specifically to the influence of Greek (although general Greek influence on Latin is well-known because of regular cultural contact). Many of the works of the early Latin poets, for example Livius Andronicus’ *Odissia* and Naevius’ *Iphigenia*, are modeled on known Greek sources. The plays of Plautus and Terence are Latinized versions of Greek originals (Hunter, 1985, pp. 1-23). Yet in most of these works, the Roman authors have altered the original Greek ideas into social customs and

philosophical ideas more relevant to a Roman audience. They are, in short, not at all mechanical translations, but rather cultural transformations. Many of the details and even subplots are distinctly changed or invented by their Latin authors; in many instances, parts of distinct Greek plays become transmogrified into a single Latin play which nonetheless recalls the original works and the spirit and style of their author(s). Allusions abound to famous Greek quotes and situations that any ordinary Roman would recognize, and part of the humor lies in what is always a Greek cast of characters in a Greek setting – but presented in the Latin tongue and fitting a specifically Roman cultural schema, such as the allusion to political conferences in Plautus’ *Menaechmi* 453ff. In all of these changes, the language itself is modified according to the style or taste of a particular author. Plautus features frequent word play, and where the Greek model is extant for comparison, it can be seen that he departs from the original even while preserving its general spirit. Thus, what is meant by the “Greek influence” on the participial construction is not a literal rendering from the original texts, but rather the Roman authors’ general knowledge of Greek and thus the construction with the participle.

On the one hand, 23 (96%) of the 24 instances of an embedded participle occur in plays definitively known to be modeled on Greek originals. In contrast, the construction does not occur in either Ennius, Cato, or *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*. It is certain that Ennius knew Greek, based not only on his rendering of various Greek original texts but also from his birthplace in southern Italy, in the thriving sphere of Greek culture; later generations actually referred to him as “Greek” (Warmington, p. 1:xvii). Yet the bulk of his extant works presents a new literary Rome – yes, modeled on the glory that was Greece but especially in the epic *Annales* presenting the grandeur that has been – and, by Vergilian-like implication, will be – Rome. In contrast, Cato grew up in solidly Roman territory. In many ways, his cultural and

political differences with the Scipionic circle make him take an extreme rhetorical view that the old-fashioned Roman virtues are to be prized above everything Greek (although, ironically, he is also praised by Cicero for his oratory on the model of the best Greek style). For the anonymous decree of *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*, there is certainly no inherent reason to expect Greek influence, and thus it is no surprise that the embedded participle does not occur in that text either.

If Greek influence cannot be directly related to the occurrence of the embedded participle, then we must look for other reasons. One fact is especially important to note. Of the 24 instances of the construction, 17 (71%) occur just in Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*. Moreover, it is the same two participles, *osculantem* 'kissing' and *amplexantem* 'embracing', that occur in all but one of those instances. The repetition stems from one of the play's two main plots, in which Sceledrus sees Philocomasium kissing Pleusicles but is told that the woman is actually her twin sister, not Philocomasium herself. He, however, insists that he saw what he saw, and the clever slave Palaestrio must try to convince him otherwise. Thus, the same proposition of what Sceledrus sees is repeated multiple times as the plot thickens. Without that element of the plot and the resulting repetition, the number of instances of the embedded participle in the corpus would be significantly less.

Finally, example (576) contains a participle that prevents ambiguity. Since both *postulare* 'to demand' and *prohibere* 'to prohibit' normally take an infinitival complement as object control, the participle *advenientem* actually provides a different meaning to the clause embedded by *prohibere*. If it were instead the infinite *advenire*, the meaning would be '... prevent him from arriving'.

(576) *Tu*        *-n*        [*domo*        *prohibere*        *peregre*        *me*        *advenientem*]        *postulas?*  
               you-S-NOM    -Y/N        home-F-S-ABL    prohibit-INFIN    barely        I-S-ACC        come to-PART-S-ACC    demand-2-S

‘Do you demand that I prevent him from coming home when he is arriving?’ (Pl. *Amph.* 361)

One explanation for the present-participle variant lies in the fact that it occurs only with AcI complements. In such complements, the finite subjunctive is reserved for indirect questions (see section 6.5.4.4). As a result, when an author wishes a stylistic variant – whether to avoid syntactic ambiguity because of multiple embedded clauses or just for the sake of variety – the subjunctive option is blocked in AcI. What remains is this participial construction. It may well have occurred originally in Latin because of Greek influence, but the motivation for borrowing such a construction appears to stem directly from the rules of Latin syntax. That is, the special usage for the finite subjunctive prevents such a clause – which is the ordinary variant form in all other infinitival clause types besides AcI – and thus another variant must be chosen. The present-participle construction fulfills such a purpose.

#### **6.5.4.6 Internal Argument**

Syntactic theory treats the AcI subject as inherently part of the embedded clause (see section 2.4), not directly subcategorized by the matrix verb. Nonetheless, some evidence from early Latin suggests that speakers parsed the AcI subject NP as belonging to the main clause. For example, in (577) the NP *Chalinum* is unambiguously marked for accusative case, but it is subcategorized by *scire* ‘to know’ with an indirect statement in the subjunctive. In other words, *Chalinum* ought to be as *Chalinus* (i.e. [+ nominative]). This suggests that it is actually treated as a direct object of *scire*. *Scire* means to ‘know’ a fact, not a person (for which *nosci* > *novisse* is used).<sup>76</sup> The joke here is that the male Chalinus is disguised as the woman Casina in order to

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<sup>76</sup> Another possibility is that the traditional grammar books and dictionaries are wrong about the actual meaning of *scire* vs. that of *nosci*, *novisse*. Further corpus study would be needed to evaluate such a possibility.





{*gnatos*            *tuos*}<sub>j</sub>]?  
offspring-M-PL-ACC    your-M-PL-ACC

‘But now would you prefer [lit. ‘yourself’] to be single and free or to live out your life married and a slave, you and your children?’ (Pl. *Cas.* 290-291)

(584) [*Emortuom*<sub>i</sub>...]            *ego*<sub>i</sub>            [...*me*<sub>i</sub>...]            *mavelim*<sub>i</sub>            [...*leto*            *malo*]            *quam*  
die off-PPP-DEPON-M-S-ACC    I-S-NOM            I-S-ACC            prefer-I-S-SUBJ            death-N-S-ABL            bad-N-S-ABL            than

[*non*            *ego*<sub>i</sub>            *illi*            *dem*<sub>i</sub>            *hodie*            *insidias*            *seni*].  
not            I-S-NOM            that-M-S-DAT            give-I-S-SUBJ            today            trap-F-PL-ACC            old-M-S-DAT

‘I’d prefer [lit. ‘me’] to be dead by some horrible death than not lay a trap for that old man today.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 661-662)

Note that in (583) the first embedded clause has a non-overt copula, and the second embedded clause is finite with subjunctive rather than with the infinitive.

Regardless of whether the embedded verb is the copula or not, data from the corpus reveal a split between overt and non-overt co-indexed infinitival subjects with all ECM verbs.

The results are summarized in Table 54.

Table 54: Co-Indexed Infinitival Subjects (all ECM combined).

Person	Overt		Non-Overt		Total
1st	113	89%	14	11%	127
2nd	66	85%	12	15%	78
3 <sup>rd</sup>	116	99%	1	1%	117
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>295</b>	<b>92%</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>322</b>

While non-overt co-indexed infinitival subjects occur in all three [person] inflections, they occur most often in second-person contexts, and just once in third-person. This means that Lakoff’s claim is too strong, at least for early Latin, since overall 8% of contexts have the co-indexed NP as null rather than overt. Still, it must be noted that first-person contexts – those analogous to her proposed rule – do favor an overt co-indexed infinitival subject (89% of instances).

An example of omitted co-indexing for a first-person subject is in sentence (585), for second-person in (586), and for third-person in (587).



- (585) *Nam*  $\text{pro}_i$  *pollicitus*<sub>i</sub> *sum*<sub>i</sub> [ $\text{pro}_i$  *suscepturum*<sub>i</sub>  $\text{pro}_j$ ]  
 for promise-PPP-DEPON-M-S-NOM be-1-S take up-M-S-ACC  
 ‘For I have promised [I] will raise [him] up.’ (Ter. *And.* 400-401)
- (586) *Tu*<sub>i</sub> *suspiciatus*<sub>i</sub> *es*<sub>i</sub> [ $\text{pro}_i$  *eam*<sub>j</sub> *vidisse* *osculantem*<sub>j</sub>].  
 you-S-NOM suspect-PPP-DEPON-M-S-NOM be-2-S ANA-F-S-ACC see-INFIN-PERF kiss-PART-S-ACC  
 ‘You suspected [you] saw her kissing.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 401)
- (587)  $\text{pro}_i$  [ $\text{pro}_i$  *depoclassere* *aliqua...*] *sperans*<sub>i</sub> [...*me*<sub>j</sub> *ac*  $\text{pro}_i$   
 ungoblet-INFIN-PERF INDEFIN-N-PL-ACC hope-PART-S-NOM I-S-ACC and  
*deargentassere*,  $\text{pro}_i$  *decalauticare*,  $\text{pro}_i$  *eburno* *speculo*  
 unsilver-INFIN-PERF unshawl-INFIN ivory-N-S-DAT mirror-N-S-DAT  
*despeculassere*].  
 unmirror-INFIN-PERF  
 ‘hoping somewhat to ungoblet me, to unsilver and unshawl me, to unmirror me from my  
 ivory mirror.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 640-641)

When just the ECM ‘wish’ verbs are examined, the results are what appears in Table 55.

Table 55: Co-Indexed Infinitival Subjects (ECM ‘Wish’ only).

Person	Overt		Non-Overt		Total
1st	12	86%	2	14%	14
2nd	7	100%	0	0%	7
3rd	9	90%	1	10%	10
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>90%</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>31</b>

With just the ‘wish’ ECM verbs considered, the results are similar are for all ECM predicates combined. Overall, then, Lakoff’s claim does not hold as stated. Co-indexed embedded subjects do not obligatorily occur as overt, and indeed the overtness rate is slightly lower in the specific context made in the claim.

### 6.5.6 Binding and Empty Categories

In English, having an overt NP in the subject position of the embedded infinitival clause necessarily means having an ECM structure. However, Latin’s pro-drop setting allows the option of expressing an infinitival subject as either an overt NP or as pro. Therefore, the form of

the embedded subject – null or overt – does not distinguish between subject-control and ECM complements with the same matrix predicate. Even when the matrix and embedded subject are co-indexed, one or both NPs may be null. In example (588) the ECM subject NP *me* is co-indexed with *pro* as the subject of the matrix verb.

- (588) *pro*<sub>i</sub> [*experiri* test-INFIN-DEPON *istuc...* that-N-S-ACC *mavellem*<sub>i</sub> prefer-1-S-IMPERF-SUBJ [...*me*<sub>i</sub>] I-S-ACC *quam* than [*pro*<sub>j</sub> *mi*<sub>i</sub> I-S-DAT *memorarier*].  
mention-INFIN-PASS

‘I would rather experience that than have it told to me.’ (lit. ‘would prefer myself to experience that’) (Pl. *Amph.* 512)

Since an overt pronoun would not be required in the main clause but its referent is still recoverable, in the embedded clause the same “invisible” indexing is also possible. Note that in examples (589-590), the overt accusative pronoun is not the ECM subject.

- (589) *Negas*<sub>i</sub> deny-2-S [*pro*<sub>i</sub> *novisse* get to know-INFIN-PERF *me*]<sub>i</sub>? I-S-ACC *Negas*<sub>i</sub> deny-2-S [*pro*<sub>i</sub>-ECMsubj {*patrem* father-M-S-ACC *meum* }<sub>k</sub>]<sub>i</sub>?<sup>77</sup>  
my-M-S-ACC

‘Do you deny [you] know me? Do you deny [you] [know] my father?’ (Pl. *Men.* 750)

- (590) *Tu*<sub>i</sub> -n you -Y/N [*pro*<sub>i</sub> *me*<sub>j</sub> I-S-ACC *vidisse* SEE-INFIN-PERF *in* in *proxumo* close-SUPER-M-S-ABL *hic*], *sceleste*<sub>i</sub>,  
say-2-S *ais*<sub>i</sub> *osculantem*<sub>j</sub>?  
kiss-PART-S-ACC

‘Are you saying [you] saw me kissing [someone] in the next house here, you scoundrel?’ (Pl. *Mil.* 366)

With third-person referents as ECM subjects, there are even more variations possible. The most straightforward variety is an overt NP in the main clause, with co-indexing through the anaphor *se* in the embedded clause. Examples are in (591-592).

- (591) [*Uxorem...*] wife-F-S-ACC *decrerat*<sub>i</sub> decide-3-S-PLUPERF [*dare* give-INFIN *sese*<sub>i</sub> ANA-ACC *mi* I-S-DAT *hodie*].  
today

<sup>77</sup> This pair of elliptical questions results in a sequence of six iambs (Gratwick, 1993, p. 207) and iconically replicates the speaker’s surprise at the propositions expressed.

‘He had decided to give me a wife today’ (lit. ‘decided himself to give me a wife’) (Ter. *And.* 238)

- (592) {*Omnes* *mortales*}<sub>i</sub> [*sese*<sub>i</sub> *laudarier*] *optant*.  
all-M/F-PL-NOM mortal-M/F/-PL-NOM ANA-ACC praise-*INFIN*-PASS wish-3-PL

‘All mortals want to be praised’ (lit. ‘want themselves to be praised’) (Enn. *Ann.* 549)

The embedded passive in (592) is discussed in section 7.2.2.

Note that subject-control predicates sometimes take an overt ECM subject that is co-indexed with the main subject. An example with the first-person pronoun co-indexed between the two clauses is in (593).

- (593) *Ego*<sub>i</sub> [*me*<sub>i</sub>...] *nunc* *volo*<sub>i</sub> [{*ius* *pontificium*}<sub>j</sub> *optime* *scire*].  
I-S-NOM I-S-ACC now wish-1-S law-N-S-ACC of high priest-N-S-ACC best know-*INFIN*

‘I now wish [lit. ‘me’] to know the priestly law very well.’ (Cato *Or.* 197)

Example (594) has co-indexing in the second person.

- (594) *Ego*<sub>i</sub> *faxim*<sub>i</sub> *pro*<sub>j</sub> [[*ted*<sub>j</sub> *Amphitruonem* *esse*...] *malis*<sub>j</sub>  
I-S-NOM make-1-S-PERF-SUBJ you-S-ACC Amphitryon-M-S-ACC be-*INFIN* prefer-2-S  
[...*quam* *Iovem*]].  
than Jupiter-M-S-ACC

‘I would have made you prefer [lit. ‘yourself’] to be Amphitryon than Jupiter.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 511)

In (595) the co-indexing is a bound third-person entity.

- (595) *pro*<sub>i</sub> [*sese*<sub>i</sub> *-que* *i* *perire*...] *mavolunt*<sub>i</sub> [...*ibidem* *quam* *cum*  
ANA-ACC -and then die-*INFIN* prefer-3-PL same place than with  
*stupro* *redire* *ad* *suos* *popularis*].  
shame-N-S-ABL return-*INFIN* to own-M-PL-ACC fellow countryman-M-PL-ACC

‘They prefer themselves to die then and there than to return with shame to their own countrymen.’ (Naev. *Bell.* 59-60)

The overt co-indexed embedded subjects show that these forms of *velle* ‘to wish’ have the option of subject-control or ECM complements.

The examples in (593-595) all have an overt NP as the co-indexed infinitival subject. In (596-597) there is also co-indexing of main and embedded subjects, but the lower NP is non-overt.

- (596) *Ille<sub>i</sub>            atque    adiuret<sub>i</sub>    insuper, [pro<sub>i</sub>    nolle            esse            dicta].*  
 that-M-S-NOM    and            swear-3-S-SUBJ    on over            not want-INFIN    be-INFIN            say-PPP-N-PL-ACC

‘And on top of that he should swear [he]<sub>i</sub>’s sorry for what he said’ (lit. ‘swear himself to not want things to have been said’).<sup>78</sup> (Pl. *Amph.* 889-890)

- (597) *Menaechme<sub>j</sub>,    pro<sub>i</sub>    [pro<sub>i</sub>    amare...]    ait<sub>i</sub>    [...te<sub>j</sub>            multum]    Erotium<sub>i</sub>.*  
 Menaechmus-M-S-VOC            love-INFIN            say-3-S            you-S-ACC            much            Erotium-N-S-NOM

‘Menaechmus, Erotium asks ‘please’ [lit. ‘says [she] loves you a lot’].’<sup>79</sup> (Pl. *Men.* 524)

Examples (598-601) exploit pro-drop even further by leaving both subjects as null.

- (598) *Dum    pro<sub>i</sub>    censent<sub>i</sub>            [pro<sub>i</sub>    terrere            pro<sub>j</sub>    minis],    pro<sub>i</sub>*  
 while            believe-3-PL            frighten-INFIN            threat-F-PL-ABL
- hortantur<sub>i</sub>            ibi    sos<sub>j</sub><sup>80</sup>.*  
 encourage-3-PL-DEPON            there    ANA-M-PL-ACC

‘While they believe [they]<sub>i</sub> frighten them with threats, instead they encourage them.’ (Enn. *Ann.* 244)

- (599) *pro<sub>i</sub>    [pro<sub>i</sub>    vestimentis<sub>i</sub>    frigus<sub>j</sub>            atque    horrorem<sub>k</sub>            exacturum<sub>i</sub>]*  
 clothing-N-PL-ABL            cold-N-S-ACC            and            shivering-M-S-ACC            drive out-PART-FUT-M-S-ACC
- putet<sub>i</sub>.*  
 think-3-S-SUBJ

‘He may think [he]<sub>i</sub> will drive out the cold and shivering with clothes.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 686)

- (600) *pro<sub>i</sub>    ait            [pro<sub>i</sub>    tibi<sub>k</sub>            uxorem<sub>j</sub>            dare            hodie].*  
 say-3-S            you-S-DAT            wife-F-S-ACC            give-INFIN            today

‘[He]<sub>i</sub> says [he]<sub>i</sub> is giving you a wife today.’ (Ter. *And.* 353-354)

- (601) *pro<sub>i</sub>    [pro<sub>i</sub>    altero            te            occisurum<sup>81</sup><sub>i...</sub>            ait<sub>i</sub>,            [...altero            vilicum*  
 other-M-S-ABL            you-S-ACC            kill-PART-FUT-M-S-ACC            say-3-S            other-M-S-ABL            bailiff-M-S-ACC

<sup>78</sup> *Nollem dictum* ‘I would not want said’ is a standard formula of apology (Sedgwick, 1967, p. 119).

<sup>79</sup> See Gratwick (p. 189) for the meaning of this sentence.

<sup>80</sup> *Sos* is an archaic form of *eos*, a form of the unbound anaphor *is*. In the corpus, *s-* forms of *is* occur only in Ennius.

<sup>81</sup> This is an instance of non-agreement on [gender] with a future active participle: The subject NP *Casina* (unambiguously recoverable from the co-text) is [+ feminine], but the form *occisurum* is elsewhere only [+ masculine] or [+ neuter].

*hodie*.  
today

‘[She] says today [she] will kill you with one [of the swords] and the bailiff with the other.’ (Pl. *Cas.* 692-693)

Since the infinitival subject is non-overt in these examples, they are similar to control structures.

What distinguishes them from control is the lack of an internal argument necessary for ‘control’.

Instead, they all feature a matrix bridge verb or, as in (596), an ECM form of ‘wish’.

With third-person entities in ECM, *pro* in the main clause can link to an embedded *se* (i.e. bound) anaphor. Some examples are in (602-604).

(602) *pro*<sub>i</sub> [*rabere* *se*<sub>i</sub>] *ait*<sub>i</sub>.  
be insane-*INFIN* ANA-*ACC* say-3-*S*

‘He says he’s insane.’ (Caec. *Plays* 77)

(603) *ne* *pro*<sub>i</sub> [*plus*<sub>k...</sub>] *censeat*<sub>i</sub> [...*sapere* *se*<sub>i</sub> *quam* *dominum*<sub>j</sub>]  
lest more-N-S-*ACC* believe-3-S-SUBJ know-*INFIN* ANA-*ACC* than master-M-S-*ACC*

‘lest he believe he knows more than the master’ (Cato *Agr.* V)

(604) *pro*<sub>i</sub> *deierat*<sub>i</sub> [*se*<sub>i</sub> *non* *scripsisse* *pro*<sub>j</sub>] *et* [*pro*<sub>i</sub> *post* *non*  
swear-3-S ANA-*ACC* not write-*INFIN*-*PERF* and [pro after not  
*scripturum*<sub>i</sub> *pro*<sub>j</sub>].  
write-*INFIN*-*FUT*-M-S-*ACC*

‘[He] swears he didn’t write [it] and won’t write [it] later.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 890)

Also note the omission of *se* in the second (conjoined) embedded clause of (604) for the object of the writing.

Binding rules mean that the anaphor *se* can also be the direct object in an ECM clause even when a separate entity is the embedded subject. That is, the binding crosses the clausal boundary. Some examples are in (605-607).

(605) *pro*<sub>i</sub> *narrabit*<sub>i</sub> [*servom*<sub>j</sub> *hinc* *sese*<sub>i</sub> *a* *foribus* *Sosiam*<sub>j</sub> *amovisse*].  
tell-3-S-*FUT* slave-M-S-*ACC* from here ANA-*ACC* from door-F-*PL*-*ABL* Sosia-M-S-*ACC* remove-*INFIN*-*PERF*

‘[He] will say the servant Sosiam removed him [lit. ‘himself’] from this house.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 467-468)

(606)  $pro_i$   $[[pro$   $imperio$   $vobis_j$   $quod_k$   $dictum$   $foret]$   
on behalf of command-N-S-ABL you-PL-DAT REL-N-S-NOM say-PPP-N-S-NOM be-3-S-IMPERF-SUBJ

$scibat_i$   $[...pro_j$   $facturos_j]$ ,  $quippe$   $qui_i$   $intellegerat_i$   
know-3-S-IMPERF do-PART-FUT-M-PL-ACC indeed REL-M-S-NOM know-3-S-PLUPERF

$[vereri$   $vos_j$   $se_i$   $et$   $metuere_j]$ .  
revere-INFIN-DEPON you-PL-ACC ANA-ACC and fear-INFIN

‘[He] knew you would do what was commanded of you, indeed he knew you revere and fear him [lit. ‘himself’].’ (Pl. *Amph.* 21-23)

(607)  $pro_i$   $dixit_i$   $[a$   $decemviris_k$   $parum$   $bene$   $sibi_i$   $cibaria_j$   
say-3-S-PERF from ten man-M-PL-ABL little well ANA-DAT foodstuff-N-PL-ACC

$curata_j$   $esse]$ .  
take care of-PPP-N-PL-ACC be-INFIN

‘He said little food had been prepared for him [lit. ‘himself’] by the decemvirs.’ (Cato *Or.* 58)

A summary of overt and non-overt infinitival subjects in ECM is shown in Table 56.

Table 56: Subjects with ECM

Subject	Overt		Null		Total
CO-INDEXED					
Subj. Ctrl. ~ ECM	33	90%	4	11%	37
Deontic	1	100%	0	0%	1
Impersonal	0	0%	0	0%	0
AcI	<u>261</u>	<u>92%</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>8%</u>	<u>284</u>
	295	92%	27	8%	322
DISJOINT					
Subj. Ctrl. ~ ECM	170	85%	31	15%	201
Deontic	290	59%	205	41%	495
Impersonal	0	0%	0	0%	0
AcI	<u>1,002</u>	<u>86%</u>	<u>164</u>	<u>14%</u>	<u>1,166</u>
	1,462	79%	400	21%	1,862
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,757</b>	<b>80%</b>	<b>427</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>2,184</b>

These data show that the majority (80%) of infinitival subjects are overt in all types of ECM clauses combined. When the embedded subject is co-indexed with the matrix subject, it is more likely (92%) to be overt than when disjoint from the main subject (79%). This difference between overtiness in co-indexed and disjoint subjects is surprising since the former (i.e. those

NPs with more likely to be overt) are more readily recoverable from the immediate context and thus less essential than disjoint NP subjects. Such a trend goes against the principle of transparency.

## 6.6 SUMMARY

The corpus of early Latin contains 3,828 infinitives, of which 52 have too little context to be further identified. The remaining 3,776 are classified into nominal infinitives, historical infinitives, interjections, control structures, and ECM. Nominal and historical infinitives are part of matrix clauses, and together they comprise only 2% of the total. Interjections have a subject NP marked for accusative case but without any matrix verb; that is, the interjection verb is an infinitive. The majority of interjections in the corpus are from the plays of Terence, and that fact should be framed as part of the psychological portraits that Terence conveys among his characters: The relatively frequent interjections the characters use are markers of personal (i.e. long-term) traits as well as indicators of state of mind.

The true embedded infinitival complements are control structures and ECM, and these account for 96% of the corpus instances. Of the control structures, subject control is by far the most frequent type. It occurs among 89 different lexemes in a total of 956 predicates. The most common types of subject control are predicates meaning ‘able’ or ‘want’, but many other less-frequent predicates such as ‘accustomed to’, ‘hurry’, and ‘try’ also occur. One idiomatic use of subject control is with a negative command, using the predicate *nolle* ‘not to wish’ + infinitive. A subject-control infinitive is sometimes used as a gerund, despite the fact that early Latin has a distinct morphological gerund form. The use of subject-control structures as a modal (such as with *debere* ‘to owe’) is rare in early Latin, occurring in only two corpus examples. The infinitival tense with subject-control predicates is overwhelmingly [+ present], with the majority

of exceptions having [+ perfect] tense with ‘wish’ verbs. The oldest corpus text, *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus*, presents a very high usage of the [+ perfect] tense with ‘wish’. This suggests both that the [- present] infinitival tense developed relatively early and that infinitival tense selection is lexical. Only three corpus examples contain a finite (subjunctive) variant with subject control, and in them the complementizer is optional if it is not negative.

Object-control structures are the next most frequent type of control complements. Compared with subject-control predicates, the number of distinct object-control lexemes (41) is high since they occur in only one third as many predicates. The most frequently occurring object-control predicates mean ‘order’ or ‘allow’. One idiomatic function of object-control clauses is a greeting with *iubere* ‘to order’ + *salvere* ‘to be well’; the meaning of the sentence does not have literal force, but rather serves as a reminder that language functions through convention.

In addition to direct-object controllees, there are also dative (i.e. beneficiary) controllees with impersonal verbs such as *licere* ‘to be allowed’, deontic predicates such as *necesse* ‘necessary’, and sentential control with the entire infinitival clause treated as a [+ neuter, + singular] NP. Controllees in object-control structures tend to be null in about one third of contexts, with a slight preference for overt objects when the controllee is co-indexed with the matrix subject. This fact is not readily predictable from the principle of transparency, since a shared subject has less need to be expressed overtly than a disjoint one – but nonetheless tends to be overt more often. Infinitival tense in object-control complements is typically [+ present], but at a slightly lower rate than for subject control and with a larger set of lexemes and greater variety of meanings. The finite subjunctive variant occurs in 51 instances, with no clear pattern based on matrix lexeme or meaning. However, the finite variant does sometimes occur when the



sentence contains another infinitival clause, such that the finite clause appears to prevent syntactic ambiguity.

One implication for GB theory is the case assignment of PRO. Early Latin data suggest that rather than being assigned empty or null case, PRO takes the default case assignment of the NP to which it is linked through the copula. Evidence for this occurs in both the nominative and accusative case with infinitival object-control complements.

ECM in early Latin occurs in four types. One type is the predicates that vary between subject-control and ECM complements, including the verbs meaning ‘wish’, ‘hope’, ‘pretend’ and ‘promise’. With these variant matrix predicates, there appears to be some relationship between infinitival tense patterning and overtiness of the subject NP. The ‘pretend’ and ‘want’ verbs pattern their infinitival tenses like control verbs, showing a high preference for [+ present] tense in the infinitive, and they take an overt accusative subject in 82%-89% of instances depending on whether that subject is co-indexed with the matrix subject. In contrast, the ‘hope’ and ‘promise’ verbs pattern their infinitival tenses more like other ECM predicates (i.e. allowing more frequent use of [+ perfect] and [+ future] infinitives), and they take an overt accusative subject in only 71% of instances regardless of the subject’s indexicality.

Another type of ECM is impersonal, in which the subject of the infinitive is accusative. Some lexemes take only either an impersonal-control or an impersonal-ECM complement, but many of the same predicates can take both types, as shown by various corpus examples. The most common lexeme, *licere* ‘to be allowed’, overwhelmingly favors the impersonal-control structure, but even within the same author the same lexeme sometimes takes an impersonal ECM complement. Related to the impersonal ECM is deontic ECM, which differs by having a predicate with deontic force. Of these, the most commonly occurring is *oportere* ‘to be fitting’,

which takes only an ECM complement and never a deontic-control one. However, other less-frequently occurring ECM predicates do sometimes take a deontic-control infinitival clause. The overall distinction between impersonal and deontic complements is their preference for infinitival clause type. The impersonal predicates tend to take control complements in which an overt subject is marked with dative case, while the deontic ones more typically take ECM complements (i.e. with subject marked for accusative case). Thus, the semantic distinction between general impersonal predicates and those with deontic force has syntactic consequences.

The largest group of ECM complements is the AcI type. These are mostly bridge verb complements, with verbs meaning ‘say’ or ‘believe’ accounting for over half of the instances. Infinitival tenses pattern distinctly from those with control complements, in which [+ present] tense occurs at the rate of 95% or more. With AcI, [+ present] tense infinitivals occur in only two thirds of contexts, with most of the remaining infinitives being [+ perfect]. This syntactic pattern follows semantics, since bridge verbs often point to events in the past and sometimes to those expected in the future. There is a finite subjunctive variant with the AcI structure, but its usage is completely conditioned by semantics. When the embedded proposition is an indirect question, the verb is subjunctive, while an infinitive is used for questions about the literal content of the embedded proposition. The finite variant occurs in no other contexts, so that unlike what happens with the control structures and other ECM types, the AcI variant is completely predictable based on meaning rather than (apparently) pragmatics. The present participle is sometimes used in place of the present infinitive in bridge verb complements, with no apparent difference in meaning; its function appears to avoid syntactic ambiguity. There is also some evidence that the ECM subject is interpreted as an internal argument of the matrix verb, and this also distinguishes AcI complements from all other types found in the corpus.

## CHAPTER 7. INFINITIVAL COMPLEMENTS IN EARLY LATIN, PART 2

### 7.1 RAISING

Since Latin is a pro-drop language, there is little intrinsic motivation for raising to occur (outside of passivization; see section 7.2) in order to fill a subject position. In fact, only 64 (2%) of the 3,828 infinitival complements in the corpus are possible raising structures. Of these, 62 are actually passivized AcI complements, which are discussed further below in section 7.2.4. The majority are from the verb *videre* ‘to see’, which has a special lexical meaning of ‘to seem’ when passivized.

What is left are only two instances of possible inherent raising. These are shown in sentences (608-609) with the matrix verb *cluere* ‘to be called, be said’; the same lexical root appears above in *inclutis* in example (454a). Like German *heißen* with the same meaning, this verb takes active-voice morphology but must be expressed in English with a passive meaning. *Cluere* thus contrasts with Latin verbs such as *vocare* ‘to call, summon’, *appellare* ‘to address, accost’, and *nominare* ‘to give a name to, name’, which can also be passivized in meaning but then must take on true passive morphology.

- (608)  $\text{pro}_i$      $[\text{t}_i$     *esse*    *per*    *gentes...*]    *cluebat*<sub>i</sub>    [...*omnium*  
                          be-INFIN    through    tribe-F-PL-ACC    be called-3-S-IMPERF    all-M-PL-GEN  
                          *miserrimus*<sub>i</sub>].  
                          miserable-SUPER-M-S-NOM
- ‘He was said to be the most miserable of all among the tribes.’ (Enn. *Fab.* 376)
- (609) *Res*<sub>i</sub>    *magis*    *quaeritur*<sub>i</sub>    *quam*     $[\text{t}_j$     *clientum...*]    *fides*<sub>j</sub>    *cuius*  
                          affair-F-S-NOM    more    seek-3-S-PASS    than    client-M-PL-GEN    trust-F-S-NOM    REL-M-S-GEN  
                          *modi*    *clueat*<sub>j</sub>.  
                          means-M-S-GEN    be called-3-S-SUBJ

‘Their property is more asked about than what sort of trustworthiness is said to belong to their clients.’ (Pl. *Men.* 575-576)

As expected with a raising construction, the subjects *miserrimus* in (608) and *fides* in (609) are assigned nominative case; note that the copular infinitive *esse* is non-overt in both examples.

The nominative case assignment for *miserrimus* and *fides* is confirmed from two examples in the works of Plautus not included in the corpus; Terence offers no examples, and two additional contexts from Plautus are ambiguous. The two clear-cut examples are in (610-611).

- (610) {*Atridae*  
son of Atreus-M-PL-NOM} *duo*  
two-M-PL-NOM} *fratres*<sub>i</sub>  
son-M-PL-NOM} *cluent*<sub>i</sub>  
be called-3-PL} [<sub>i</sub> *fecisse*  
do-INFIN-PERF} *facinus*  
deed-N-S-ACC  
*maximum*].  
great-SUPER-N-S-ACC

‘The two sons of Atreus are said to have done a very great deed.’ (Pl. Bac. 925)

- (611) *Atque*  
and} *me*<sub>i</sub>  
I-S-ACC} *minoris*  
less-N-S-GEN} *facio*<sub>i</sub>  
make-I-S} *prae*  
before} *illo*<sub>j</sub>,  
that-M-S-ABL} *qui*<sub>j</sub>  
REL-M-S-NOM} [<sub>j</sub> *omnium*  
all-F-PL-GEN  
*legum*  
law-F-PL-GEN} *atque*  
and} *iurum*  
right-N-PL-GEN} *fictor*<sub>j</sub>,  
maker-M-S-NOM} *conditor*<sub>j</sub>]  
establisher-M-S-NOM} *cluet*<sub>j</sub>.  
be called-3-S

‘And I consider myself better off compared with that one, who is called the maker and establisher of all laws and rights.’ (Pl. Epi. 522-523)

Note that *cluere* has a single argument. Although the verb’s meaning is best expressed in English with a passive verb, the morphology is unambiguously active-voice in Latin (i.e. such verbs are the binary opposite of deponents, which have passive morphology but active-middle meaning). When an overt NP occurs with *cluere*, the case assignment is nominative, for example *Atridae duo fratres*<sup>82</sup> with *fecisse* in example (610). Since the one-place argument structure has a built-in slot for a thematic role, *cluere* cannot legitimately be classified as raising.

In addition, the impersonal verbs such as the modal-like *decere* ‘to be proper’ and *oportere* ‘to be fitting’ never have a nominative-marked argument, and when they take an overt argument it is always marked for dative (as control) or accusative (as ECM) case. The overt argument is the experiencer, the person (and it is always a human) for whom it is ‘proper’ to be

<sup>82</sup> The inflectional endings on *duo* and *fratres* are ambiguous between nominative and accusative, but the appositive *Atridae* can only be nominative (its accusative form is *Atridas*).

or do something. These too are not raising verbs. The modal verbs take only a theme argument, which is obligatorily realized as an infinitival complement. This supports Pepicello's (1977) claim that raising does not occur in Latin except through the assignment of accusative case to the infinitival subject of a complement.

## 7.2 PASSIVIZATION

Passivization occurs in nearly one fifth of infinitival complements found in the corpus, as summarized in Table 57.

Table 57: Infinitive Voice by Clause Type.

Construction	Embedded Infinitive				
	Active		Passive		Total
Nominal	3	100%	0	0%	3
Historical	45	96%	2	4%	47
Interjection	25	74%	9	26%	34
CONTROL					
Subject	905	87%	133	13%	1,038
Object	184	67%	91	33%	275
Impersonal	92	99%	1	1%	93
Deontic	31	97%	1	3%	33
Sentential	<u>43</u>	<u>98%</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2%</u>	<u>44</u>
	1,255	85%	227	15%	1,482
ECM					
Subj.Ctrl. ~ ECM	160	60%	106	40%	266
Impersonal	17	100%	0	0%	17
Deontic	297	68%	137	32%	434
AcI	<u>1,278</u>	<u>86%</u>	<u>215</u>	<u>14%</u>	<u>1,493</u>
	1,752	79%	458	21%	2,210
TOTAL	3,080	82%	696	18%	3,776

Some issues on passivization in these constructions are discussed below.

## 7.2.1 Control

The two subtypes of control with any notable occurrence of passive complements are subject and object control.

### 7.2.1.1 Subject Control

Subject-control predicates embed a passive clause in 133 instances. By far, the most frequently occurring lexemes are predicates meaning ‘be able’, which together account for 109 (82%) of the 133 cases. Some examples of passivization with subject-control predicates are in (612-616). Traces are indicated by a roman <t> to distinguish them from the italicized Latin text.

- (612) [*{Maiores -que opere}*]<sub>j...</sub> *ibi* *serviles*<sub>i</sub> *nuptiae*<sub>i</sub> *quam*  
greater-N-S-ABL-and work-N-S-ABL there of slaves-F-PL-NOM wedding-F-PL-NOM than  
*liberales*<sub>i</sub> *etiam* [...*PRO*<sub>i</sub> *curari* *t*<sub>i</sub>] *solent*<sub>i</sub>.  
of free persons-F-PL-NOM even take care of-INFIN-PASS be accustomed-3-PL

‘The weddings of slaves there are accustomed to be celebrated even more grandly than those of free persons.’ (Pl. *Cas.* 73-74)

- (613) *quoniam non potest*<sub>i</sub> *id*<sub>i</sub> [*PRO*<sub>i</sub> *fieri*] *quod*<sub>i</sub> *pro*<sub>j</sub>  
although not be able-3-S ANA-N-S-NOM do-INFIN-PASS REL-N-S-ACC  
*vis*<sub>j</sub>  
wish-2-S

‘although that which you wish can’t be done’ (Ter. *And.* 305)

- (614) *si qui sapientia*<sub>j</sub> *magis* *vestra*<sub>j</sub> *mors*<sub>i</sub> [*PRO*<sub>i</sub> *devitari*]  
if how wisdom-F-S-ABL more our-F-S-ABL death-M-S-NOM avoid-INFIN-PASS  
*potest*<sub>i</sub>], *nam -que* *Aesculapi*<sub>m</sub> *liberorum*<sub>i</sub> *saucii*<sub>k</sub> *opplent*<sub>k</sub>  
be able-3-S for -and Aesculapius-M-S-GEN child-M-PL-GEN wounded-M-PL-NOM fill up-3-PL  
*porticus*<sub>n</sub>, *pro*<sub>o</sub> *non potest*<sub>o</sub> [*PRO*<sub>o</sub> *accedi*]  
portico-M-PL-ACC not be able-3-S approach-INFIN-PASS

‘if death can somehow be avoided more by our wisdom, for the wounded of Aesculapius’ children fill up the porticos, [it] can’t be approached’ (Enn. *Trag.* 170-171)

- (615) *An* *pro*<sub>i</sub> *{mala aetate}*<sub>j</sub> *mavis*<sub>i</sub> [*PRO*<sub>i</sub> *male mulcari*]  
INTERROG bad-F-S-ABL age-F-S-ABL prefer-2-S badly thrash-INFIN-PASS

{*exemplis*      *omnibus*}<sub>k</sub>]?  
 example-N-PL-ABL    all-N-PL-ABL

‘Would you prefer at your bad time of life to be trashed about by every kind [of torture]?’  
 (Acc. *Trag.* 49)

(616) *ubei*    *pro*<sub>i</sub>    *facilumed*    [*PRO*<sub>i</sub>    *gnoscer*]    *potisit*<sub>i</sub>  
 where                    easily                    know-INFIN-PASS    be able-3-S-PERF-SUBJ

‘where [it] would easily be able to be known’ (Bacc. 27)

One notable feature of some subject-control predicates meaning ‘to be able’ with a passivized complement is the attraction of passivization into the main clause. That is, the matrix verb is not normally passivized (indeed, does not make semantic sense as a passive form) but sometimes does occur morphologically marked as passive. The three corpus examples with *posse* are in (617-619), and the two with *quire* are in (620-621); the passive forms end in *-ur*. Note that the English translations fail to render the flavor of the pleonastic passives.

(617) *Nec*    *pro*<sub>i</sub>    [*PRO*<sub>i</sub>    *retrahi...*]    *potestur*<sub>i</sub>    [...*imperii*]<sub>j</sub>.  
 nor                    draw back-INFIN-PASS    be able-3-S-PASS    command-N-PL-ABL

‘Nor can [he] be drawn back by commands.’ (Enn. *Var.* 20)

(618) *si*    [*PRO*<sub>i</sub>    *qua*<sub>j</sub>...]    *pro*<sub>i</sub>    *potestur*<sub>i</sub>    [...*investigari*    *via*]<sub>j</sub>  
 if                    INDEFIN-F-S-ABL                    be able-3-S-PASS    track-INFIN-PASS    road-F-S-ABL

‘if [he] can be tracked on any road’ (Pac. *Trag.* 98)

(619) *Id*<sub>i</sub>                    *habeat*<sub>i</sub>                    *ad*    *summum*<sub>k</sub>                    {*ansas*                    *III*]<sub>j</sub>,    *uti*    [*PRO*<sub>i</sub>  
 ANA-N-S-NOM    have-3-S-SUBJ    to    highest-N-S-ACC    handle-F-PL-ACC    four    COMP  
*transferri*]                    *pro*<sub>i</sub>    *possitur*<sub>i</sub>.  
 carry across-INFIN-PASS                    be able-3-S-IMPERF-SUBJ-PASS

‘It should have four handles on the top so that it can be [easily] carried.’ (Cato *Agr.* 154)

(620) *si*                    *pro*<sub>i</sub>    [*PRO*<sub>i</sub>    *non*    *sarciri*]                    *quitur*<sub>i</sub>  
 if                    not                    mend-INFIN-PASS    be able-3-S-PASS

‘if [it] can’t be mended’ (Caec. *Fab.* 273)

(621) *Unde*                    *omnia*<sub>i</sub>                    [*PRO*<sub>i</sub>    *perdisci*                    *ac*    *percipi*]  
 from there    all-N-PL-NOM                    learn thoroughly-INFIN-PASS    and    comprehend-INFIN-PASS  
*queuntur*<sub>i</sub>.  
 be able-3-PL-PASS

‘Everything can be learned thoroughly and comprehended from that.’ (Acc. *Did.* 18)

### 7.2.1.2 Object Control

Not surprisingly, the most frequently occurring control lexeme, *iubere* ‘to order’, also occurs most often in control examples with a passivized complement. A passivized control complement occurs with *iubere* in 51 (56%) of the 91 passivized control structures. Some examples are in (622-624).

- (622)  $\text{pro}_i$  *iube\_i* <sub>order-2-S-IMPERAT</sub> *vero* <sub>but</sub>  $\text{pro}_j$  [ $\text{PRO}_j$  {*vasa* <sub>vessel-N-PL-ACC</sub> *pura*}\_k *adornari* <sub>prepare-INFIN-PASS</sub>  $t_k$  *mihi*] <sub>I-S-DAT</sub>

‘But order pure vessels to be prepared for me.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 946)

- (623)  $\text{pro}_i$   $\text{pro}_j$  *Lesbiam\_k* <sub>Lesbia-F-S-ACC</sub> [ $\text{PRO}_j$  *adduci* <sub>lead to-INFIN-PASS</sub>  $t_k$ ] *iubes\_i.* <sub>order-2-S</sub>

‘You’re ordering Lesbia to be brought here.’ (Ter. *And.* 228)

- (624)  $\text{pro}_i$   $\text{pro}_j$  *iussit\_i* <sub>order-3-S-PERF</sub> *vestimenta\_k* <sub>clothing-N-PL-ACC</sub> [ $\text{PRO}_j$  *detrahi* <sub>pull away-INFIN-PASS</sub>  $t_k$  *atque* <sub>and</sub> *flagro* <sub>fire-N-S-ABL</sub> *caedi* <sub>cut-INFIN-PASS</sub>  $t_k$ ].

‘He ordered [their] clothing to be pulled off and destroyed in the fire.’ (Cato *Or.* 58)

These examples are semantically felicitous because *iubere* takes object control and one entity can ‘control’ another to do whatever the infinitival’s action is.

However, when an overt controllee is co-indexed with the matrix subject and the main verb is *iubere*, the result is semantically odd in English. In Latin it is apparently acceptable. The corpus examples are shown in sentences (625-626).

- (625)  $\text{pro}_i$  *iube\_i* <sub>order-2-S-IMPERAT</sub> *te\_i* <sub>you-2-S-ACC</sub> [ $\text{PRO}_j$  *piari* <sub>propitiate-INFIN-PASS</sub>  $t_i$  *de* <sub>from</sub> *mea* <sub>my-F-S-ABL</sub> *pecunia*], *nam* <sub>for</sub> *equidem* <sub>indeed</sub> [*insanum\_i* <sub>insane-M-S-ACC</sub> *esse* <sub>be-INFIN</sub> *te\_i*] <sub>you-S-ACC</sub> *certo* <sub>certainly</sub> *scio.* <sub>know-1-S</sub>

‘Order yourself to be propitiated by using my money, for indeed I certainly know you’re insane.’ (Pl. *Men.* 291)



(626) *Aut* *pro*<sub>i</sub> *te*<sub>i</sub> [PRO]<sub>j</sub> *piari* *t*<sub>i</sub> *iube*<sub>i</sub> {*homo*  
or you-S-ACC propitiate-INFIN-PASS order-2-S-IMPERAT person-M-S-VOC  
*insanissume*}<sub>i</sub>.  
insane-SUPER-M-S-VOC

‘Else order yourself to be propitiated, you very crazy man.’ (Pl. *Men.* 517)

Note that in both examples the addressee is explicitly called insane, so it is possible that the co-indexing is for humorous effect or is even meant to be iconic of the insanity.

In example (627) the PP *a me* appears to be an agent NP since it co-occurs with the passive clause. However, it would be pragmatically odd as a command for the passive action to be done by the speaker. Rather, *me* is probably metonymic for ‘my house’ or ‘my household’. As a result, the intention is for the wine to be brought either ‘by [the servants] in my household’ (i.e. as an agentive NP) or ‘from my house’ (i.e. the preposition *a* has its literal meaning of ‘from’ rather than serving as the marker for agentivity). The ambiguity is not resolved by the discourse co-text, and in reality the perlocutionary effect is the same regardless of the speaker’s exact intention.

(627) *At* *ego*<sub>i</sub> *iussero* {*cadum unum*}<sub>j</sub> {*vini veteris*}<sub>k</sub> [PRO]<sub>j</sub>  
but I-S-NOM order-1-S-FUTPERF jar-M-S-ACC one-M-S-ACC wine-N-S-GEN old-N-S-GEN  
*a me*<sub>i</sub> *adferrier*].  
from I-S-ABL carry to-INFIN-PASS

‘But I’ll order [lit. ‘will have ordered’] a jar of aged wine to be brought here from my house(hold).’ (Pl. *Aul.* 570-571)

Note that with a different main verb, the co-indexing effect is similar to English. An example with *abnutere*, lit. ‘to nod away’ = ‘to prohibit’ is in (628).

(628) *Quid -nam* *est* *obsecro* *quod* *pro*<sub>i</sub> *te*<sub>i</sub> [PRO]<sub>j</sub>  
INTERROG -for be-3-S beg-1-S REL-N-S-ACC you-2-S-ACC  
*adiri* *t*<sub>i</sub>] *abnutas*<sub>i</sub>?  
come to-INFIN-PASS nod away-INFIN-2-S-SUBJ

‘For why is it, I beg you, that you prevent yourself from being approached?’ (Enn. *Trag.* 361)

The remaining 12 object-control lexemes with passivized complements provide only a few examples each in the corpus. The most frequently occurring are *sinere* ‘to allow’ (14 instances, 15%) and *postulare* ‘to order’ (10 instances, 11%). Some examples are in (629-630).

- (629) *Pamphilam<sub>j</sub> -ne* [PRO<sub>k</sub> *hac urbe privari* t<sub>j</sub>] pro<sub>i</sub> *sines<sub>i</sub>?*  
Pamphila-F-S-ACC -Y/N this-F-S-ABL city-F-S-ABL deprive-*INFIN-PASS* allow-2-S-FUT

‘Will you allow Pamphila to be kept out of this city?’ (Ter. *Phor.* 517)

- (630) *ne tu<sub>i</sub> postules<sub>i</sub> {matulam unam}<sub>j</sub>* [PRO<sub>k</sub> *tibi...*] *aquai*  
lest you-S-NOM order-2-S-SUBJ pot-F-S-ACC one-F-S-ACC you-S-DAT water-F-S-GEN  
[...*infundi in caput* t<sub>j</sub>].  
pour on-*INFIN-PASS* onto head-N-S-ACC

‘Don’t order a pot of water to be poured onto your head.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 1034)

So far, we have seen what happens when the matrix verb is active but the object-control clause has a passivized infinitive. When the main verb is passivized, the controllee can raise to subject, as in shown in the contrast between examples (631) and (632). The embedded clause is active in (631) and passive in (632).

- (631) a. Jupiter<sub>i</sub> ordered Mercury<sub>j</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> to play the part of Sosia].  
b. Mercury<sub>j</sub> was ordered (by Jupiter<sub>i</sub>) [PRO<sub>j</sub> to play the part of Sosia].  
(632) a. Jupiter<sub>i</sub> ordered pro<sub>j</sub> Amphitryon<sub>k</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> to be removed t<sub>k</sub> from the house]  
b. Amphitryon<sub>k</sub> was pro<sub>j</sub> ordered (by Jupiter<sub>i</sub>) [PRO<sub>j</sub> to be removed t<sub>k</sub> from the house]

Only two examples analogous to (631b) are found in the corpus, and they are shown in (633-634).

- (633) pro<sub>j</sub> {*mea vi*<sub>i</sub> *subacta*<sub>j</sub> ’*st*<sub>j</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> *facere* pro<sub>k</sub>].  
my-F-S-ABL force-F-S-ABL compel-PPP-F-S-NOM be-3-S do-*INFIN*

‘She was compelled to do [it] by my force.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 1143)

- (634) *Ego<sub>j</sub>* [PRO<sub>j</sub> *hunc<sub>k</sub>...*] *missa<sub>j</sub>* *sum<sub>j</sub>* [...*ludere* pro<sub>i</sub>] pro<sub>i</sub>.  
I-S-NOM this-M-S-ACC send-PPP-F-S-NOM be-1-S play-*INFIN*

‘I was sent to play [this trick] on him.’ (Pl. *Cas.* 688)

Example (634) is less prototypically an object-control structure than (633), and it is the only other example of this construction with the matrix verb passivized.

The corpus contains just a single instance analogous to (632b). Shown in (635), this example occurs in one of Terence's works not in the corpus.

(635)	<i>An,</i> or	<i>ut</i> COMP	<i>{nequid</i> nothing-N-S-ACC	<i>turpe</i> } <sub>l</sub> base-N-S-ACC	<i>civis</i> <sub>k</sub> citizen-M/F-S-NOM	<i>in</i> into	<i>se</i> <sub>k</sub> ANA-S-ACC	
	<i>admitteret</i> <sub>k</sub> send to-3-S-IMPERF-SUBJ	<i>propter</i> because of	<i>egestatem</i> <sub>m</sub> poverty-F-S-ACC	<i>pro</i> <sub>i</sub>	<i>pro</i> <sub>j</sub>	[PRO] <sub>j</sub>		
	<i>proxumo</i> <sub>n</sub> ...] near-SUPER-M-S-DAT	<i>iussa</i> <sub>k</sub> order-PPP-F-S-NOM	<i>'st</i> be-3-S	[... <i>dari</i> give- <small>INFIN</small> -PASS	<i>t</i> <sub>k</sub> ],	<i>ut</i> COMP	<i>cum</i> with	<i>uno</i> <sub>n</sub> one-M-S-ABL
	<i>aetatem</i> <sub>o</sub> age-F-S-ACC	<i>degeret</i> <sub>k</sub> ? live out-3-S-IMPERF-SUBJ						

‘Or, so that a citizen might take on no shame on account of her poverty, has she been ordered to be given to her nearest [male relative], so that she might live out her life with one man?’ (Ter. *Phor.* 415-417)

Both of these passivized constructions, analogous to (631b) and (632b), are extremely rare in early Latin.

## 7.2.2 ECM

As Table 57 above shows, passivization with ECM occurs overall at a somewhat higher rate (21%) than with control structures (15%). However, the ECM mean obscures the differences in passivization among the four subtypes.

### 7.2.2.1 Subject Control ~ ECM

The subject control~ECM predicates take passivized complements in 40% of contexts, a rate much higher than for regular subject-control complements (13%). The majority of this effect stems from the ‘wish’ verbs that take ECM, in which the infinitival subject is promoted through passivization. Sentences (636-641) have a disjoint infinitival subject.

(636)	<i>Nunc</i> now	[ <i>Amphitruonem</i> <sub>k</sub> ...] Amphitryon-M-S-ACC	<i>volt</i> <sub>i</sub> wish-3-S	[... <i>e</i> <sub>j</sub>	<i>deludi</i> trick-INFIN-PASS	<i>t</i> <sub>k</sub> ]	{ <i>meus</i> my-M-S-NOM
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*pater*<sub>i</sub>.  
father-M-S-NOM

‘Now my father wants Amphitryon to be tricked.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 997)

- (637) *pro*<sub>i</sub> [*e*<sub>j</sub> *adsectari* *t*<sub>k</sub> *se*<sub>k</sub>] *cupiunt*<sub>i</sub>.  
follow-*INFIN-PASS* ANA-ACC desire-3-PL

‘[They] want to themselves to be followed.’ (Enn. *Var.* 31)

- (638) *pro*<sub>i</sub> [*regnum*<sub>k</sub> *tibi*<sub>i</sub> *permitti* *e*<sub>j</sub> *t*<sub>k</sub>] *malunt*<sub>i</sub>.  
kingdom-N-S-ACC you-S-DAT send through-*INFIN-PASS* prefer-3-PL

‘They prefer the kingdom to be handed over to you.’ (Acc. *Trag.* 468)

- (639) [*Haec*<sub>m...</sub>] *tu*<sub>i</sub> *si* *voles*<sub>j</sub> [...*per* *auris*<sub>n</sub> *pectus*<sub>i</sub>  
this-N-PL-ACC you-S-NOM if wish-2-S-FUT through ear-F-PL-ACC breast-N-S-ACC  
*inrigarier* *e*<sub>k</sub> *t*<sub>i</sub>].  
water-*INFIN-PASS*

‘if you’ll allow [lit. ‘wish’] your mind to be watered by these things through your ears.’  
(Luc. *Sat.* 690)

- (640) *pro*<sub>i</sub> [*quae*<sub>k</sub> *diligentius* *seri* *e*<sub>j</sub> *t*<sub>k</sub>] *voles*<sub>i</sub> [*pro*<sub>k</sub> *in*  
REL-N-PL-ACC more carefully sow-*INFIN-PASS* wish-2-S-FUT in  
*calicibus*<sub>m</sub> *seri*] *oportet*<sub>i</sub>.  
pot-F-PL-ABL sow-*INFIN-PASS* be fitting-3-S

‘Those [plants] you’ll want sown more carefully should be sown in pots.’ (Cato *Agr.* 133)

- (641) [*pro*<sub>j</sub> *araneas*<sub>k</sub> *mi*<sub>i...</sub>] *ego*<sub>i</sub> [...*illas*<sub>k</sub> *servari* *t*<sub>k</sub>] *volo*<sub>i</sub>;  
cobweb-F-PL-ACC I-S-DAT I-S-NOM that-F-PL-ACC preserve-*INFIN-PASS* wish-1-S  
*pauper*<sub>i</sub> *sum*<sub>i</sub>.  
poor-M-S-NOM BE-I-S

‘I want those cobwebs preserved; I’m poor.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 87)

In example (642) the speaker, Mercury, addresses the audience with a request, so that the unexpressed agent of the lower clause is apparently co-indexed with Mercury. As a result, the PP *a vobis* is not agentive even though it occurs in the usual form (i.e. *a* + NP) and is in a passivized clause.

- (642) *pro*<sub>i</sub> [*e*<sub>i</sub> {*iustam* *rem* *et* *facilem*}<sub>j</sub> *esse*<sub>j</sub> *orata*<sub>j</sub> *t*<sub>i</sub>  
just-F-S-ACC affair-F-S-ACC and easy-F-S-ACC be-*INFIN* beg-PPP-F-S-ACC

*a*      *vobis*<sub>k</sub>]      *volo*<sub>i</sub>.  
from    you-PL-ABL    wish-1-S

‘It’s a just and easy thing I want to request [lit. ‘want requested’] from you.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 33)

The corpus contains a single instance of a passive matrix verb with an active infinitive, shown in (643).

(643) *Et*    *mox*    *ne*    *pro*<sub>i</sub>    *erretis*<sub>i</sub>    *haec*<sub>j</sub>    *duarum*<sub>l</sub>    *hodie*    *vicem*  
and    soon    lest    wander-2-PL-SUBJ    this-F-S-NOM    two-F-PL-GEN    today    in turn  
  
*hinc*    *et*    *illinc*    *mulier*<sub>j</sub>    *feret*<sub>j</sub>    *imaginem*<sub>k</sub>    *atque*    *pro*<sub>j</sub>  
from here    and    from there    woman-F-S-NOM    carry-3-S-FUT    likeness-F-S-ACC    and  
  
*eadem*<sub>j</sub>    *erit*    *verum*    *pro*<sub>j</sub>    [*alia*<sub>j</sub>    *esse*    *t*<sub>j</sub>]    *adsimulabitur*<sub>j</sub>.  
same-F-S-NOM    be-3-S-FUT    but    other-F-S-NOM    be-INFIN    pretend-3-S-FUT-PASS

‘And so you won’t soon be mistaken, today this woman will bear at different times the likeness of two women, one from here and one from there, and it’ll be the same woman but she’ll be pretended to be the other.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 150-152)

#### 7.2.2.2 Deontic ECM

Among the deontic ECM structures, the most frequently occurring predicate taking a passivized complement is *oportere* ‘to be fitting’. This verb occurs in 73 (53%) of the 137 such constructions. All but 18 of the instances are in Cato’s *De Agri Cultura* – hardly surprising, considering the stated purpose of the work: to instruct a Roman citizen how best to purchase and manage a farming estate. Some examples of *oportere* with a passivized complement are in (644-646).

(644) [*pro*<sub>i</sub>    *canes*<sub>j</sub>    *interdiu*    *clausos*<sub>j</sub>    *esse*    *t*<sub>j</sub>]    *oportet*,    *ut*  
dog-M-PL-ACC    during the day    shut-PPP-M-PL-ACC    be-INFIN    befit-3-S    COMP  
  
*noctu*    *acriores*<sub>j</sub>    *et*    *vigilantiores*<sub>j</sub>    *sint*<sub>j</sub>.  
night-F-S-ABL    keen-COMPAR-M-PL-NOM    and    watch-PART-COMPAR-M-PL-NOM    be-3-PL-SUBJ

‘It’s fitting for dogs to be locked up during the day so that they’ll be keener and more vigilant at night.’ (Cato *Agr.* 124)

(645) *pro*<sub>i</sub>    *properate*<sub>i</sub>    [*cenam*<sub>l</sub>    *iam*    *esse*    *coctam*<sub>l</sub>    *e*<sub>k</sub>    *t*<sub>l</sub>]  
hurry-2-PL-IMPERAT    dinner-F-S-ACC    already    be-INFIN    cook-PPP-F-S-ACC  
  
*oportuit*<sub>j</sub>.  
be fitting-3-S-PERF

(646) [*Haec<sub>k</sub>*      *facta<sub>k</sub>*      *ab*      *illo<sub>j</sub>*      *t<sub>k...</sub>*]      *oportebat<sub>i</sub>*      *Syre<sub>l</sub>*.  
this-N-PL-ACC      do-PPP-N-PL-ACC      by      that-M-S-ABL           be fitting-3-S-IMPERF      Syrus-M-S-VOC

Note the overt agentive NP *ab illo* in (646).

### 7.2.2.3 AcI

(647)     $\text{pro}_i$        $[\text{pro}_j$        $\{haec$        $omnia\}_k \dots]$        $vidi_i$        $[\dots inflammari]$ ,     $[\text{pro}_l$   
                  this-N-PL-ACC      all-N-PL-ACC      see-1-S-PERF      set fire-1NF-PASS

*Priamo*      *vi*      *vitam*<sub>m</sub>      *evitari*],       $[\text{pro}_n$       *Iovis*      *aram*<sub>o</sub>  
                  Priam-M-S-DAT      force-F-S-ABL      life-F-S-ACC      deprive-1NF-PASS      Jupiter-M-S-GEN      altar-F-S-ACC

*sanguine*      *turpari*].  
                  blood-M-S-ABL      debase-1NF-PASS

(648) a. Jupiter<sub>i</sub> told her<sub>j</sub> [he<sub>i</sub> was her husband].

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1895:1997, p. 152). However, promotion of the beneficiary to subject does occur, albeit rarely.

Only three such examples occur in the corpus. Two of them are shown in (649-650).

- (649)  $\text{pro}_i$  *obsecro*<sub>i</sub>, *etiam -ne*  $\text{pro}_j$  *hoc*<sub>l</sub> *negabis*<sub>j</sub>, [*te*<sub>j</sub> {*auream*  
beseech-1-S and -Y/N this-N-S-ACC deny-2-S-FUT you-S-ACC golden-F-S-ACC  
*pateram*}<sub>l</sub> *mihi*<sub>i</sub> *dedisse* *dono* *hodie*]<sub>k</sub>, *qua*<sub>l</sub> *te*<sub>j</sub> *illi*  
bowl-F-S-ACC I-S-DAT give-1-PL-ACC gift-N-S-DAT today REL-F-S-ABL you-S-ACC there  
*donatum*<sub>j</sub> *esse* *dixeras*<sub>j</sub>?  
give-PPP-M-S-ACC be-1-PL-ACC say-2-S-PL-ACC

‘Come on, do you also deny this, that you gave me a golden bowl as a gift today, which you’d said was given to you there [lit. ‘by which you’d said you were given’]?’ (Pl. *Amph.* 760-761)

- (650)  $\text{pro}_i$  *nimis* *demiror*<sub>i</sub>, *Sosia*<sub>j</sub>, *qui* *illaec*<sub>k</sub> *illic* [*me*<sub>i</sub>  
too much wonder at-1-S-DEPON Sosia-M-S-VOC how that-F-S-NOM there I-S-ACC  
*donatum*<sub>i</sub> *esse* {*aurea* *patera*}<sub>l</sub>] *sciat*<sub>k</sub>, *nisi* *tu*<sub>j</sub> *dudum*  
give-PPP-M-S-ACC be-1-PL-ACC golden-F-S-ABL bowl-F-S-ABL know-3-S-SUBJ unless you-S-NOM just now  
*hanc*<sub>k</sub> *convenisti*<sub>j</sub> *et* *narravisti*<sub>j</sub> *haec* *omnia*.  
this-F-S-ACC meet-2-S-ACC and tell-2-S-ACC this-N-PL-ACC all-N-PL-ACC

‘I very much wonder, Sosia, how she should know I was given the golden bowl there, unless you just now met up with her and told her all these things.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 765-767)

What is particularly revealing are the overt NPs expressing thematic roles in the first part of (649), because two parallel propositions are expressed first in the active and then in the passive. In the active clause, *te auream pateram mihi dedisse dono hodie*, the embedded subject is the accusative *te*. The direct object of *dedisse* is *auream pateram*, also marked for accusative case, and *mihi* in the dative bears the  $\theta$ -role of beneficiary. In the next clause, the addressee (i.e. the referent of *te*) is the recipient of the bowl, and the NP’s  $\theta$ -role of beneficiary is now the subject of the infinitival clause. The embedded verb *donatum esse* is passive, and the NP *qua* is a relative pronoun in the ablative case, acting as an instrument. That is, instead of the original direct object *auream pateram* becoming the subject in the passivized clause, that NP is still demoted, but it bears the lower-ranking role of instrument. The agent is not expressed at all, and the beneficiary, *te*, is promoted to subject position. It is clear from the context that this syntactic

strategy focuses pragmatically on the referent of *te* since the conversation is about the remarkable fact (divinely orchestrated by Jupiter) that the bowl has changed hands. In (650) the same passivized structure occurs, except that the beneficiary is now *me* (equal to *mihi* in an active clause), and instead of a relative pronoun the full NP *aurea patera* occurs in the ablative as instrument.

An analogous construction is also found in Cato's oratory, shown in (651).

- (651) *Iam principio quis<sub>i</sub> vidit<sub>i</sub> [corona<sub>k</sub> donari*  
 now beginning-N-S-ABL INTERROG-M-S-NOM see-3-S-PERF crown-F-S-ABL give-INFIN-PASS  
*quemquam<sub>j</sub>], cum oppidum<sub>i</sub> captum<sub>i</sub> non esset<sub>i</sub> aut*  
 INDEFIN-M-S-ACC when town-N-S-ACC take-PPP-N-S-ACC not be-3-S-IMPERF-SUBJ or  
*castra<sub>m</sub> hostium<sub>n</sub> non incensa<sub>m</sub> essent<sub>m</sub>?*  
 camp-N-PL-NOM enemy-M-PL-GEN not burn-PPP-N-PL-NOM be-3-PL-IMPERF-SUBJ

‘Now first of all, who has seen someone presented with a crown when no town was captured and no enemy camps were burnt up?’ (Cato *Or.* 148)

More typically than what is shown in (649-651), if passivization occurs in an AcI clause the beneficiary role remains with an assignment of dative case, and instead the direct object is promoted to subject. Some examples of with an overt NP as beneficiary in a passivized clause are shown in sentences (652-656). Sentence (654) is repeated here from example (65) and (655) is from (207).

- (652) *Nam ego<sub>i</sub> pro<sub>j</sub> [PRO<sub>j</sub> mi<sub>i</sub>...] iam nil<sub>k</sub> [...credi t<sub>k</sub>]*  
 for I-S-NOM order-1-S  
*postulo<sub>i</sub>.*  
 order-1-S

‘For now I’m not demanding that anything be believed of me.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 302)

- (653) *Poeta<sub>i</sub> quom primum animum<sub>j</sub> ad scribendum*  
 poet-M-S-NOM when first mind-M-S-ACC to write-GERUNDIVE-N-S-ACC  
*adpult<sub>i</sub>, [id<sub>k</sub> sibi<sub>i</sub> negoti<sub>i</sub>...] pro<sub>i</sub> credidit<sub>i</sub>*  
 push toward-3-S-PERF ANA-N-S-ACC ANA-DAT business-N-S-GEN believe-3-S-PERF  
*[...solum<sub>k</sub> dari], {[populo<sub>n</sub> ut pro<sub>m</sub> placerent<sub>m</sub>}*  
 alone-N-S-ACC give-INFIN-PASS people-M-S-DAT COMP please-3-PL-IMPERF-SUBJ



[*quas*<sub>m</sub>      *pro*<sub>i</sub>      *fecisset*<sub>i</sub>      *fabulas*<sub>m</sub>]]] }<sub>k</sub>.  
REL-F-PL-ACC      make-3-S-PLUPERF-SUBJ      story-F-PL-ACC

‘When the poet first set his mind toward writing, [he] believed this alone was given to him [lit. ‘to himself’] as his business, that the plays he had written should please the people.’ (Ter. *And.* 1-3)

- (654) *Qui*<sub>i</sub>      *postquam*      *audierat*<sub>i</sub>      [*non*      *datum*<sub>j</sub>      *iri*      *filio*<sub>k</sub>  
REL-M-S-NOM      after      hear-3-S-PLUPERF      not      give-SUPINE-M-S-ACC      go-INFIN-PASS      son-M-S-DAT
- uxorem*<sub>j</sub>      *suo*<sub>k</sub>]]],      *numquam*      *pro*<sub>i</sub>      *quoiquam*<sub>n</sub>      *nostrum*<sub>o</sub>      *verbum*<sub>m</sub>  
wife-F-S-ACC      own-M-S-DAT      never           INDEFIN-M-S-DAT      I-PL-GEN      word-N-S-ACC
- fecit*<sub>i</sub>      *neque*      *pro*<sub>i</sub>      *id*<sub>i</sub>      *aegre*      *tulit*<sub>i</sub>.  
make-3-S-PERF      nor           ANA-N-S-ACC      sickly      carry-3-S-PERF

‘Ever since he’d heard a wife wouldn’t be given to his son, [he] never said a word to any of us and [he] didn’t take it badly.’ (Ter. *And.* 177-178)

- (655) *Conspicit*<sub>i</sub>      *inde*      [*sibi*<sub>i</sub>      *data*<sub>j</sub>...]      *Romulus*<sub>i</sub>      [...esse      *propritim*  
perceive-3-S-PERF      then      ANA-DAT      give-PPP-N-PL-ACC      Romulus-M-S-NOM      be-INFIN      favorably
- auspicio*<sub>i</sub>      *regni*<sub>k</sub>      *stabilita*<sub>j</sub>      *scamna*<sub>j</sub>      *solum*<sub>k</sub>      *-que*].  
divination by birds-N-S-ABL      kingdom-N-S-GEN      make firm-PPP-N-PL-ACC      bench-N-PL-ACC      soil-N-S-ACC      -and

‘Then Romulus perceived by the auspice that the throne and territory of the kingdom had been favorably given to him [lit. ‘to himself’]’. (Enn. *Ann.* 99-100)

- (656) *pro*<sub>i</sub>      *scibam*<sub>i</sub>      [*hanc*<sub>j</sub>      *mihi*<sub>i</sub>      *supremam*<sub>j</sub>      *lucem*<sub>j</sub>      *et*  
know-1-S-IMPERF      this-F-S-ACC      I-S-DAT      last-F-S-ACC      light-F-S-ACC      and
- serviti*<sub>i</sub>      *finem*<sub>k</sub>      *dari*].  
servitude-F-S-DAT      end-M-S-ACC      give-INFIN-PASS

‘I knew this day was given to me as the last one and the end to my slavery.’ (Acc. *Trag.* 243)

These examples clearly show that the beneficiary NP is not the subject of the passivized verb.

Rather, the theme NP argument is the subject and the beneficiary remains with its inherent case assignment of dative.

### 7.2.2.3.1 Personal Passive

One notable feature among passives with bridge verbs is whether or not the embedded clause is raised. With raising, the embedded subject is assigned nominative case, such that the structure is more properly termed *nominativus cum infinitivo* ‘nominative with infinitive’ (NcI).

Overall the NcI construction is not common in early Latin, occurring in only 96 (6%) of 1,493

possible contexts in the corpus. Diachronically, however, its usage increases markedly (Salor, 1983, p. 328).<sup>83</sup>

Since the NcI construction has the embedded subject assigned [+ nominative] case, the verb must agree with it in [number] and if a participle also in [gender]. For this reason, the construction is sometimes referred to as the personal passive. Some corpus examples are in (657-561). The special construction with *videri* in (657) is discussed in section 7.2.2.3.2. In (657) the neuter forms *illud* and *graecum* could be either nominative or accusative, but note that the verb *videatur* is singular in apparent agreement with both NPs.

- (657) {pro<sub>i</sub> [omnis<sub>j</sub> res<sub>j</sub> gestas<sub>j</sub><sup>84</sup> esse Athenis<sub>k</sub>]  
all-F-PL-ACC affair-F-PL-ACC bear-PPP-F-PL-ACC be-INFIN Athens-F-PL-LOC  
autumnant<sub>i</sub>}<sub>1</sub>, quo<sub>i</sub> illud<sub>m</sub> vobis<sub>n</sub> graecum<sub>m</sub> videatur<sub>m</sub>  
say-3-PL REL-N-S-ABL that-N-S-NOM you-PL-DAT Greek-N-S-NOM see-3-S-SUBJ-PASS  
magis.  
more

‘They say all events occurred in Athens, whereby it should seem more Greek to you.’  
(Pl. *Men.* 8-9)

In (658) *loquaces* and *omnes* are also ambiguous as to nominative or accusative case, but they are clearly [+ plural] and the verb *habemur* is first-person plural.

- (658) Nam pro<sub>i</sub> [multum loquaces<sub>j</sub> merito omnes<sub>j</sub> t<sub>j</sub>]  
for much talkative-PL-NOM/ACC earn-PPP-N-S-ABL all-PL-NOM/ACC  
habemur<sub>j</sub>, nec [mutam profecto repertam nullam esse  
hold-1-PL-PASS nor unable to speak-F-S-ACC indeed find-PPP-F-S-ACC none-F-S-ACC be-INFIN  
aut hodie...] dicunt [...mulierem aut ullo in saeclo].  
or today say-3-PL woman-F-S-ACC or any-N-S-ABL in generation-N-S-ABL

‘For we are deservedly considered [to be] very talkative, and indeed they say no non-speaking woman has ever been discovered either today or in any generation.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 124-126)

<sup>83</sup> Only one instance of NcI occurs in early Latin with an active matrix verb (Leumann & Hofmann, p. 588), in a work not included in the corpus.

<sup>84</sup> The collocation *res gestae* (nominative) idiomatically means ‘deeds, facts, history’.

Similarly, in (659) *quae* and *Cronia* are [+ neuter, + plural] forms that could be either nominative or accusative. However, just as in (658) the verb is unambiguously inflected for [+ plural], suggesting that the forms in question are actually nominative plural.

(659)	<i>Maxima</i> greatest-F-S-NOM	<i>pars</i> part-F-S-NOM	<i>Graium</i> Greek-M-PL-GEN	<i>Saturno</i> Saturn-M-S-DAT	<i>et</i> and	<i>maxime</i> mostly	<i>Athenae</i> Athens-F-PL-NOM
	<i>conficiunt</i> make ready-3-PL	<i>sacra</i> <sub>j</sub> sacred-N-PL-ACC	<i>[quae</i> <sub>j</sub> REL-N-PL-NOM/ACC	<i>Cronia</i> of Cronus-N-PL-NOM/ACC		<i>esse...</i> be-INFIN	<i>iterantur</i> <sub>j</sub> repeat-3-PL-PASS
	<i>[ab</i> by	<i>illis</i> <sub>i</sub> ]. that-M-PL-ABL					

‘Most of the Greeks and above all Athens perform sacred rites which are said by them to be the “Cronia.”’ (Acc. *Ann.* 2-3)

In (660) *haec* is neuter plural and appears to agree with the matrix verb *renuniata sint*, also neuter plural, as conveniently revealed by its PPP form.

(660)	<i>qua</i> as	<i>-si</i> -if	<i>non</i> not	<i>pro</i> <sub>i</sub>	<i>[tibi...</i> you-S-DAT	<i>renuniata</i> <sub>j</sub> announce-PPP-N-PL-NOM/ACC	<i>sint</i> be-3-PL-SUBJ	<i>[...haec</i> <sub>j</sub> this-N-PL-NOM/ACC
	<i>sic</i> thus	<i>fore</i> ] be-INFIN-FUT						

‘as if these things haven’t been reported to you that they will be so [lit. ‘thus to (fut.) be’]’ (Ter. *And.* 499)

In (661) the only overt NP that marks agreement with the matrix verb is *Rodiensibus*, which occurs two clauses earlier. That NP marks agreement in [person] and [number] with the passive *dicuntur*.

(661)	<i>Sed</i> but	<i>si</i> if	<i>[honorem</i> <sub>j</sub> honor-M-S-ACC	<i>non</i> not	<i>aequum</i> <sub>j</sub> fair-M-S-ACC	<i>haberi</i> have-INFIN-PASS	<i>ob</i> because of	<i>{eam</i> ANA-F-S-ACC
	<i>rem</i> ] <sub>k</sub> , affair-F-S-ACC	<i>[pro</i> <sub>i</sub>	<i>quod</i> <sub>i</sub> INDEFIN-N-S-ACC	<i>bene</i> well	<i>facere</i> do-INFIN	<i>voluisse</i> ] <sub>k</sub> wish-INFIN-PERF	<i>quis</i> <sub>i</sub> INDEFIN-M-S-NOM	
	<i>dicit</i> , say-3-S	<i>neque</i> nor	<i>pro</i> <sub>i</sub>	<i>pro</i> <sub>1</sub>	<i>fecit</i> <sub>i</sub> do-3-S-PERF	<i>tamen</i> , however	<i>Rodiensibus</i> <sub>m</sub> from Rhodes-M-PL-DAT	
	<i>oberit</i> , be against-3-S-FUT	<i>quod</i> <sub>i</sub> INDEFIN-N-S-ACC	<i>non</i> not	<i>malefecerunt</i> <sub>m</sub> , do harm-3-PL-PERF	<i>sed</i> but	<i>quia</i> because	<i>pro</i> <sub>n</sub>	<i>[pro</i> <sub>m</sub>
	<i>pro</i> <sub>1</sub>	<i>voluisse...</i> wish-INFIN-PERF	<i>dicuntur</i> <sub>m</sub> say-3-PL-PASS	<i>[...facere</i> do-INFIN	<i>t</i> <sub>m</sub> ] <sub>?</sub>			

‘But if someone says honor is not considered fair because of the fact he has wished to do something well but nevertheless didn’t do it, will it be held against the Rhodians not that they did harm but because they are said to have wanted to do it?’ (Cato *Or.* 168)

In all these examples, even when the inflectional ending is ambiguous between nominative and accusative, the [number] marking agrees with that of the passive verb. For that reason, the ambiguous forms can be resolved as nominative and therefore the grammatical subject of the passive verb. Such an interpretation is confirmed by the overt  $\theta$ -role of agent *ab illis* in (659). That is, if *ab illis* is a demoted agent, then the subject position was available for NP raising, here the relative pronoun *quae*.

Example (662) has an unambiguous [+ nominative] NP as the subject of a personal passive construction.

- (662) *Visus<sub>i</sub>*      *'t<sub>i</sub>*      *in*      *somnis<sub>j</sub>*      *pastor<sub>i</sub>*      *ad*      *me<sub>k</sub>*      *adpellere*  
 see-PPP-M-S-NOM    be-3-S    in    dream-M-PL-ABL    shepherd-M-S-NOM    to    me    push toward-INFIN
- {*pecus*      *lanigerum*}<sub>1</sub>      {*eximia*      *pulchritudine*}<sub>m</sub>.  
 herd-N-S-ACC    wool bearing-N-S-ACC    outstanding-F-S-ABL    beauty-F-S-ABL

‘In my dreams a shepherd seemed to drive toward me a woolly flock of exceptional beauty.’ (Acc. *Fab.* 19-20)

Additional examples of AcI with other matrix predicates are in (663-667).

- (663) *pro<sub>i</sub>*      [*haec*      *Casina*]<sub>j</sub>      *huius*      *reperietur<sub>j</sub>*      *filia<sub>j</sub>*      *esse*  
 this-F-S-NOM    Casina-F-S-NOM    this-M-S-GEN    find-3-S-FUT-PASS    daughter-F-S-NOM    be-INFIN
- ex*      *proxumo*.  
 out of    near-SUPER-M-S-ABL

‘This Casina will be discovered to be the daughter of this man from next door.’ (Pl. *Cas.* 1013-1014)

- (664) *pro<sub>i</sub>*      [*huius*      *autem*      *gnatus<sub>i</sub>...*]      *dicitur<sub>i</sub>*      [...*geminum*      *alterum*]  
 this-M-S-GEN    however    offspring-M-S-NOM    say-3-S-PASS    twin-M-S-ACC    other-M-S-ACC
- falso*      *occidisce*      *t<sub>j</sub>*.  
 by mistake    kill-INFIN-PERF

‘But this man’s son is said to have killed one of the twins by mistake.’ (Naev. *Fab.* 2-3)

(665) pro<sub>i</sub> [quorum genitor<sub>j</sub>...] fertur<sub>j</sub><sup>85</sup> [...esse ops<sub>j</sub> gentibus t<sub>j</sub>].  
REL-M-PL-GEN founder-M-S-NOM carry-3-S-PASS be-INFIN aid-F-S-NOM tribe-F-PL-DAT

‘whose founder is said to be an aid to the people’ (Acc. *Frag.* 5)

(666) pro<sub>i</sub> [quod is<sub>j</sub>...] intellegebar<sub>j</sub> [...posse haud t<sub>j</sub>] ad  
because ANA-M-S-NOM understand-1-S-IMPERF-PASS be able-INFIN not to

paucos rettulij.<sup>86</sup>  
few-M-PL-ACC send back-1-S-PERF

‘Since I was understood to be that way, I sent [it] to a few people.’ (Luc. *Sat.* 735)

(667) pro<sub>i</sub> semper [ei t<sub>j</sub>...] dicta<sub>j</sub> ’st [...esse haec<sub>j</sub>] atque  
always ANA-S-DAT say-PPP-F-S-NOM be-3-S be-INFIN this-F-S-NOM and

habita<sub>j</sub> ’st soror<sub>j</sub>.  
hold-PPP-F-S-NOM be-3-S sister-F-S-NOM

‘She has always been said to be and considered to be that one’s sister.’ (Ter. *And.* 809)

### 7.2.2.3.2 *Videri* ‘To Seem’

Of the 86 NcI instances in the corpus, 74 (86%) are with *videri*. As the morphological passive of *videre* ‘to see’, *videri* often has the special lexical meaning ‘to seem, appear’ (Simpson, 1968, pp. 641-642). The occurrences of *videri* + infinitival complement are summarized in Table 58.

Table 58: Subjects with *Videri*.

Infinitival Subject	Frequency	%
Nominative	26	34%
Ambiguous (nom./acc.)	26	34%
Ambiguous (no overt NP)	22	29%
Accusative	2	3%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>74</b>	

<sup>85</sup> *Ferre* ‘to carry, bear’ commonly means ‘to be said’ in the passive (i.e. lit. ‘to be borne’ as an opinion or rumor).

<sup>86</sup> The fragment is corrupt in the manuscripts, so there is a possibility that *is* is not the subject of *intellegebar*. Warmington (p. 3:237) renders it as ‘because I was understood, being what I am, to have the power (sc. to write tragedies) ... I referred it to a few friends.’

Some examples of *videri* with unambiguous NcI (i.e. an overt NP unambiguously marked for [+ nominative] case) are below. In (668-669) the matrix verb is inflected for first-person singular and its grammatical subject is a nominative singular form.

- (668)  $\text{pro}_i$  [ $\text{pro}_j$  [*sati' -n* enough -Y/N] *hoc* this-N-S-ACC *plane* plainly *sati' -ne* enough -Y/N *diserte...* clearly], *ere*, master-M-S-VOC  
*nunc* now *videor<sub>j</sub>* see-1-S-PASS [...*tibi* you-S-DAT *locutus<sub>j</sub>* speak-PPP-DEPON-M-S-NOM *esse* be-INFIN  $t_j$ ]]?

‘Now, master, do I seem to have spoken this plainly and clearly enough to you?’ (Pl. *Amph.* 578-579)

- (669)  $\text{pro}_i$  *aut* or *ita -ne* thus -Y/N *tandem* at last [*idoneus<sub>j</sub>* suitable-M-S-NOM *tibi<sub>i</sub>* you-S-DAT *videor<sub>j</sub>* see-1-S-PASS *esse* be-INFIN  $t_j$ ,  
*[quem<sub>j</sub>* REL-M-S-ACC *tam* so *aperte* openly  $\text{PRO}_i$  *fallere...* deceive-INFIN *incipias<sub>i</sub>* begin-2-S-SUBJ *[...dolis]]?* trick-M-PL-ABL

‘Or do I nonetheless seem to you so suitable as someone you should openly start to deceive with such tricks?’ (Ter. *And.* 492-493)

In (668) the matrix verb *videor* is co-indexed with the participle *locutus*, which is overtly marked for [+ masculine, + nominative, + singular]. Similarly, in (669) *idoneus* has the same agreement features, co-indexed with the *pro* subject of *videor*.

Some instances of nominative-verb agreement in the second person are shown in (670-671). In (670) *facetior* is unambiguously nominative singular, and likewise so is *mendax* in example (671); both main verbs are marked for second-person singular.

- (670)  $\text{pro}_i$  [ $\text{pro}_j$  *quo* REL-N-S-ABL *facetior<sub>j</sub>* elegant-COMPAR-M-S-NOM *videare<sub>j</sub>* see-2-S-SUBJ-PASS  $t_j$ ] *et* and [ $t_j$   
*scire* know-INFIN *plus* more *quam* than *ceteri* remaining-M-PL-NOM *pertisum* tire of-PPP-M-S-ACC *hominem* human-M-S-ACC *non* not  
*pertaesum*<sup>87</sup> tire of-PPP-M-S-ACC *dicere* say-INFIN \*\*\*<sup>88</sup> *genus*]]. race-N-S-ACC

‘Whereby you may seem more elegant, to know more than the rest of the human race, to say “tiered” instead of “tired.”’ (Luc. *Sat.* 983-984)

<sup>87</sup> Presumably the difference is between roughly /pertisum/ and /pertaesum/, using Allen’s (1978) system for the classical period.

<sup>88</sup> The manuscripts are corrupt here, but the meaning remains clear.

(671) *Si* <sub>pro<sub>i</sub></sub> *falsa*<sub>j</sub> *confingis*<sub>i</sub> <sub>pro<sub>k</sub></sub> [*mendax*<sub>i</sub> *esse* <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>] *videris*.  
 if deceive-PPP-N-PL-ACC invent-2-S lying-M-S-NOM be-INFIN see-2-S-PASS

‘If you invent falsehoods, you seem to be a liar.’ (Cato *Or.* 244)

In (672-673) a form of *videri* is inflected for third-person singular and its subject is unambiguously assigned nominative singular case. The gender agreement is [+ feminine] in example (672) and [+ masculine] in (673).

(672) <sub>pro<sub>i</sub></sub> [[*hac* *nocte* *in* *somnis* *mea* *soror* *gemina*...]  
 this-F-S-ABL night-F-S-ABL in dream-M-PL-ABL my-F-S-NOM sister-F-S-NOM twin-F-S-NOM  
*'st* [...*germana*...] *visa* [...*venisse* *Athenis* *in* *Ephesum*  
 be-3-S sibling-F-S-NOM see-PPP-F-S-NOM come-INFIN-PERF Athens-F-PL-ABL into Ephesus-M-S-ACC  
*cum* *suo* *amatore* *quodam*]].  
 with own-M-S-ABL lover-M-S-ABL INDEFIN-M-S-ABL

‘Tonight my twin sister appears to have come from Athens to Ephesus with some lover of hers.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 383-384)

(673) <sub>pro<sub>i</sub></sub> *visus*<sub>j</sub> [*Homerus*<sub>j</sub> *adesse* *poeta*<sub>j</sub> <sub>t<sub>j</sub></sub>].  
 see-PPP-M-S-NOM Homer-M-S-NOM be near-INFIN poet-M-S-NOM

‘The poet Homer seemed to be near.’ (Enn. *Ann.* 5)

Examples (674-675) have a plural inflection on *videri* and their grammatical subjects mark agreement with the nominative plural form.

(674) <sub>pro<sub>i</sub></sub> *adeo -ne* *videmur*<sub>j</sub> [*vobis* *esse* *idonei*<sub>j</sub> <sub>t<sub>j</sub></sub>?]  
 to there -Y/N see-1-PL-PASS you-PL-DAT be-INFIN suitable-M-PL-NOM

‘Do we seem suitable to you for that?’ (Ter. *And.* 757)

(675) <sub>pro<sub>i</sub></sub> *ita* [*mi*<sub>k</sub>...] *videntur*<sub>j</sub> [...*omnia*<sub>j</sub> *mare*<sub>j</sub> *terra*<sub>j</sub> *caelum*<sub>j</sub>  
 thus I-S-DAT see-3-PL-PASS all-N-PL-NOM sea-N-S-NOM earth-F-S-NOM sky-N-S-NOM  
*consequi* <sub>t<sub>j</sub></sub>] *iam* *ut* *opprimar*<sub>k</sub> *ut* *enicer*<sub>k</sub>.  
 follow-INFIN-DEPON now COMP oppress-1-S-SUBJ-PASS COMP exhaust-1-S-SUBJ-PASS

‘Everything – sea, earth, sky – seems to follow me now so that I’m crushed and worn out.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 1055-1056)

In 26 instances, the case assignment for the subject of *videri* is ambiguous. These NPs all have the gender feature [+ neuter] or [+ feminine]. Since the neuter form is always identical between nominative and accusative within the [singular] or [plural] number (see Appendix C),

such forms are inherently ambiguous as to case. Likewise, many [+ feminine, + singular] forms have the same ending as certain [+ neuter, + plural] forms, so there is ambiguity as to both [number] and [gender]. Some examples with a neuter NP and *videri* are in (676-678).

- (676)  $\text{pro}_i$  [ $\text{pro}_j$  {*omnis* *res*}<sub>k</sub> *gestas*<sub>k</sub> *esse* *Athenis*]<sub>i</sub> *autumant*<sub>i</sub>,  
all-F-PL-ACC      affair-F-PL-ACC      do-PPP-F-PL-ACC      be-INFIN      Athens-F-PL-LOC      assert-3-PL  
*quo* *pro* [*illud*<sub>i</sub> *vobis* *graecum*<sub>i</sub> *t*]<sub>i</sub> *videatur*<sub>i</sub> *magis*.  
REL-N-S-ABL      that-N-S-NOM/ACC      you-PL-DAT      Greek-N-S-NOM/ACC      see-3-S-SUBJ-PASS      more

‘They claim everything occurred in Athens so that it seems more Greek to you.’ (Pl. *Men.* 8-9)

- (677) [ $\text{pro}_i$  *mirum*<sub>j</sub> *videtur*<sub>j</sub> *t*]<sub>j</sub> *quod*<sub>j</sub> *sit*<sub>j</sub> *factum*<sub>j</sub> *iam*  
wonderful-N-S-NOM/ACC      see-3-S-PASS      REL-N-S-NOM      be-3-S-SUBJ      do-PPP-N-S-NOM      now  
*diu?*  
long time

‘Does what was done a long time ago seem wonderful?’ (Liv. *Trag.* 15)

- (678) *Contra* [ $\text{pro}_i$  *haec*<sub>j</sub> *invitasse* *aut* *instigasse* *t*]<sub>j</sub> *videntur*<sub>j</sub>.  
on the contrary      this-N-PL-NOM/ACC      invite-INFIN-PERF      or      goad-INFIN-PERF      see-3-PL-PASS

‘On the contrary, these things appear to have invited or incited [it/them].’ (Luc. *Sat.* 1031)

In these examples, the words *illud* and *graecum* in (676), *mirum* in (677), and *haec* in (678) are all ambiguous between nominative and accusative case assignment. *Contra* in (678) is either an adverb or a preposition whose complement is assigned accusative case. Since *haec* could be accusative, *contra haec* may be a PP. However, since *haec* can be [+ plural] and *videntur* is also plural (and no other overt NPs are available as its subject), it is straightforward to interpret *haec* as the (nominative) subject of *videntur*.<sup>89</sup>

Since these three examples in (676-678) appear to be the same kind of structure – and they also parallel the unambiguous nominative forms in (670-675) – it is reasonable to conclude that these neuter forms are also assigned nominative case. Further, both neuter forms in (676-

<sup>89</sup> Although less plausible, another possibility is that some unspecified plural NP is the subject *videntur*, and *haec* is accusative as the direct object of the two infinitives.



677) are [+ singular], and the finite verbs *videatur* and *videtur*, respectively, are also overtly marked as [+ singular]. In (678) the [+ neuter, + plural] form *haec* agrees in [number] with the finite *videntur*. Together, the evidence shows that – in spite of the various possibilities resulting from ambiguity – these overt NPs agree in [number] with the finite form of *videri*. The clauses are thus personal passives.

That *videri* is actually a raising structure can be seen explicitly in example (679).

- (679) *pro*<sub>i</sub>    *visa*<sub>i</sub>            *-ne*    *est*<sub>i</sub>    [*ea*<sub>i</sub>            *esse*]?  
           see-PPP-F-S-NOM   -Y/N       be-3-S    ANA-F-S-NOM       be-INFIN

‘Did [the woman] seem to be her?’ (Pl. *Mil.* 462)

Frequently, the copula is omitted in the embedded clause. In (680) *ea* has the same grammatical function (i.e. subject of a clause embedded by *videri*) as it does in (679) but without an overt copula.

- (680) *Hercle*    *pro*<sub>i</sub>    *opino*<sub>r,i</sub>            [*ea*<sub>j</sub>]            *pro*<sub>j</sub>    *videtur*<sub>j</sub>.  
           indeed                    think-1-S-DEPON            ANA-F-S-NOM                    see-3-S-PASS

‘Yes I think so, [the woman] seems [to be] her.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 417)

Some other examples of completely overt embedded clauses are shown in (681-682).

- (681) *Anus*<sub>i</sub>                    *quae*<sub>i</sub>                    *est*<sub>i</sub>                    *dicta*<sub>i</sub>                    [*mater*<sub>i</sub>                    *esse*                    *ei*<sub>j</sub>]  
           old woman-F-S-NOM   REL-F-S-NOM       be-3-S       say-PPP-F-S-NOM       mother-F-S-NOM       be-INFIN       ANA-S-DAT
- ante hac*,    *pro*<sub>i</sub>    *non*    *fuit*<sub>i</sub>.  
           before this                    not       be-3-S-PERF

‘The old woman who earlier was said to be her mother, wasn’t.’ (Ter. *Heau.* 269-270)

- (682) *Qui*<sub>i</sub>                    *locus*<sub>i</sub>                    [*pro*<sub>i</sub>    *vino*<sub>j</sub>                    *optimus*<sub>i...</sub>]                    *dicetur*<sub>i</sub>                    [...*esse*  
           INDEFIN-M-S-NOM   place-M-S-NOM                    wine-N-S-DAT       best-M-S-NOM       say-3-S-FUT-PASS       be-INFIN
- et*    *ostentus*<sub>i</sub>                    *sol*<sub>i,k</sub>],                    *pro*<sub>i</sub>    *pro*<sub>i</sub>    {*Aminnium*                    *minusculum*}<sub>m</sub>    *et*  
           and    show-PPP-M-S-NOM       sun-M-S-DAT                    Aminnian-N-S-ACC       small-N-S-ACC       and
- {*geminum*    *eugeneum*}<sub>n</sub>,                    {*helvolum*                    *minusculum*}<sub>o</sub>    *conserito*<sub>i</sub>.  
           twin-N-S-ACC       high quality-N-S-ACC       yellowish-N-S-ACC       small-N-S-ACC       plant-2-S-IMPERAT-FUT

‘Whichever place is said to be best for wine and exposed to the sun, plant [there] the small Aminnian [grape], the double high-quality [grape], and the small yellow [grape].’ (Cato *Agr.* 6)

### 7.2.2.3.3 Impersonal Passive

All the *videri* examples so far appear to show [number] agreement between the presumed subject and the verb. However, in (683-686) the infinitival subject is unambiguously assigned accusative rather than nominative case. Since the matrix verb does not agree in [case] and [number] with the lower subject – rather, the embedded clause is AcI – the structure is called the impersonal passive.

- (683) *Postquam*  $\text{pro}_i$  [*ad* *nos*  $t_k \dots$ ] *renuntiatum*<sub>j</sub> *est* [...*te*<sub>l</sub> *et* *patrem*<sub>m</sub> *esse* *mortuom*<sub>l-m</sub>]]<sub>k</sub> *avo*<sup>90</sup> *noster* *mutavit*.<sup>90</sup>  
 after to I-PL-ACC announce-PPP-N-S-NOM be-3-S you-S-ACC and father-M-S-ACC be-1FIN dead-M-S-ACC grandfather-M-S-NOM our-M-S-NOM change-3-S-PERF

‘After it was reported to us you and father were dead, our grandfather changed.’ (Pl. *Men.* 1127-1129).

- (684)  $\text{pro}_i$  [*eam*<sub>l</sub>  $t_k \dots$ ] *ero* *nunc* *renuntiatum*<sub>j</sub> *est*  
 ANA-F-S-ACC master-M-S-DAT now announce-PPP-N-S-NOM be-3-S  
 [...*nuptum* *huic* *Megadoro* *dari*]<sub>k</sub><sup>91</sup>.  
 marry-SUPINE-S-ACC this-M-S-DAT Megadorus-M-S-DAT give-1FIN-PASS

‘It was reported just now to the master that she was going to be married to this Megadorus.’ (Pl. *Aul.* 604)

- (685)  $\text{pro}_i$  [*in* *hac* *habitasse* *platea*  $t_k \dots$ ] *dictum*<sub>j</sub> *’st*  
 in this-F-S-ABL live-1FIN-PERF street-F-S-ABL say-PPP-N-S-NOM be-3-S  
 [...*Chrysidem*]<sub>l</sub>]<sub>k</sub>.  
 Chrysis-F-S-ACC

‘It’s said Chrysis lived in this street.’ (Ter. *And.* 796-798)

- (686)  $\text{pro}_i$  *pulcherrume* *auguratum*<sub>j</sub> *est* [{*rem* *Romanam*}<sub>l</sub> *summam*<sub>l</sub> *fore*]<sub>k</sub>.  
 beautifully-SUPER take augury-PPP-N-S-ACC be-3-S affair-F-S-ACC Roman-F-S-ACC highest-F-S-ACC be-1FIN-FUT

‘It was most favorably predicted the Roman state would be supreme.’ (Acc. *Fab.* 36-38)

<sup>90</sup> Some manuscripts have two additional clauses here (Nixon, p. 2:282), but since they are both AcI, the argument being made remains the same.

<sup>91</sup> *Nuptum dari* appears to be a variant of the future passive infinitive *nuptum iri*; also see section 4.1.3 on the grammaticalization of this form and the implications of [gender] agreement. Alternatively, the phrase may just be the present passive infinitive of *dare* ‘to give’ with *nuptum* as a supine (= lit. ‘to be given to marry’). Since the marriage has not yet occurred, the future passive participle is the more felicitous interpretation.

In these examples the infinitival subject is not raised into subject position of the matrix verb. Rather, that main verb is passive, third-person singular, and the indirect statement is AcI. In example (687) the neuter singular adjective *novom* appears to be in agreement with the matrix verb *proferatur*, and the AcI clause is an apposition to it.

- (687) *quasi* *vero* *novom<sub>i</sub>* *nunc* *proferatur<sub>i</sub>* [*Iovem<sub>j</sub>* *facere*  
as if but new-N-S-ACC now carry forth-3-S-SUBJ-PASS Jupiter-M-S-ACC do-INFIN  
*histrioniam<sub>k</sub>*].  
acting-F-S-ACC  
‘as if indeed it were now spoken of as a new thing for Jupiter to do acting’ (Pl. *Amph.* 89-90)

Only two instances of the impersonal passive with *videri* are found in the corpus, shown as example (688-689).

- (688) *Numquid<sub>i</sub>* *videtur<sub>i</sub>* [*demutare* *alio<sub>l</sub>* *atque...*] *uti* *pro<sub>m</sub>*  
INTERROG-INTERROG-N-S-NOM see-3-S-PASS change-INFIN other-N-S-ABL and as  
*dixi<sub>m</sub>* [...*esse...*] *vobis<sub>n</sub>* *dudum* [...*{hunc* *moechum*  
say-1-S-PERF be-INFIN you-PL-DAT just now this-M-S-ACC lecherous-M-S-ACC  
*militem<sub>j</sub>*]}<sub>j</sub>?  
soldier-M-S-ACC  
‘Does it seem to you that this lecherous soldier is changing, that he’s different from what I told you just now?’ (Pl. *Mil.* 1130-1331)?
- (689) *pro<sub>i</sub>* *{mater* *gravida<sub>j</sub>* [*parere* *se<sub>j</sub>* *ardentem<sub>j</sub>* *facem<sub>k</sub>* *t<sub>j</sub>*]  
mother-F-S-NOM heavy-F-S-NOM appear-INFIN ANA-ACC burn-PART-S-ACC torch-F-S-ACC  
*visa<sub>i</sub>* *est<sub>i</sub>* *in* *somnis* *Hecuba<sub>j</sub>*.  
see-PPP-F-S-NOM be-3-S in dream-M-PL-ABL Hecuba-F-S-NOM  
‘[My] mother Hecuba, when pregnant, seemed to herself to appear in her dreams burning a torch.’ (Enn. *Trag.* 38-39)

Example (689) is discussed in footnote 92 below.

Note that the matrix verb *visa est* in (689) is in a periphrastic tense. Salor (p. 339) claims that when the matrix verb is passivized periphrastically, the impersonal passive is preferred over the personal passive, even more so when the infinitive itself is also periphrastic. However, as shown in Table 59, that claim does not hold up for early Latin. As these data show, the rate of

personal and impersonal infinitivals is very high (92% and 81%, respectively) regardless of whether the matrix verb is morphologically passive or is formed periphrastically. Specifically, Salor's claim that a periphrastically formed matrix passive co-occurs with the impersonal passive does not hold in 25 (81%) of 31 instances. Even less supported is his finding of a stronger co-occurrence of the impersonal passive when the infinitive itself is a periphrastic form; only two instances are found in the corpus. Finally, these data also reveal that the impersonal passive construction is rare, with only 12 such contexts.

Table 59: Matrix vs. Infinitival Tense on AcI.

Matrix Form	Infinitival Form					
	Morphological		Periphrastic		Total	
MORPHOLOGICAL						
Personal Passive	71	99%	1	1%	72	92%
Impersonal Passive	<u>6</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8%</u>
	77	99%	1	1%	78	99%
PERIPHRASTIC						
Personal Passive	23	92%	2	8%	25	81%
Impersonal Passive	<u>4</u>	<u>67%</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>33%</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>19%</u>
	27	87%	4	13%	31	99%
<b>TOTAL</b>						
Personal Passive	<b>94</b>	<b>97%</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>89%</b>
Impersonal Passive	<u><b>10</b></u>	<u><b>83%</b></u>	<u><b>2</b></u>	<u><b>17%</b></u>	<u><b>12</b></u>	<u><b>11%</b></u>
	<b>104</b>	<b>95%</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>109</b>	

The significance of the periphrastic matrix verbs is that they are necessarily a past tense (either perfect, pluperfect, or future perfect) since they are formed from the PPP + copula. Earlier we saw that *velle* 'to wish' has a tendency to take a [+ perfect] infinitival when the matrix tense is also [+ perfect]. However, no such effect of infinitival tense by attraction occurs with either personal or impersonal passives. Out of the 31 contexts with a periphrastic matrix verb, only 7 (23%) also have a [+ perfect] infinitival.

Although the impersonal passive in AcI is rare, the fact that it does occur must be explained. In the personal passive (i.e. NcI), the matrix verb is passivized and the underlying infinitival subject is raised to become the matrix subject. Any overt NPs co-indexed with that subject in the embedded clause are also assigned nominative case. The nature of the construction itself means that the main and embedded subjects are necessarily co-indexed. In contrast, in the impersonal passive the matrix verb is passivized but the underlying infinitival subject does not raise to become its subject. Instead, the infinitival subject remains as AcI, and as a result the main and embedded subjects are not co-indexed.<sup>92</sup>

According to syntactic theory, passivization includes the absorption of the accusative case structurally assigned to the direct object. In indirect statements, the “direct object” is actually the subject of the infinitive through ECM. However, the impersonal passive retains the accusative case on the infinitival subject in spite of the matrix verb’s being passivized. One way to resolve the problem is to claim that verbs which license the impersonal passive structure assign no thematic role to the infinitival subject. That is, such verbs lexically have no internal argument and thus they have available a subject position for the complement; when the matrix verb is passivized, a thematic role is subsequently assigned to that lower subject (Bortolussi, 1992, p. 30). But the whole point of the term “ECM” is to express the linguist’s first-blush surprise that a verb which does not assign a thematic role to an NP nonetheless can assign its case.

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<sup>92</sup> The only corpus exception is shown in (689), where the bound anaphor *se* in the embedded clause is co-indexed with the matrix subject since the only other possible antecedent is the ‘burning brand’, but the adjective *gravida* ‘pregnant’ makes it clear that the subject of *parere* ‘to give birth’ must be the ‘mother’, not the ‘brand’. The structure of this sentence as a co-indexed impersonal passive is odd, but it is the exception that proves the rule.

A more promising solution is based on a general fact: Sentential complements in Latin behave as [+ neuter, + singular] NPs (Pinkster, 1992, p. 163), and this is confirmed by data in section 6.4.5. An example is shown in (690), repeated here from (420).

- (690) *Quid* *est* [*agrum* *bene* *colere*]? *Bene* *arare*.  
 INTERROG-N-S-NOM be-3-S field-M-S-ACC well cultivate-INFIN well plough-INFIN
- Quid* *secundum?* *Arare.* *Quid* *tertium?* *Stercorare.*  
 INTERROG-N-S-NOM following-N-S-NOM plough-INFIN INTERROG-N-S-NOM third-N-S-NOM manure-INFIN

‘What is good cultivation? Good plowing. What’s next? Plowing. What’s third? Manuring.’ (Cato, *Agr.*, LXI)

Here the infinitives *colere*, *arare*, and *stercorare* are in apposition to the [+ neuter, + singular] forms *quid*, *secundum*, and *tertium*. Note especially that in the first question, the predicate includes the infinitive *colere*’s internal argument, *agrum*. Likewise, an adjective co-indexed with an infinitival is marked as [+ neuter, + singular], as in example (691), repeated from (416).

- (691) *Non* *est*<sub>i</sub> [*PRO*<sub>j</sub> *mentiri*]<sub>i</sub> *meum*<sub>i</sub>.  
 not be-3-S lie-INFIN-DEPON my-N-S-NOM

‘It is not my [habit, duty, ...] to lie.’ (Ter. *Heau.* 549)

Since it is clear that an infinitival clause is treated as [+ neuter, + singular], it is no big syntactic leap to the impersonal passive construction. The matrix verb always occurs as a [+ singular] form, and in the periphrastic forms (i.e. the only contexts in which a [gender] assignment is made) it is overtly marked as [+ neuter]. These features of [+ neuter, + singular] then agree with the properties of the embedded clause itself. In (687), repeated as (692), those features are overtly marked on the adjective *novom*.

- (692) *quasi* *vero* *novom*<sub>i</sub> *nunc* *proferatur*<sub>i</sub> [*Iovem*<sub>j</sub> *facere*  
 as if but new-N-S-ACC now carry forth-3-S-SUBJ-PASS Jupiter-M-S-ACC do-INFIN
- histrioniam*<sub>k</sub>].  
 acting-F-S-ACC

‘as if indeed it were now spoken of as a new thing for Jupiter to do acting’ (Pl. *Amph.* 89-90)

It appears that in the impersonal passive the entire infinitival clause is raised to subject position of the passivized matrix verb, and any adjective such as *novom* in (692) thus agrees with both the verb and the embedded clause itself. Accusative case assigned by the matrix verb is absorbed, but the subject of the infinitive itself must be accusative, as occurs independently in constructions such as the interjection. The pragmatic effect is the similar to an expletive *it* in English: It was announced [(that) AcI clause] or to an embedded complement with an obligatory overt complementizer: [That AcI clause] was announced.

### 7.3 SUMMARY

Since early Latin allows subject *pro*, there is little inherent motivation for raising. When raising occurs, it is through passivization. Overall, 18% of infinitival complements have a passivized verb. The highest rates are in subject control ~ ECM, object control, deontic ECM, and interjections. The lowest rates of passivized infinitivals are in impersonal, deontic, and sentential control and in impersonal ECM.

In subject control, the most frequent lexeme for passivized infinitival complements is *pot-* ‘to be able’. Sometimes the matrix verb itself is also passive through attraction. The most frequent lexeme for complement passivization in object control is *iubere* ‘to command’. With this particular lexeme, the controllee may be co-indexed with the matrix subject and is frequently overt; the result is unfelicitous in English but apparently acceptable in early Latin. While passive complements are frequent, passive matrix verbs are rare: The corpus contains just two examples of a passive matrix in object control with an active complement and one example with a passive complement.

Among ECM complement types, the subject control ~ ECM variants meaning ‘want’, ‘hope’, ‘promise’, or ‘pretend’ have the highest rate of passivized complements. Most are from

the various ‘want’ predicates, especially *velle* ‘to want’ and its compounds. While the passivized complement is frequent with such matrix predicates, only one instance of a passive matrix occurs. Another ECM type with frequent use of a passivized complement is deontic ECM. Here the most frequent lexeme is *oportere* ‘to be fitting’ and it is used most often by Cato; such usage is appropriate to the discourse topic, but it must also be noted that the same predicate occurs in conversational dialog in both Plautus and Terence.

Passivization with AcI occurs at a relatively low rate compared with the other infinitival types, and it is even lower than the overall average – despite the fact that AcI complements account for nearly 40% of all corpus infinitives. The most typical form of complement passivization in AcI is straightforward, with the underlying accusative-marked subject being demoted and the object promoted to subject position (i.e. assigned accusative case). Three corpus examples have an underlying beneficiary (marked with dative case) promoted to accusative subject position, and these data are important to show that – contrary to traditional claims – dative promotion does actually occur in early Latin. In addition to the ordinary form of passivization with AcI, there are two additional types. One is the personal passive, in which the embedded subject raises to nominative and takes agreement morphology with respect to [gender] and [number] with the matrix verb. The most frequent lexeme with the personal AcI passive is *videri* ‘to be seen’ = ‘to seem’, although the active form of the same verb is not the most frequent matrix predicate with active AcI complements. The other special type of AcI passivization is the impersonal passive. In this structure, the embedded subject does not raise but instead remains marked for accusative case. As a result, there is no agreement morphology between the embedded subject and the matrix verb. Instead, the entire embedded AcI clause is treated as a [+ neuter, + singular] complement in agreement with the passivized matrix verb. Some corpus



examples include an overt adjective marked for [+ neuter, + singular] in apposition to the clause, providing direct evidence for how the structure operates in its grammatical features.

## CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION

As a human behavior, language is both observable and measurable. Even when a particular language is no longer spoken and thus the observer lacks direct access to native speakers, the language still reveals itself through surviving texts. In the case of early Latin, those extant texts approach nearly a quarter of a million words and contain almost 4,000 infinitival complements. As a result, the language is readily observable. But measuring syntax is not a straightforward type-and-token count. Rather, it requires multiple tagging within a clause because syntax affects more than a single morpheme or word. Often the effects being measured go beyond even the local clause. For infinitival complements, it is just as important to tag the type of matrix predicate as it is to tag the embedded subject, object, and infinitival tense and form. This study includes over 800 distinct tags applied to a total of more than 12,700 instances. While such tagging is cumbersome to implement, it is the only systematic way to measure the syntax at issue. Observations alone do not lead to any systematic knowledge of the language, but by measuring those observations within a theoretical framework it is possible to understand even a dead language. From the body of surviving data, certain linguistic parameters and syntactic patterns emerge. Those patterns, in turn, have pragmatic effects.

Three main parameters have a significant effect within early Latin. These are (a) rich overt inflectional morphology, (b) variable as opposed to a fixed word order, including scrambling, and (c) the pro-drop setting for both subjects and objects. Since all three parameters operate simultaneously, their interplay results in a pragmatic tension between opposing forces. On the one hand, the fact that NPs are morphologically marked for grammatical information such as [case], [number], and [gender] means that a full NP contains redundant specifications. An extreme example is the NP *hanc sororem geminam germanam alteram* shown in (693).

(693)	pro <sub>i</sub>	[ <i>Philocomasio</i> <sub>k</sub> Philocomasium-N-S-DAT	{ <i>hanc</i> this-F-S-ACC	<i>sororem</i> sister-F-S-ACC	<i>geminam</i> twin-F-S-ACC	<i>germanam</i> sibling-F-S-ACC
	<i>alteram</i> } <sub>j...</sub> ]	<i>dicam</i> <sub>i</sub> say-1-S-FUT	[... <i>Athenis</i> <sub>l</sub> from Athenis-F-PL-ABL	<i>advenisse</i> ]. arrive-INFIN-PERF		

‘I’ll say this other twin sister of Philocomasium has arrived from Athens.’ (Pl. *Mil.* 237-239)

The five-word NP has five overt markings for accusative case (all ending in *–m* except for the demonstrative *hanc*), with the vowel *–a–* for [+ feminine] in the adjectives *geminam*, *germanam*, and *alteram* as well as in *hanc*; *sororem* is [+ feminine] lexically. All five forms are also unambiguously [+ singular]. Thus, the NP provides more than enough information to identify Philocomasium’s alleged sister (i.e. actually Philocomasium herself being passed off as her own twin). This excessive information is used by Plautus for humorous effect, and that humor consists in the irony of grossly redundant information applied to a non-existent entity. It could not be as funny if that level of redundancy – both lexical and grammatical – were the norm. Indeed, most fully explicit NPs do not contain so many words and therefore not as much repetitive information. Nonetheless, overt inflections do often convey more grammatical information than is strictly necessary for interpretation.

On the other hand, the pro-drop settings in early Latin allow both subject pro and object pro. Because both subjects and objects can occur as pro rather than overt, there are actually four possible results of the pro-drop settings. These combinations yield three levels of transparency. The most explicit form is having both subject and object overt. As discussed earlier, overt NPs tend to provide more than enough grammatical and lexical information to identify both the referents in the real world and the constituents in the clause. Thus, a clause with a transitive verb and an overt NP for both subject and object is fully transparent. As shown in Tables 60-61, subject and object co-occur as overt NPs in 23% of all infinitival complements combined. (For

the sake of readability, the token counts are shown in Table 60 and the percentages appear separately in Table 61.)

Even within the group of infinitival clauses with fully transparent accusative NPs, there is another syntactic factor that contributes to transparency. This factor is word-order variation, sometimes as scrambling. The linear order of the two accusatives is not fixed, and as a result word order does not implicate an interpretation of one or the other NP as the subject and the other as object. While subjects tend to precede objects, Table 15 above shows that the reverse order holds in nearly half of contexts. When the two parameters of unfixed word order and pro-drop intersect, syntactic ambiguity is a potential result: The relative position of an overt accusative NP does not predict its function within the clause. Since both overt NPs are marked for accusative case, the third parameter of inflectional morphology is no help in disambiguating the meaning.

At the intermediate level of transparency are clauses with either subject or object as *pro*, but not both. That is, just one overt accusative NP occurs in the infinitival clause. If either (but not both) is [+ human], transparency is maintained by having one of the accusative NPs as *pro*. But this very flexibility sets up a potential conflict for transparency: If the subject is [+ human] and has the thematic role of agent, as the highest-ranking role it can be overt; the object can be null as long as its referent is recoverable. Thus, an overt agentive [+ human] subject with null object provides semantic iconicity in that the most important information is explicit while less critical details (i.e. a lower-ranking thematic role referring to an entity otherwise available in the discourse) are not. Conversely, the very fact that a [+ human] agentive subject is prototypical means that it need not be overt since its thematic role is readily inferrable from a transitive-verb

context. That leaves the object to be expressed as overt – a situation that is especially helpful if the object’s referent is not otherwise easily recoverable.

Both strategies of overt subject + object pro and subject pro + overt object appear to satisfy Grice’s Maxim of Quantity: not too much and not too little information. As can be seen from Tables 60-61, 55% of all infinitival clauses have just one of the two main accusative NPs overt. For all clause types combined, the preference is for subject pro + overt object. As we saw earlier in Tables 25 and 27, across both transitive and nontransitive embedded clauses, subject pro occurs at the rate of 33%, and object pro at 23%. Within the transitive embedded clauses summarized in Tables 60-61, the majority of the pro subjects are [+ human]. However, many of the overt objects are also [+ human]. As a result, there is potential syntactic ambiguity in assigning the intended [+ human] referent to the appropriate NPs (overt and null).

The lowest level of transparency occurs when both subject and object are null, as happens in 22% of all infinitival complements. For subject-control complements, the rate of 35% null NPs is highest among all the clause types. However, this is because such clauses are unable to have an overt subject NP in the lower clause (i.e. it must occur as PRO), and for them the greatest transparency possible is having one NP (i.e. the embedded object) overt. Likewise, minimal transparency for subject control consists in having the embedded object as pro rather than overt, as occurs 35% of the time. This rate of object pro is lower than the overall rate of one pro NP in 55% of all clause types.

Table 60: Accusatives in Embedded Transitive Clauses (Counts).

Accusative NPs	Partial	Histor.	Interjct.	Control				ECM					Total
				Subject	Object	Sent.	Total	C.~ECM	Impers.	Deontic	AcI	Total	
2													
Linear	0	0	2	N/A	34	0	34	23	3	29	135	190	226
Non-Linear	0	0	1		6	1	7	26	0	23	82	131	139
Ambiguous	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	0	0	3		40	1	41	49	3	52	219	323	367
1													
Subject (Active)	0	0	2	N/A	10	0	10	9	2	9	54	74	86
Object (Active)	23	12	0	327	23	16	366	9	2	84	63	158	559
Subject (Passive)	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	79	0	96	2	177	178
Object (Raised)	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	23	23	24
Object (Finite)	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>33</u>
	23	12	2	327	53	17	399	105	4	192	143	444	880
0													
Active	3	7	0	176	16	8	200	2	1	29	34	66	276
No object (Raised)	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	3	3	4
Raised (Passive)	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	6	6	7
Passive	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>75</u>
	4	7	0	176	18	8	202	33	1	71	44	149	362
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>505</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>642</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>406</b>	<b>916</b>	<b>1,609</b>

Table 61: Accusatives in Embedded Transitive Clauses (Percentages).

Accusative NPs	Partial	Histor.	Interjct.	Control				ECM					Total
				Subject	Object	Sent.	Total	C.~ECM	Impers.	Deontic	AcI	Total	
2													
Linear	0%	0%	40%	N/A	31%	0%	5%	12%	38%	9%	33%	21%	14%
Non-Linear	0%	0%	20%		5%	4%	1%	14%	0%	7%	20%	14%	9%
Ambiguous	0%	0%	0%		0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	<1%	<1%	<1%
	0%	0%	60%		36%	4%	6%	26%	38%	17%	54%	35%	23%
1													
Subject (Active)	0%	0%	40%	N/A	9%	0%	2%	5%	25%	3%	13%	8%	5%
Object (Active)	85%	63%	0%	65%	21%	62%	57%	5%	25%	27%	16%	17%	35%
Subject (Passive)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	4%	<1%	42%	0%	30%	<1%	19%	11%
Object (Raised)	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	<1%	0%	0%	0%	6%	3%	1%
Object (Finite)	0%	0%	0%	0%	17%	0%	3%	4%	0%	1%	<1%	1%	2%
	85%	63%	40%	65%	48%	65%	62%	56%	50%	61%	35%	49%	55%
0													
Active	11%	37%	0%	35%	14%	31%	31%	1%	13%	9%	8%	7%	17%
No object (Raised)	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	<1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	<1%	<1%
Raised (Passive)	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	<1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	<1%
Passive	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	17%	0%	13%	<1%	8%	5%
	15%	37%	0%	35%	16%	31%	31%	18%	13%	23%	11%	16%	22%

The frequency of the lowest transparency level (22%) is particularly interesting since it is comparable to the rate of fully explicit embedded NPs (23%). Put another way, the two extremes of transparency occur at the same rate, but even in combination they are not as frequent as semi-transparency. At that intermediate transparency level, the most common type is for embedded subject *pro* + overt object with an active verb. The next most frequent type is an embedded passive verb with an overt subject (i.e. promoted object), occurring in 11% of all clauses. In passivization, the subject is demoted and need not occur overtly. Thus, passivization allows one embedded NP (i.e. the agent role) to be easily recoverable pragmatically without requiring it to be overt. As we have seen, when both embedded subject and object are overt, there is no clear-cut scheme such as linear order to interpret which NP is which. Passivization resolves that dilemma by leaving only one NP overt while still allowing the agent NP to be unambiguously understood even if not overtly expressed. Out of the 1,609 clauses with an embedded transitive predicate, 178 (11%) use passivization to leave just one embedded NP overt. This means that more than one out of every ten such clauses employs passivization. Even more strikingly, when just the embedded clauses with a single overt entity are considered, passivization actually occurs at the rate of 20% (178 out of 880 contexts) – or in one out of every five possible instances.

Not only does passivization resolve the potential ambiguity in clauses with two overt NPs, but it also plays a role in those clauses with no overt embedded NPs. In 5% of the transitive embedded contexts, passivization occurs and neither the raised object nor the agent NP is overt. Although such a situation is classified among the lowest level of transparency, in actuality the promoted subject can often be recovered semantically because of the passive verb. If only one of the two NPs is [+ human], there is little chance for ambiguity as the verb's meaning will favor a reading of the human entity as either the doer of the action or the receiver



of it (e.g. from an external force such as what someone ‘wants’ or through deontic necessity).

Accordingly, passivization even with no overt NPs can result in a relatively transparent meaning for the clause. When just the clauses with no overt NPs are counted, the 75 instances of passivization account for 21% of all such contexts.

Thus, passivization plays an important role in avoiding syntactic ambiguity. Without it, clauses with two overt embedded NPs are often scrambled and there is no definitive pattern for determining the subject versus the object NP. One strategy to avoid such ambiguity is for either subject or object to occur as *pro* – but that too can result in ambiguity since there is still no straightforward way to figure out which intended entity is the null NP and which is the overt one. The overall preference is to have embedded subject *pro* + overt object, but nonetheless overt subject + object *pro* occurs often enough (86 out of 880 times, or 10%) that it cannot be excluded from potential parsing. An alternative strategy for an embedded clause with a transitive verb is passivization. The majority of such clauses have the embedded verb passivized, and they represent 20% of the possible contexts in each of two categories of transparency. There are also 31 clauses with raising through passivization. When all these types of embedded passivization are combined, they account for 284 (18%) of the 1,609 contexts with transitive verbs.

One other variant structure also serves to avoid syntactic ambiguity. This is a finite subjunctive clause instead of the expected infinitival complement. Such a clause avoids ambiguity because instead of having an embedded accusative NP, it has a nominative subject in agreement with the [number] marking on the verb. As a result, the only structural accusative can be the direct object, and thus no ambiguity among accusative NPs is possible. While this finite

variant is useful because it resolves the syntactic dilemma, it is nonetheless not frequently employed, occurring in 33 (2%) instances.

In summary, the three parameters of overt inflection, word-order variation, and both subject *pro* and object *pro* intersect to make syntactic ambiguity a frequent possibility. Three variant syntactic structures have the pragmatic effect of reducing ambiguity. The present participle instead of the infinitive sometimes serves to avoid syntactic ambiguity by separating different types of embedded clauses. Within infinitival complements, the finite subjunctive variant avoids ambiguity by reducing the number of possible overt accusative NPs. By far the most wide-ranging strategy to avoid ambiguity is passivization. Through it, the number of potential NPs is reduced without sacrificing transparency since the agent NP is readily recovered through the co-text. Even when morphology, scrambling, and overtness intersect and the result is potential syntactic ambiguity, there are three main strategies to resolve the ambiguity. Participles and finite-clause variants play a minor role in avoiding ambiguity, while passivization occurs in nearly one out of every five possible contexts. The result overall provides the listener/reader ample means to resolve most such ambiguities without garden-path processing. Transparency is ultimately adhered to and communication maintained through the small sacrifice of some inflectional morphology for the sake of others.

Regarding the use of GB framework, the present study shows that even without direct access to native speakers it is possible to examine a dead language – given sufficient texts. Even without analyzing the remaining fifteen plays of Plautus and three of Terence excluded from this study, we can observe patterns of syntax in the infinitival complements. The corpus-based approach makes such study possible and even feasible by allowing frequency counts to serve as evidence of competent speakers' grammaticality judgments: The types of complements that

occur most frequently are the *de facto* norm, while other patterns (such as passivized matrix + passivized complement in object control) can be legitimately characterized as rare based on their very low frequency of occurrence. The overall result is a measurable analysis of infinitival complements in early Latin.

The data in this study show that GB is a valid framework for examining early Latin. No syntactic structures analyzed in this study appear to violate any portion of the standard GB claims. The patterns of complements show more variety than in some other languages, but those additional varieties still fit within the major complement types delineated by GB. For instance, early Latin has impersonal control, in which the controllee is a beneficiary/goal overtly marked with dative case – but such clauses are still instances of control and their subjects are still PRO. Because of early Latin's pro-drop parameters for both subjects and objects, there are various combinations of overt and non-overt NPs within infinitival complements. The ability of NPs to be null does not invalidate any GB claims, but rather the corpus used here shows that the patterns hold regardless of whether a particular embedded NP is overt or not.

The one area in which the present study shows departure from standard GB assumptions is the issue of case assignment for PRO. The evidence from overt inflectional morphology in early Latin confirms that, following Chomsky and Lasnik, PRO does receive a case assignment. That assignment is not merely null as claimed, but PRO takes the default case assignment according to its function in the clause. Examples from this study show overt nominative or accusative case assignment as well as overt marking for [gender] and [number]. Together, these overt features are more than a mere null.

Finally, this work facilitates the examination of language change. By focusing on the syntax of infinitival complements in early Latin, the present work sets up a baseline for

analyzing diachronic development of the language. Directly following the period of early Latin is the “classical” stage, in which the majority of extant Latin works were written, including the most famous works of literature. By selectively analyzing texts from key authors in the classical period, it will now be possible to articulate how Latin changed from the early to the classical period with respect to infinitival clauses. Based on the data in the current study, it is clear that the future passive infinitive (formed from the perfect passive participle + *iri*) is changing: Some instances show agreement on [gender] and [number] between the embedded subject and the participle, while others do not. Early in the classical period, the data show agreement, indicating that grammaticalization occurred just after the early Latin period. By the time of late Latin (the period just before the emergence of the separate Romance dialects which eventually became distinct languages), phonological changes resulted in a need for fixed word order and even the change of the pro-drop parameter for objects. Since this study measures the rate of subject and object pro in infinitival complements, it will be possible to measure the changes diachronically by examining data from the classical, immediately post-classical, and late stages of Latin to determine when major shifts in the object parameter setting occurred.

One area of grammaticalization representing change between early and later Latin has to do with syntax, which differs both quantitatively and qualitatively. One qualitative change that develops diachronically is the form of the negative command. For example, early Latin has three main variants for expressing a negative command: (a) the negative particle *ne* + imperative (e.g. *ne abi* ‘don’t leave’), (b) *ne* + subjunctive (e.g. *ne abeas* lit. ‘not you should leave’ = ‘don’t leave’), and (c) imperative of *nolle* ‘to be unwilling’ + infinitive (e.g. *noli abire* lit. ‘be unwilling to leave’ = ‘don’t leave’). The frequency of each of these forms in early Latin is discussed above in section 6.4.1.1. While all three forms remain possible in later periods of Latin, only option (c)

is regularly employed in later prose. The other two forms are reserved for poetic register only (Palmer, 1954, pp. 310-311) and are thus not mere variants as earlier, but highly marked. In addition, option (b) with the subjunctive later becomes reserved for clauses of prohibition or negative result. While Cicero can still use *ne* + subjunctive as a negative command (e.g. *sin te quoque inimici vexare coeperint, ne cessaris* ‘if your enemies have begun to harass you too, don’t give way’, *Quint.* 5, ca. 50 BC), by the time of Tacitus *ne* is almost exclusively a negative complementizer (e.g. *tum Agrippina ... de genere veneni consultavit, ne repentino et praecipiti facinus proderetur*, ‘then Agrippina ... took advice about the type of poison, lest the deed be brought about by a sudden and too-hasty type’ *Ann.* 12:66, ca. 115 AD). Thus, the qualitative aspects of the syntax of negative commands shift from early to later stages. Two of the earlier forms are later reinterpreted as being outside the vernacular register, and one form narrows its scope of operation.

Quantitatively, certain syntactic constructions also change from their form in early Latin. One such change is the variation between bridge verb complements. Lakoff claims (1968, pp. 76-77) that the deep structure in Latin (including the early period) has two main variants: (a) matrix verb + complementizer *quod* ‘that’ (< neuter singular relative pronoun *quod*) + finite clause and (b) matrix verb + ECM accusative + infinitive clause. Data from this study’s corpus show that option (b) occurs 100% of the time, although option (a) occurs infrequently in the remaining works of Plautus and Terence not included in the corpus. Moreover, when a complementizer does occur in the finite (a) variant, it is more likely to be *ut* ‘so that’ rather than *quod* for bridge verbs. Finally, when option (a) occurs at all in early Latin, it is typically not with indirect statements but with adjectives and indirect questions (Draeger, 1878, p. 2:223). In contrast, later vernacular (so-called vulgar) Latin (e.g. Petronius’s *Satyricon*, ca. 60 AD) features

nearly exclusive use of option (a). In some even later texts, option (b) occurs but is constrained with respect to the position of the main verb (Herman, 1989, p. 137). This means the preferred subordinate construction shifts diachronically, at least in the vernacular register. This is a qualitative change rather than a syntactic reanalysis or other fundamental shift, even as it also represents a decreasing use of hypotaxis outside the formal register of the classical period. Lakoff also argues (p. 84) that classical Latin requires a shared subject NP to be overt (i.e. no “equi-deletion”) in complements to bridge verbs, although again the early Latin corpus shows that such NPs are not necessarily overt (see section 6.5.4.3). If Lakoff’s claims are generally valid for the classical period, then early Latin indeed represents a qualitatively different stage of syntax from the later language.

Among the various diachronic syntactic changes is the AcI construction itself. In the early and classical periods, AcI is the overwhelmingly preferred form for many types of clauses including indirect discourse. By late Latin, however, AcI is no longer the usual way to express indirect statements. Instead, indirect statements are realized as a finite clause headed by a complementizer such as *quod*, *quia*, or *ut* (Draeger, pp. 1:xvii-xviii). Those options are available in early Latin but occur only infrequently. However, by the time of the Vulgate Bible (ca. 380 AD) the AcI construction is extremely rare (Plater & White, 1926, p.121), with the finite clause having won out instead. Over a period of some six hundred years there is thus a complete reversal of the preferred construction for indirect statements, going from nearly exclusive use of AcI in early and classical Latin to nearly exclusive use of a complementizer + finite clause in the later periods. Together, all these diachronic shifts distinguish early Latin from later stages of the language.

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## APPENDIX A. LATIN AUTHORS AND WORKS CITED

Works cited for examples but not comprising the electronic corpus of early Latin are marked with an asterisk (\*). English titles of the works of Plautus and Terence are as listed in the Harvard Loeb series (many are proper names).

Acc.	Accius, Lucius (“Accius”)
	<i>Fab.</i> <i>Fabulae Praetextae</i> ‘Roman Plays’
	<i>Frag.</i> <i>Fragmenta</i> ‘Fragments’
	<i>Misc.</i> <i>Miscellanea</i> ‘Miscellany’
	<i>Trag.</i> <i>Tragoediae</i> ‘Tragedies’
Cae.	Caecilius Statius (“Caecilius”)
	<i>Trag.</i> <i>Tragoediae</i> ‘Tragedies’
Cato	Cato, Marcus Porcius (“Cato”)
	<i>Agr.</i> <i>De Agri Cultura</i> ‘On Farming’
	<i>Or.</i> <i>Orationum Fragmenta</i> ‘Fragments from speeches’
Enn.	Ennius, Quintus (“Ennius”)
	<i>Ann.</i> <i>Annales</i> ‘Annals’
	<i>Frag.</i> <i>Fragmenta</i> ‘Fragments’
	<i>Trag.</i> <i>Tragoediae</i> ‘Tragedies’
Liv.	Livius Andronicus, Lucius (“Livius”)
	<i>Trag.</i> <i>Tragoediae</i> ‘Tragedies’
Luc.	Lucilius, Gaius (“Lucilius”)
	<i>Frag.</i> <i>Fragmenta</i> ‘Fragments’
	<i>Sat.</i> <i>Saturae</i> ‘Satires’
Naev.	Naevius, Gnaeus (“Naevius”)
	<i>BP</i> <i>Bellum Poenicum</i> ‘Punic War’
	<i>Frag.</i> <i>Fragmenta</i> ‘Fragments’
	<i>Trag.</i> <i>Tragoediae</i> ‘Tragedies’
Pac.	Pacuvius, Marcus (“Pacuvius”)
	<i>Frag.</i> <i>Fragmenta</i> ‘Fragments’
	<i>Trag.</i> <i>Tragoediae</i> ‘Tragedies’
Pl.	Plautus, Titus Maccius (“Plautus”)
	<i>Amph.</i> <i>Amphitruo</i> ‘Amphitryon’
	* <i>Asi.</i> <i>Asinaria</i> ‘The Comedy of Asses’
	<i>Aul.</i> <i>Aulularia</i> ‘The Pot of Gold’
	* <i>Bac.</i> <i>Bacchides</i> ‘The Two Bacchises’
	* <i>Cap.</i> <i>Captivi</i> ‘The Captives’
	<i>Cas.</i> <i>Casina</i> ‘Casina’

* <i>Cis.</i>	<i>Cistellaria</i> ‘The Casket Comedy’
* <i>Cur.</i>	<i>Curculio</i> ‘Curculio’
* <i>Epi.</i>	<i>Epidicus</i> ‘Epidicus’
<i>Men.</i>	<i>Menaechmi</i> ‘The Two Menaechmuses’
* <i>Mer.</i>	<i>Mercator</i> ‘The Merchant’
<i>Mil.</i>	<i>Miles Gloriosus</i> ‘The Braggart Soldier’
* <i>Mos.</i>	<i>Mostellaria</i> ‘The Haunted House’
* <i>Per.</i>	<i>Persa</i> ‘The Persian’
* <i>Poe.</i>	<i>Poenulus</i> ‘The Little Carthaginian’
* <i>Ps.</i>	<i>Pseudolus</i> ‘Pseudolus’
* <i>Rud.</i>	<i>Rudens</i> ‘The Rope’
* <i>Sti.</i>	<i>Stichus</i> ‘Stichus’
* <i>Tri.</i>	<i>Trinummus</i> ‘Three Bob Day’
* <i>Tru.</i>	<i>Truculentus</i> ‘The Tale of a Traveling Bag’

Ter.	Terentius Afer, Publius (“Terence”)
<i>And.</i>	<i>Andria</i> ‘The Lady of Andros’
* <i>Ade.</i>	<i>Adelphoe</i> ‘The Brothers’
* <i>Eun.</i>	<i>Eunuchus</i> ‘The Eunuch’
* <i>Hec.</i>	<i>Hecyra</i> ‘The Mother-in-Law’
<i>Heau.</i>	<i>Heautotimorumenos</i> ‘The Self-Tormentor’
<i>Ph.</i>	<i>Phormio</i> ‘Phormio’

## APPENDIX B. TAGGED CORPUS [SALT]

= Plautus

C Ut vos [ecm:want::bound:2nd:subj] in vobris voltis [ecm:want:velle]  
mercimoniis emundis vendundisque me [ecm:want::unbound:1st:obj] [\_linear]  
laetum lucris adficere [ecm:want::inf:pres] atque  
[ecm:want::unbound:1st:obj:null:coord]  
[ecm:want::unbound:1st:obj:null:coord] adiuuare [ecm:want::inf:pres] in  
rebus omnibus, et ut res [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] rationesque  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] vobrorum omnium bene expedire  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voltis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] peregrique et domi  
bonoque atque amplo auctare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] perpetuo lucro  
[\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1 5).

C Et uti bonis vos [ecm:want::bound:2nd:subj] vobrosque omnis  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] nuntiis me [ecm:want::unbound:1st:obj]  
[\_linear] adficere [ecm:want::inf:pres] voltis [ecm:want:velle]  
[\_\_Plautus:Amph] (8 9).

C Donec cum tonitru voce missa ex aethere adulterum [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] se  
[aci::bound:se:subj:local] Iuppiter confessus [aci:say:confit-] est  
[\_\_Plautus:Amph] (9 10).

C Nam vos quidem id [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] iam scitis [aci:know:sc-]  
concessum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] et [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord]  
datum [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] mi esse ab dis aliis [\_abl:agent]  
[\_\_Plautus:Amph] (11 12).

C Haec [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] ut me [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj]  
[\_non:linear:demon] voltis [ecm:want:velle] adprobare [ecm:want::inf:pres],  
[ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord] adnitier [ecm:want::inf:pres] lucrum  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] ut perenne vobis semper suppetat  
[\_\_Plautus:Amph] (13 14).

C Tam etsi pro imperio vobis quod dictum foret scibat [aci:know:sc-]  
[aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord] facturos [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop]  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel], quippe qui intellexerat  
[aci:know:intelleg-] vereri [aci::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:dup] vos  
[aci::unbound:2nd:subj] se [aci::bound:se:obj:distant] [\_linear] et  
[aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord] [aci::bound:se:obj:distant:null:coord]  
metuere [aci::inf:pres], ita ut aequom [ecm:deontic:aequ-] est  
[ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null:coord] [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:dup] Iovem  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (21 23).

C Verum profecto hoc [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] petere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear:demon] precario a vobis iussit  
[ctrl:obj:order:iub-] leniter dictis bonis [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (24 25).

C Humana matre natus, humano patre, [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:impers]  
mirari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [aci:wonder:mir-] non est aequom  
[ecm:deontic:aequ-], sibi si praetimet [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (29).

C Iustam rem [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] et facilem esse oratam  
[ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] a vobis volo [ecm:want:velle]  
[\_\_Plautus:Amph] (33).

C Nam iniusta [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] ab iustis [\_abl:agent] impetrari  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] non decet [ecm:deontic:dec-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph]  
(35).

C Iusta [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] autem ab iniustis  
[ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] petere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] insipientia  
[ecm:deontic:insipient-] est [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (36).

C Ut alios [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] in tragoediis vidi [aci:see:vid-],  
Neptunum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], Virtutem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj],  
Victoriam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], Martem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], Bellonam



[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] commemorare [aci::inf:pres] [aci:say:memor-] quae  
 [\_linear] bona vobis fecissent [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (41  
 44).

C Gratum arbitratur [aci:think:arbitr-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] id  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] a vobis sibi [aci::bound:se:goal:local] meritoque  
 vobis bona [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] se [aci::bound:se:subj:local]  
 [\_non:linear] facere [aci::inf:pres] quae fecit [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (48 49).

C Contraxistis frontem quia tragoediam dixi [aci:say:dic-] futuram  
 [aci::inf:fut:cop] hanc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (52 53)?

C Sed ego stultior, quasi nesciam [aci:know:sc-] vos [aci::unbound:2nd:subj]  
 velle [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null], qui divos siem  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (56 57).

C Nam me [ecm:deontic::1st:subj] perpetuo facere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:obj:make:fac-] ut sit comoedia [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct], reges quo  
 veniant et di, non [aci::inf:pres:no:cop]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] par [ecm:deontic:par] arbitror  
 [aci:think:arbitr-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (59 61).

C Nunc hoc [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] me [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj]  
 [\_non:linear:demon] orare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj:beg:or-] a vobis  
 iussit [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] Iuppiter ut conquistores singula in subsellia  
 eant [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] per totam caveam spectatoribus [\_\_Plautus:Amph]  
 (64 66).

C Sirempse legem [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] iussit [ctrl:obj:order:iub-]  
 esse [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:cop] Iuppiter [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (73).

C Virtute dixit [aci:say:dic-] vos [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] victores vivere  
 [aci::inf:pres], non ambitione neque perfidia [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (75 76).

C Virtute [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] ambire [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
 oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], non favioribus [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (78).

C Mirari [ecm:want::inf:pres] [aci:wonder:mir-] nolim [ecm:want:nolle] vos  
 [ecm:want::unbound:2nd:subj] quapropter Iuppiter nunc histriones curet  
 [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (86 87).

C Quasi vero novom [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] nunc proferatur  
 [aci:say:fer-] [\_impersonal:passive] Iovem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] facere  
 [aci::inf:pres] histrioniam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (89 90).

C Nam ego vos [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] novisse [aci::inf:perf]  
 [aci:know:nosc-] credo [aci:believe:cred-] iam ut sit  
 [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] pater meus [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (104).

C Is amare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] coepit [ctrl:subj:begin:coop-] Alcumenam  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] clam virum usuramque eius corporis cepit sibi  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (107 108).

C In Amphitruonis vortit sese imaginem omnesque eum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] censent [aci:believe:cens-] servi qui vident  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (121 122).

C Ut praeservire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] amanti meo possem  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] patri [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (126).

C Ut ne qui essem familiares quaerent, vorsari [aci::inf:pres] crebro hic  
 quom viderent [aci:see:vid-] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] domi  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (127 128).

C Nunc, quom [aci::unbound:1st:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] credent  
 [aci:believe:cred-] servom et conservom suom, hau quisquam quaeret qui siem  
 aut quid venerim [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (129 130).

C Illa illum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] censet [aci:believe:cens-] virum suom  
 esse [aci::inf:pres:cop], quae cum moechno est [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (134 135).

C Nunc internosse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ut nos [ctrl:subj::unbound:1st:obj]  
 possitis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] facilius, ego has habeo usque in petaso  
 pinnulas [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (142 143).

C Ea signa [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] nemo horum familiarium videre  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] poterit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (146  
147).

C Erit operae pretium hic spectantibus [aci:see:spect-] Iovem  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] et Mercurium [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] facere  
[aci::inf:pres] histrioniam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear]  
[\_\_Plautus:Amph] (151 152).

C Nec causam [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj] liceat [ctrl:impers:lic-] dicere  
[ctrl:impers::inf:pres] mihi [ctrl:impers:::1st:subj:dative], neque ero  
quicquam auxili siet, nec quisquam sit quin me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] omnes  
esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] dignum deputent [aci:think:put-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph]  
(158 159).

C Nonne idem hoc luci me [ctrl:subj::unbound:1st:obj] mittere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] potuit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (165)?

C Quodquomque homini [ctrl:impers:::3rd:subj:dative] accidit  
[ctrl:impers:accid-] lubere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres],  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] posse [aci::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-] retur [aci:think:rer-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (171).

C Aequom [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] putat  
[aci:think:put-], non reputat labori quid sit, nec aequom anne iniquom  
imperet cogitabit [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (172 173).

C Satiis [ecm:deontic:sat-] me [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] queri  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] illo modo servitutem [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj]  
[\_linear] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (176).

C Numero mihi in mentem fuit [aci:remember:in:mentem:esse] dis advenientem  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] gratias [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] pro  
meritis agere [aci::inf:pres] atque [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord]  
alloqui [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (180 181)?

C Ne illi edepol si merito meo referre [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] studeant  
[ctrl:subj:want:stud-] gratiam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Amph]  
(182).

C Facit ille quod volgo hau solent, ut quid se  
[ecm:deontic:::bound:se:subj:distant] sit [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] dignum  
[ecm:deontic:dign-] sciat [aci:know:sc-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (185).

C Quod [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] numquam opinatus [aci:think:opin-] fui neque  
alius quisquam civium sibi [aci::bound:se:goal:local] eventurum  
[aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop], id contigit ut salvi poteremur domi  
[\_\_Plautus:Amph] (186 187).

C Sed quo modo et verbis quibus me [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] deceat  
[ecm:deontic:dec-] fabularier [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
[ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj:null], prius ipse mecum etiam volo  
[ctrl:subj:want:velle] meditari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (201  
202).

C Telobois [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:dative] iubet [ctrl:obj:order:iub-]  
sententiam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] ut dicant [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct]  
suam, si sine vi et sine bello velint [ctrl:subj:want:velle] rapta  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] et raptores [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
tradere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], si [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel] quae  
asportassent reddere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], se [aci::bound:se:subj:local]  
exercitum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] extemplo domum reducturum  
[aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop], abituros [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] agro Argivos  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj], [aci::bound:se:subj:local:null:coord] pacem  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] atque otium [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] dare  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] illis, sin aliter sient animati neque dent quae petat,  
sese [aci::bound:se:subj:local] igitur summa vi virisque eorum oppidum  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] oppugnassere [aci::inf:fut]  
[\_\_Plautus:Amph] (205 210).

C Respondent [aci:say:respond-] bello se [aci:::bound:se:subj:local]  
[ctrl:subj:::bound:se:obj:local:dup] et suos [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj]  
tutari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (214).

C Imperator utrimque, hinc et illinc, Iovi vota  
[historical:::unbound:3rd:obj] suscipere [historical::inf:pres], utrimque  
hortari [historical::inf:pres] exercitum [historical:::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (229 230).

C Hoc ubi Amphitruo erus conspicatus est, ilico equites  
[ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj] iubet [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] dextera  
[ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] inducere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (242 243).

C Qui Pterela potitare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] solitus est [ctrl:subj:used:sol-]  
rex [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (261).

C Nunc pergam [ctrl:subj:continue:perg-] eri imperium  
[ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] exequi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] et me  
[ctrl:subj:::bound:1st:obj] domum [\_linear] capessere [ctrl:subj::inf:fut]  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (262).

C Neque ego hunc hominem [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj] huc hodie ad aedis has  
sinam [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] umquam accedere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (264).

C Quando imago est huius in me, certum [ecm:deontic:cert-] est hominem  
[ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj:null] eludere  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (265).

C Et enim vero quoniam formam cepi huius in med et statum, decet  
[ecm:deontic:dec-] et facta [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] moresque  
[ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] huius habere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] me  
[ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] [\_non:linear] similis item [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (266  
267).

C Itaque me [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] malum esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop]  
oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], callidum, astutum admodum, atque  
[ecm:deontic:::1st:subj:null:coord] hunc [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] telo suo  
sibi [ecm:deontic:::bound:se:goal:local], malitia, a foribus  
[ecm:deontic:::1st:subj:null:coord] pellere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (268 269).

C Certe edepol, si quicquamst aliud quod credam aut certo sciam, credo  
[aci:believe:cred-] ego hac noctu Nocturnum [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj]  
obdormivisse [aci::inf:perf] ebrium [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (272).

C Neque ego hac nocte longiorem [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] me  
[aci:::bound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear] vidisse [aci::inf:perf] censeo  
[aci:believe:cens-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (279).

C Credo [aci:believe:cred-] edepol quidem dormire [aci::inf:pres] solem  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] atque adpotum probe [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (282).

C Deos [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] tui similis putas  
[aci:think:put-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (284)?

C Illic homo hodie hoc denuo volt [ctrl:subj:want:velle] pallium  
[ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] detexere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph]  
(294).

C Quattuor nudos [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] sopori se  
[aci:::bound:se:subj:local] [\_non:linear] dedisse [aci::inf:perf] hic autumat  
[aci:say:autum-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (306).

C Apage, non placet [ecm:impers:plac-] me [ecm:impers:::1st:subj] hoc noctis  
esse [ecm:impers::inf:pres] (eat) [ecm:impers:::3rd:obj:null]  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (310).

C Pessumest, facimus nequiter, ferire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] malam  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] male discit [ctrl:subj:know:disc-] manus  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (314 315).

C Alia forma [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop]  
oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] quem tu pugno legeris [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (316).

C Exossatum [ecm:deontic::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] os [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj]  
esse oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] quem probe percusseris [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph]  
(318).

C Mirum ni hic me [ctrl:subj::unbound:1st:obj] quasi murenam  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] exossare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] cogitat  
[ctrl:subj:want:cogit-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (319).

C Atque haud longe [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] abesse  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], verum longe hinc  
afuit [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (322).

C Vix incedo inanis, ne ire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] posse [aci::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [aci::bound:2nd:subj:null] cum onere existumes  
[aci:believe:existim-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (330).

C Nescioquem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] loqui [aci::inf:pres]  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] autumat [aci:say:autum-], mihi certo nomen  
Sosiaest [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (332).

C Neque miser me [ctrl:subj::bound:1st:obj] commovere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] prae formidine [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (337).

C Verum certumst [ecm:deontic:cert-] confidenter  
[ecm:deontic::1st:subj:null] hominem [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] contra conloqui  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres], qui [aci::unbound:1st:subj:raise] possim  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-] videri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [aci:see:vid-] huic  
[aci::inf:pres:no:cop] fortis, a me ut apstineat manum [personal:passive]  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (339 340).

C At iam faciam [ctrl:obj:make:fac-] ut [aci::bound:1st:subj:null] verum  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] dicas [aci:say:dic-] [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] dicere  
[aci::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (345).

C Possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] scire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [aci:know:sc-],  
quo profectus, cuius sis [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] aut quid veneris  
[aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (346)?

C Pergin [ctrl:subj:continue:perg-] argutarier [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (349)?

C At nunc abi sane, advenisse [aci::inf:perf] familiaris  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] dicito [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (353).

C Quin me [aci::bound:1st:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] huius familiai  
familiarem praedico [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (359).

C Vide sis quam mox vapulare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] vis  
[ctrl:subj:want:velle], nisi actutum hinc abis [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (360).

C Tun domo prohibere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj:prohibit:prohib-] peregre  
me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] advenientem [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[\_linear] postulas [ctrl:obj:order:postul-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (361)?

C Tun te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] audes [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] Sosiam esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [aci:say:dic-], qui ego sum  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (373 374)?

C Amphitruonis te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] aiebas  
[aci:say:ai-] Sosiam [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (383).

C Peccaveram, nam Amphitruonis socium ne me [aci::bound:1st:subj] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] volui [ctrl:subj:want:velle] dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[aci:say:dic-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (384).

C Sciebam [aci:know:sc-] equidem nullum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] nobis nisi me [aci::bound:1st:subj] servom Sosiam  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Amph] (385).

C Ego sum Sosia ille quem tu dudum [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] aiebas [aci:say:ai-] mihi [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (387).

C Obsecro ut per pacem liceat [ctrl:impers:lic-] te [ctrl:impers::2nd:obj]  
[ctrl:impers::1st:subj:null] adloqui [ctrl:impers::inf:pres], ut ne vapulem  
[\_\_Plautus:Amph] (388).

C Immo indutiae parumper fiant, si quid [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:indef]  
vis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] loqui [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph]  
(389).

C Nunc licet [ctrl:impers:lic-] mi [ctrl:impers::1st:subj:dative] libere  
quidvis [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj:indef] loqui [ctrl:impers::inf:pres]  
[\_\_Plautus:Amph] (393).

C Egomet mihi non credo, quom illaec [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] autumare  
[aci::inf:pres] illum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_non:linear:demon] audio  
[aci:hear:aud-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (416).

C Pterela rex qui potitare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] solitus est [ctrl:subj:used:sol-]  
patera aurea [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (419).

C Id [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] quidem hodie numquam poterit  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-] dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (426).

C Vincon argumentis [aci:say:argu-] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] non esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] Sosiam [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (433)?

C Tu negas [aci:say:neg-] med [aci::unbound:1st:subj] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (434)?

C Per Iovem iuro [aci:say:iur-] med [aci::bound:1st:subj] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] neque me [aci::bound:1st:subj:coord] falsum  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] dicere [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph]  
(435).

C At ego per Mercurium iuro [aci:say:iur-] tibi Iovem  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] non credere [aci::inf:pres]  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (436).

C Ubi ego Sosia [ctrl:subj::bound:1st:subj:raise:null] nolim  
[ctrl:subj:want:nolle] esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:cop], tu esto sane Sosia  
[\_\_Plautus:Amph] (439).

C Ita vix poteris [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] effugere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
infortunium [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (451).

C Nonne hoc [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] cuivis [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:dative]  
mirari [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] licet [ctrl:impers:lic-], neque tibi istuc  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] mirum magis videtur  
[aci:see:vid-] quam mihi [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (594 595).

C Omnium primum iste quid sit [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] Sosia, hoc  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] dici [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [aci:say:dic-]  
volo [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (609).

C Quin intro [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null] ire [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] in  
aedis numquam licitum est [ctrl:impers:lic-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (617).

C Non soleo [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] ego somniculose eri imperia  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] persequi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph]  
(622).

C Qui, malum, intellegere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] quisquam  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] potis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] est  
[\_\_Plautus:Amph] (626)?

C Sola [aci::bound:1st:subj:raise:null] hic mihi [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] nunc  
videor [aci:see:vid-] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (640).

C Satis [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] mi esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] ducam  
[aci:believe:duc-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (648).

C Edepol me [aci::bound:1st:subj] uxori exoptatum credo [aci:believe:cred-]  
adventurum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] domum [\_linear], quae me amat, quam

contra amo, praesertim re gesta bene, victis hostibus [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (654 656).

C Quos [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] nemo posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] superari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] ratust [aci:think:rer-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (656).

C Certe enim med [aci:::bound:1st:subj] illi expectatum optato venturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] scio [aci:know:sc-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (658).

C Quid, me [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] non rere [aci:think:rer-] expectatum amicae venturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] meae [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (659)?

C Nam quid ille revortitur qui dudum properare [aci::inf:pres] sese [aci:::bound:se:subj:local] aibat [aci:say:ai-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (660 661)?

C An ille me temptat sciens atque id [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:obj] se [ecm:want:::bound:se:subj:local] [non:linear:is] volt [ecm:want:velle] experiri [ecm:want::inf:pres], suom abitum ut desiderem [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (662 663)?

C Amphitruo, redire [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] ad navem meliust [ecm:deontic:bon-] nos [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (664).

C Quia Alcumenam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] ante aedis stare [aci::inf:pres] saturam intellego [aci:know:intelleg-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (667).

C Ad aquam praebendam [\_gerundive] commodum adveni domum, decumo post mense, ut rationem [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] te [aci:::unbound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear] dictare [aci::inf:pres] intellego [aci:know:intelleg-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (669 670).

C Magis [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] [ecm:deontic:mult-] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] nunc me [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] meum officium [ecm:deontic:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] facere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres], si huic eam advorsum, arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (675).

C Amphitruo uxorem salutat laetus speratam suam, quam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] omnium Thebis vir unam esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] optumam diiudicat [aci:believe:iudic-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (676 677).

C Et quom te [aci:::unbound:2nd:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] gravidam et quom te [aci:::unbound:2nd:subj:coord] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] pulchre plenam aspicio [aci:see:spect-], gaudeo [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (681).

C Quia vera [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] didici [ctrl:subj:know:disc-] dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (687).

C Qui istuc potis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] est fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass], quaeso, ut dicis [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (693).

C Te ut deludam contra lusorem meum, qui nunc primum te [aci:::bound:2nd:subj] advenisse [aci::inf:perf] dicas [aci:say:dic-], modo qui hinc abieris [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (694 695).

C Quid [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj] vis [ecm:want:velle] fieri [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (702)?

C Bacchae bacchanti si velis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] advorsarier [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], ex insana insaniorem facies [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (703 704).

C At pol certa res [ecm:deontic:cert-] hanc [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] est obiurgare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres], quae me [ctrl:subj:::unbound:1st:obj] hodie advenientem domum noluerit [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] salutare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (706 707).

C Alcumena, unum [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] rogare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] te [ctrl:subj:::unbound:2nd:obj] volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (708).

C Qui istuc [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] in mentemst [ctrl:subj:think:ven-] tibi ex me, mi vir, percontarier [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (710)?

C Quia salutare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] advenientem me [ctrl:subj:::unbound:1st:obj] solebas [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] antidhac

appellare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:1st:obj:null:coord]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (711 712).  
 C Amphitruo, speravi [ecm:hope:sper-] ego istam [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 tibi parituram [ecm:hope::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] filium  
 [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] [\_linear:demon:1st], verum non est puero  
 gravida [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (718 719).  
 C Enim vero praegnanti oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] et malum  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] et malum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] [\_pun] dari  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], ut quod obrodat sit, animo si male esse  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_pun] occeperit [ctrl:subj:begin:occip-]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (723 724).  
 C Ego, inquam, si vis [ecm:want:velle] decies  
 [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj:null] dicere [ecm:want::inf:pres]  
 [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (725).  
 C Ubi primum tibi sensisti [aci:sense:sent-], mulier,  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] impliciscier [aci::inf:pres:pass]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (729)?  
 C Cur igitur praedicas [aci:say:dic-] te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] heri me  
 [aci::unbound:1st:obj] [\_linear] vidisse [aci::inf:perf], qui hac noctu in  
 portum advecti sumus [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (730 731)?  
 C Sed, mulier, postquam experrecta es, te [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj] prodigiali  
 Iovi aut mola salsa hodie aut ture comprecatam  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] oportuit [ecm:deontic:oport-]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (739 740).  
 C Audivistin [aci:hear:aud-] tu me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] narrare  
 [aci::inf:pres] haec [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] hodie  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (748)?  
 C Vera [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_non:linear] volo [ecm:want:velle] loqui  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres] te [ecm:want::unbound:2nd:subj], nolo [ecm:want:nolle]  
 [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] adsentari [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass]  
 mihi [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (751).  
 C Audivistin [aci:hear:aud-] tu hodie me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] illi dicere  
 [aci::inf:pres] ea [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:rel] [\_linear:demon:2nd] quae illa  
 autumat [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (752)?  
 C Audin [aci:hear:aud-] illum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], ego vero, ac falsum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:1st] dicere [aci::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (755).  
 C Et scio [aci:know:sc-] istaec [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] facta  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] proinde ut proloquor [aci:say:loqu-]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop:dup]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (757).  
 C Tun me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] heri advenisse [aci::inf:perf] dicis  
 [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (758)?  
 C Tun te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] abiisse [aci::inf:perf] hodie hinc negas  
 [aci:say:neg-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (758)?  
 C Nego enim vero, et me [aci::bound:1st:subj] advenire [aci::inf:pres] nunc  
 primum aio [aci:say:ai-] ad te domum [\_linear] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (759).  
 C Obsecro, etiamne hoc [aci::trace] negabis [aci:say:neg-], te  
 [aci::bound:2nd:subj] auream pateram [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] mihi  
 dedisse [aci::inf:perf] dono hodie, qua te [aci::bound:2nd:subj]  
 [\_promoted:goal] illi donatum esse [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] dixerat  
 [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (760 761)?  
 C Nimis demiror, Sosia, qui illaec illic me [aci::unbound:1st:subj]  
 [\_promoted:goal] donatum esse [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] aurea patera  
 sciat [aci:know:sc-], nisi tu dudum hanc convenisti et narravisti haec omnia  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (765 767).

C Vin [ecm:want:velle] proferri [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] pateram  
 [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (769)?  
 C Proferri [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] volo  
 [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (769).  
 C Quaeso, quin tu istanc [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj] iubes  
 [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] pro cerrita circumferri [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (775 776)?  
 C Aut pol haec praestigiatrix mulier multo maxuma est aut pateram  
 [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] hic inesse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] oportet  
 [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (782 783).  
 C Certum [ecm:deontic:cert-] est [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null] aperire  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj:null] atque  
 [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null:coord] inspicere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
 [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj:null:coord] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (787).  
 C Nam haec [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj] quidem nos  
 [ctrl:obj:::unbound:1st:subj] delirantis [\_non:linear:demon] facere  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] dictis postulat [ctrl:obj:order:postul-]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (789).  
 C Ain [aci:say:ai-] heri nos [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] advenisse  
 [aci::inf:perf] huc [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (799)?  
 C Perge [ctrl:subj:continue:perg-] exsequi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (801).  
 C Perge [ctrl:subj:continue:perg-] porro dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (803).  
 C Sine [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] modo argumenta [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 dicat [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (806).  
 C Te [aci:::bound:2nd:subj] dormire [aci::inf:pres] aibas [aci:say:ai-]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (807).  
 C Tu si me inpudicitiai captas, capere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj:::unbound:1st:obj:null:coord] non potes [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (821).  
 C Per supremi regis regnum iuro et matrem familias Iunonem, quam  
 [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] me [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] [\_non:linear:rel] vereri  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] et metuere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
 [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj:null:coord] [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj:null:coord] est  
 par [ecm:deontic:par] maxume, ut mi extra unum te mortalis nemo corpus  
 corpore contigit, quo me inpudicam faceret [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (831 834).  
 C Vera [ecm:want::inf:pres:no:cop] istaec [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj] velim  
 [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (834).  
 C Sed nequiquam, quoniam non vis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] credere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Amph]  
 (835).  
 C Quae non deliquit, decet [ecm:deontic:dec-] [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null]  
 audacem esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop], confidenter pro se  
 [ecm:deontic:::bound:se:oblique:local] et proterve loqui  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj:null:coord] [\_\_Plautus:Amph]  
 (836 837).  
 C Non ego illam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:rel] mi dotem duco [aci:believe:duc-]  
 esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] quae [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:raise]  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] dos dicitur [aci:say:dic-] [\_personal:passive] sed  
 pudicitiam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] et pudorem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] et  
 sedatum cupidinem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj], deum metum  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj], parentum amorem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] et  
 cognatum concordiam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj], tibi morigera atque ut munifica  
 sim bonis, prosim probis [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (839 842).



C Mulier, istanc rem inquisitam [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] certum  
[ecm:deontic:cert-] est non [ecm:deontic::1st:subj:null] amittere  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (847).

C Atque is si denegat [aci:say:neg-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:rel] facta  
[aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] quae [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] tu facta  
[aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] dicis [aci:say:dic-], quod  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] tibi aequom [ecm:deontic:aequ-] est fieri  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (850 851)?

C Nimis ecastor facinus mirum est qui illi conlibitum [ctrl:impers:lib-] siet  
meo viro [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:dative] sic me [ctrl:impers::1st:obj]  
insimulare [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] falso facinus [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj]  
[\_linear] tam malum [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (858 859).

C Nunc Amphitruonem memet [ecm:pretend::bound:1st:subj], ut occepi semel,  
esse [ecm:pretend::inf:pres:cop] adsimulabo [ecm:pretend:simul-] atque in  
horum familiam hodie frustrationem iniciam maxumum [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (873  
875).

C Mercurium [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] iussi [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] me  
[ctrl:obj::bound:1st:obj] [\_linear] continuo consequi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres],  
si quid [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] vellem [ctrl:subj:want:velle]  
imperare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (880 881).

C Atque id [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj]  
[\_non:linear:is] susque deque esse habituram [aci::inf:fut:with:cop] putat  
[aci:think:put-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (886).

C Non edepol faciam, neque me [ctrl:obj::bound:1st:subj] perpetiar  
[ctrl:obj:allow:pat-] probri falso insimulatam  
[ctrl:obj::inf:perf:pass:no:cop], quin ego illum aut deseram aut satis faciat  
mi ille atque adiuret [aci:say:iur-] insuper [ecm:want::bound:1st:subj:null]  
nolle [aci::inf:pres] [ecm:want:nolle] esse dicta  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null:rel] [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:with:cop]  
quae in me insontem protulit [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (887 890).

C Faciundum [\_gerundive] est mi illud [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:rel] fieri  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] quod illaec postulat [ctrl:obj:order:postul-] si me  
[ecm:want::bound:1st:obj] illam amantem [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj]  
[\_non:linear:demon:2nd] ad sese [ecm:want::bound:se:oblique:distant] studeam  
[ecm:want:stud-] recipere [ecm:want::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (891 892).

C Te [ctrl:subj::unbound:2nd:obj] volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle], uxor,  
conloqui [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (898).

C Inimicos [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] semper osa sum [ctrl:subj:want:od-]  
optuerier [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (900).

C Sic est, vera praedico, nisi etiam hoc [ecm:pretend::unbound:3rd:subj]  
falso dici [ecm:pretend::inf:pres:pass] insimulaturus [ecm:pretend:simul-] es  
[\_\_Plautus:Amph] (901 902).

C Potin [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] ut abstineas [ctrl:subj::inf\_subjunct] manum  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (903)?

C Quam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] tu inpudicam esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
arbitrere [aci:think:arbitr-] et [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord]  
praedices [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (905).

C Si dixi, nihilo magis es, neque ego [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (908).

C Nam numquam quicquam meo animo fuit aegrius quam postquam audiui  
[aci:hear:aud-] ted [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] esse iratam  
[aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop] [\_linear] mihi [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (910 911).

C Non edepol quo te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
inpudicam crederem [aci:believe:cred-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (913).

C Quid faceres et quo pacto id [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] ferre  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] induceres [ctrl:subj:try:duc-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (915).

C Quin huc adducis meum cognatum Naucratem, testem [aci:say:test-] quem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] dudum te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear:1st] adducturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] dixeris [aci:say:dic-] te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] huc non venisse [aci::inf:perf] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (919 920)?

C Si quid dictum est per iocum, non aequom [ecm:deontic:aequ-] est id [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [\_non:linear:is] te [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj] serio praevertier [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (920 921).

C Nunc, quando factis me impudicis abstini, ab impudicis dictis avorti [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (927).

C Iuben [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] mi ire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] comites [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (929)?

C Arbitratu tuo ius iurandum [\_gerundive] [aci:say:iur-] dabo me [aci::bound:1st:subj] meam pudicam [\_linear] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] uxorem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] arbitrarier [aci::inf:pres] [aci:think:arbitr-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (931 932).

C Confido [aci:believe:fid-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] fore [aci::inf:fut:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (935).

C Primum [ecm:deontic::2nd:null] cavisse [ecm:deontic::inf:perf] oportuit [ecm:deontic:oport-] ne diceris [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (944).

C Iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] vero vasa [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] pura adornari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] mihi [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (946).

C Nam quia vos [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] tranquillos video [aci:see:vid-], gaudeo et volupest mihi [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (958).

C Atque ita servom [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] par [ecm:deontic:par] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] videtur [aci:see:vid-] [\_personal:passive] frugi sese [ecm:deontic::bound:se:obj:local] [\_linear] instituere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (959).

C Derides qui scis [aci:know:sc-] haec [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] dudum me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear:demon] dixisse [aci::inf:perf] per iocum [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (963).

C Iam hic ero quom illic censebis [aci:believe:cens-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (969).

C Iam hisce ambo, et servos et era, frustra sunt duo, qui me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] Amphitruonem rentur [aci:think:rer-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (974 975).

C Volo [ecm:want:velle] deludi [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] illunc [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (980).

C Haec curata sint fac sis, proinde adeo ut velle [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] med [aci::unbound:1st:subj] intellegis [aci:know:intelleg-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (981 982).

C Nam mihi [ctrl:impers::1st:dative] quidem hercle qui minus liceat [ctrl:impers:lic-] deo minitarier [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] populo, ni decedat mihi, quam servolo [ctrl:impers::3rd:dative] in comoediis [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (986 987)?

C Ille navem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] salvam nuntiat [aci:say:nunti-] aut irati adventum senis [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (988).

C Quam ob rem mihi magis par [ecm:deontic:par] est via [ecm:deontic::3rd:null] decedere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] et [ecm:deontic::3rd:null:coord] concedere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (990).

C Ut filium [ecm:deontic::3rd] bonum patri esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], itidem ego sum patri [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (992).

C Quod [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [\_non:linear:rel] omnis homines [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] facere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], dum id modo fiat bono [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (996).

C Nunc Amphitruonem [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj] volt [ecm:want:velle] deludi [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] meus pater [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (997).

C Adsimulabo [ecm:pretend:simul-] me [ecm:pretend:::bound:1st:subj] esse [ecm:pretend::inf:pres:cop] ebrium [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (999).

C Eum [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] fecisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel] ille hodie arguet [aci:say:argu-] quae [\_linear] ego fecero hic [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1003).

C Meo me [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] aequomst [ecm:deontic:aequ-] [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:no:cop] morigerum patri, eius studio [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj:null:coord] servire [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] addecet [ecm:deontic:dec-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1004).

C Siquidem vos voltis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] auscultando [\_gerund] operam [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] dare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1006).

C Naucratem [\_attraction] quem [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] convenire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] volui [ctrl:subj:want:velle] in navi non erat [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1009).

C Nunc domum ibo atque ex uxore hanc rem [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] pergam [ctrl:subj:continue:perg-] exquirere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1015).

C Nam me [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] quam illam questionem inquisitam [ecm:deontic:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] hodie amittere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:no:cop] mortuom satiust [ecm:deontic:sat-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1016 1017).

C Sum Sosia, nisi me [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] esse oblitum [aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop] [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] existumas [aci:believe:existim-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1024).

C An fores [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] censebas [aci:believe:cens-] nobis publicitus praeberier [aci::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1027)?

C Prodigum te [ecm:deontic:::2nd] fuisse [ecm:deontic::inf:perf:cop] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] olim in adulescentia [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1031).

C Ne tu postules [ctrl:obj:order:postul-] matulam unam [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj] tibi aquai infundi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] in caput [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1034).

C Exiuravisti [aci:say:iur-] te [aci:::bound:2nd:subj] mihi dixi [aci::inf:perf] [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] per iocum [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1034).

C Quaeso advenienti morobo [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] medicari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1034).

C Nisi hoc ita factum est, proinde ut [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] factum esse [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] autumo [aci:say:autum-], non causam dico quin vero insimules probri [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1034).

C Quid [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] minitabas [aci:say:minit-] te [aci:::bound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear:interrog] facturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop], si istas pepulisses fores [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1034)?

C Noli [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] pessimo precari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1034).

C Nilne te [ctrl:obj:::unbound:2nd:subj] pudet [ctrl:obj:impers:pud-], scelestes, populi in conspectum ingredi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1034)?

C Qui nequeas [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] nostrorum uter sit [aci:::inf\_subjunct:indir] Amphitruo decernere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [aci:know:decern-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1034).

C Neque ego umquam usquam tanta mira [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] me [aci:::bound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear] vidisse [aci::inf:perf] censeo [aci:believe:cens-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1036).

C Ita mi videntur [aci:see:vid-] omnia [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:raise], mare  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:raise], terra [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:raise], caelum  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:raise], consequi [aci::inf:pres] iam ut opprimar, ut  
 enicer [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1055 1056).  
 C Nec me miserior femina [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] est neque ulla  
 videatur [aci:see:vid-] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] magis [\_personal:passive]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1060).  
 C Ardere [aci::inf:pres] censui [aci:believe:cens-] aedis  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj], ita tum confulgebant [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1067).  
 C Atque illam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] geminos filios pueros  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] peperisse [aci::inf:perf] conspicor  
 [aci:see:spect-] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1070).  
 C Scin [aci:know:sc-] me [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] tuom esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] erum Amphitruonem [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1082)?  
 C At ego faciam tu idem ut aliter praedices [aci:say:dic-], Amphitruo, piam  
 et pudicam esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] tuam uxorem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] ut  
 scias [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1085 1086).  
 C Sine [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] me [ctrl:obj:::unbound:1st:subj] dicere  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres], ut scias [aci:know:sc-] tibi tuaeque uxori deos  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] omnis propitios  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1089 1090).  
 C Postquam parturire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] hodie uxor occepit  
 [ctrl:subj:begin:coop-] tua, ubi utero exorti dolores [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1091  
 1092).  
 C Aedis [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] primo ruere [aci::inf:pres] rebamur  
 [aci:think:rer-] tuas [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1095).  
 C Dum haec aguntur, interea uxorem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] tuam neque  
 gementem [aci::inf:pres:participle] neque plorantem  
 [aci::inf:pres:participle] nostrum quisquam audivimus [aci:hear:aud-]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1098 1099).  
 C Postquam peperit, pueros [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj] lavere  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] iussit [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] nos  
 [ctrl:obj:::unbound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1102).  
 C Neque eum [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] quisquam colligare  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] quivit [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] incunabulis  
 [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1104).  
 C Magis iam faxo [ctrl:obj:make:fac-] mira [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj] dices  
 [aci:say:dic-] [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1107).  
 C Ego cunas [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] recessim [ctrl:subj:go:ir-] rursum  
 vorsum trahere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] et  
 [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] ducere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres],  
 metuens pueris, mihi formidans, tantoque angues [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 acrius persequi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1112 1114).  
 C Is se [aci:::bound:se:subj:local] dixit [aci:say:dic-] cum Alcumena clam  
 consuetum [aci::inf:perf:depon:no:cop] cubitibus, eumque filium  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] suom esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] qui illas anguis  
 vicerit, alterum [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] tuom esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] dixit  
 [aci:say:dic-] puerum [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1122 1124).  
 C Pol me hau paenitet, si licet [ctrl:impers:lic-] boni dimidium  
 [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj] mihi [ctrl:impers:::1st:dative] dividere  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] cum Iove [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1124 1125).  
 C Abi domum, iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] vasa pura  
 [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj] actutum adornari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass]  
 mihi, ut Iovis supremi multis hostiis pacem expetam [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1126  
 1127).

C Mea vi [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null] subactast  
 [ctrl:obj:force:subig-] facere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Amph] (1142).  
 C Menaechum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] omnes [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] civem  
 credunt [aci:believe:cred-] advenam eumque appellant meretrix, uxor et socer  
 [\_\_Plautus:Men] (Arg).  
 C Omnis res [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] gestas esse  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] Athenis autumant [aci:say:autum-], quo illud  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] vobis graecum videatur  
 [aci:see:vid-] magis [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (8 9).  
 C Ita forma simili pueri, ut mater sua non internosse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] posset [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] quae  
 mammam dabat [\_\_Plautus:Men] (18 20).  
 C Postquam Syracusas de ea re rediit nuntius [aci:say:nunti-] ad avom  
 puerorum, puerum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] surruptum  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] alterum patremque [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] pueri  
 Tarenti esse emortuom [aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (37 39).  
 C Propterea illius nomen menini facilius, quia illum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 clamore vidi [aci:see:vid-] flagitarier [aci::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Men]  
 (46).  
 C Si quis quid [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] vestrum Epidamnum curari  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] sibi [ecm:want::bound:se:goal:distant] velit  
 [ecm:want:velle] audacter imperato et dicito [\_\_Plautus:Men] (51 52).  
 C Sed ita ut det unde curari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] id possit  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] sibi [ctrl:obj::bound:se:goal:distant] [\_\_Plautus:Men]  
 (53).  
 C Sicut familiae quoque solent [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] mutarier  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (74).  
 C Maior lubido [ctrl:impers:lub-] est [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null] fugere  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] et [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null] facere  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj:null] nequiter  
 [\_\_Plautus:Men] (83).  
 C Quem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] tu adservare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] recte  
 ne aufugiat voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle] esca atque potione  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:rel] vinciri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] decet  
 [ecm:deontic:dec-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (87 88).  
 C Ni mala, ni stulta sies, ni indomita inposque animi, quod  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] viro esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] odio videas  
 [aci:see:vid-], tute tibi odio habeas [\_\_Plautus:Men] (110 111).  
 C Nam quotiens foras ire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle] me  
 [ctrl:obj::bound:1st:subj] retines [ctrl:obj:prohibit:retin-]  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:dup], revocas, rogitas, quo ego eam, quam rem agam, quid  
 negoti germa, quid petam, quid feram, quid foris egerim [\_\_Plautus:Men] (114  
 116).  
 C Portitorem domum duxi, ita omnem [ctrl:deontic::3rd:obj] mihi  
 [ctrl:deontic::1st:dative] rem [\_non:linear] necesse [ctrl:deontic:necess-]  
 eloqui [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] est, quidquid egi atque ago [\_\_Plautus:Men]  
 (117 118).  
 C Malo cavebis si sapis, virum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] observare  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] desines [ctrl:subj:stop:desin-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (121  
 122).  
 C Illic homo se [ecm:pretend::bound:se:subj:local] uxori simulat  
 [ecm:pretend:simul-] male loqui [ecm:pretend::inf:pres], loquitur mihi  
 [\_\_Plautus:Men] (125).  
 C Dona [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] quid cessant [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-] mihi  
 conferre [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] omnes congratulantes, quia pugnavi fortiter  
 [\_\_Plautus:Men] (128 129)?

C Sic hoc [ecm:deontic::expletive] decet [ecm:deontic:dec-], dari  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] facete verba [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] custodi  
catae [\_\_Plautus:Men] (131).

C Non potuisti [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] magis per tempus mi advenire  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] quam advenis [\_\_Plautus:Men] (139).

C Vin [ctrl:subj:want:velle] tu facinus luculentum  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] inspicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men]  
(141)?

C Dic [aci:say:dic-] hominem lepidissimum esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] me  
[aci::unbound:1st:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (147).

C Ecquid [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] audes [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] de tuo  
istic addere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (149)?

C Ecquid tu de odore possis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], si quid forte olfeceris,  
facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] coniecturam [\_\_Plautus:Men] (163)?

C Agedum [ctrl:subj:continue:ag-] odorare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] hanc  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:rel] quam ego habeo pallam [\_\_Plautus:Men]  
(164).

C Summum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] olefactare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] vestimentum muliebre [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj],  
nam ex istoc loco spurcatur nasum odore inutili [\_\_Plautus:Men] (167 168).

C Mihi, tibi atque illi iubebo [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] iam apparari  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] prandium [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj]  
[\_\_Plautus:Men] (175).

C Idem istuc aliis adscriptivis fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] ad legionem  
solet [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (183).

C Ego istic mihi hodie apparari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] iussi  
[ctrl:obj:order:iub-] apud te proelium [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj]  
[\_\_Plautus:Men] (184).

C Nam si amabas, iam oportebat [ecm:deontic:oport-] nasum [ecm:deontic::3rd]  
abruptum [ecm:deontic::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] mordicus [\_\_Plautus:Men] (195).

C Exuvias [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] quas  
vovi volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (195).

C Hoc animo decet [ecm:deontic:dec-] animatos esse  
[ecm:deontic::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] amatores [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj]  
probos [\_\_Plautus:Men] (203).

C Qui quidem ad mendicitatem se [ctrl:subj::bound:se:obj] properent  
[ctrl:subj:hurry:proper-] detrudere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men]  
(204).

C Scin quid [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] volo [ecm:want:velle] ego te  
[ecm:want::bound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear:interrog] accurare  
[ecm:want::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (207)?

C Iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] igitur tribus nobis apud te prandium  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] accurarier [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] atque  
aliquid [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] scitamentorum de foro opsonarier  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] glandionidam suillam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj],  
laridum pernonidam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj], aut sincipitamenta porcina  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] aut aliquid [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] ad  
eum modum [\_\_Plautus:Men] (208 211).

C Cocta sunt, iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:null:subj]  
ire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] accubitus [\_supine] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (225).

C Nam quid modi [ctrl:sent] futurum est illum [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] quaerere [ctrl:sent::inf:pres]  
[\_\_Plautus:Men] (233)?

C Qui sese [aci::bound:se:subj:local] dicat [aci:say:dic-] scire  
[aci::inf:pres] [aci:know:sc-] eum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse emortuom  
[aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (243).

C Operam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] praeterea numquam sumam  
 [ctrl:subj:begin:sum-] quaerere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (244).  
 C Verum aliter vivos [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] numquam desistam  
 [ctrl:subj:stop:desist-] exsequi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (245).  
 C Illoc enim verbo esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] me [aci::bound:1st:subj] servom  
 scio [aci:know:sc-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (251).  
 C Non potuit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] paucis plura [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 plane proloqui [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (252).  
 C Verum tamen nequeo [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] contineri  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] quin loquar [\_\_Plautus:Men] (253).  
 C Dixine [aci:say:dic-] tibi esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] hic sycophantas  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] plurimos [\_\_Plautus:Men] (283)?  
 C Iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] te [ctrl:obj::bound:2nd:subj] piari  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] de mea pecunia, nam equidem insanum esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] certo scio [aci:know:sc-]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Men] (291 292).  
 C Ego te non novi neque novisse [ctrl:subj::inf:perf]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:2nd:null:coord] adeo volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Men] (296).  
 C Tun cyathissare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] mihi soles [ctrl:subj:used:sol-],  
 qui ante hunc diem Epidamnum numquam vidi neque veni [\_\_Plautus:Men] (305  
 306)?  
 C Si me consulas nummum illum quem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] mihi dudum  
 pollicitus [ctrl:subj:promise:pollic-] es dare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], nam tu  
 quidem hercle certo non sanus satis, Menaechme, qui nunc ipsus male dicas  
 tibi, iubeas [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] si sapias, porculum  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] adferri [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] tibi  
 [\_\_Plautus:Men] (310 315).  
 C Solet [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] iocari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] saepe mecum  
 illoc modo [\_\_Plautus:Men] (317).  
 C Ire [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] hercle meliust [ecm:deontic:bon-] te  
 [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj], interim atque [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null:coord]  
 accumbere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres], dum ego haec appono ad Volcani violentiam  
 [\_\_Plautus:Men] (329 330).  
 C Ibo intro et dicam [aci:say:dic-] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] hic astare  
 [aci::inf:pres] Erotio, ut te hinc abducat potius quam his astes foris  
 [\_\_Plautus:Men] (331 332).  
 C Edepol hau mendacia tua verba [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] exerior  
 [aci:know:experi-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (333 334).  
 C Nam istic meretricem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] credo [aci:believe:cred-]  
 habitare [aci::inf:pres] mulierem, ut quidem ille insanus dixit qui hinc  
 abiit modo [\_\_Plautus:Men] (335 336).  
 C Nunc in istoc portu stat navis praedatoria, aps qua  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] cavendum [aci::inf:pres:no:cop]  
 [\_\_gerundive] nobis sane censeo [aci:believe:cens-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (344 345).  
 C Tum demum sciam [aci:know:sc-] recte [aci::bound:1st:subj:null] monuisse  
 [aci::inf:perf], si tu recte caveris [\_\_Plautus:Men] (346 347).  
 C Sine [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] fores [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:no:cop] sic, abi, nolo [ecm:want:nolle]  
 [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] operiri [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Men] (351).  
 C Sed ubi ille est quem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] coquos ante aedis esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] ait [aci:say:ai-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (356)?  
 C Animule mi, mihi mira [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] [ecm:deontic:mir-]  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] videntur [aci:see:vid-] te [ecm:deontic::2nd] hic

stare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] foris, fores quoi pateant, magis quam domus tua quom haec tua sit [\_impersonal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (361 363).

C Ubi lubet, [ctrl:impers:::3rd:subj:null] ire [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] licet [ctrl:impers:lic-] accubitus [\_supine] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (368).

C Quia pol te unum [ecm:want:::unbound:2nd:obj] [\_non:linear] ex omnibus Venus me [ecm:want:::unbound:1st:subj] voluit [ecm:want:velle] manuficare [ecm:want::inf:pres] neque id haud inmerito tuo [\_\_Plautus:Men] (370 371).

C Dixin [aci:say:dic-] ego istaec [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] hic solere [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (375)?

C Sed sine [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] me [ctrl:obj:::unbound:1st:subj] dum hanc [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] compellare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (378).

C Cur igitur me [ctrl:obj:::unbound:1st:subj] tibi iussisti [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] coquere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] dudum prandium [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (388)?

C Egone te [ctrl:obj:::unbound:2nd:subj] iussi [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] coquere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (389)?

C Qui lubet [ctrl:impers:lub-] ludibrio [ctrl:impers:::1st:subj:null] habere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] me [ctrl:impers:::1st:obj] atque [ctrl:impers:::1st:subj:null:coord] ire [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] infitias [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj] mihi facta quae sunt [\_\_Plautus:Men] (396 397)?

C Dic [aci:say:dic-] quid est id quod negem quod fecerim, pallam [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] te [aci:::bound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear] hodie mihi dedisse [aci::inf:perf] uxoris [\_\_Plautus:Men] (397 398).

C Iam, amabo, desiste [ctrl:subj:stop:desist-] ludos [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] atque i hac mecum semul [\_\_Plautus:Men] (405).

C Non ego te [aci:::unbound:2nd:subj] novi [aci:know:nosc-] Menaechum, Moscho prognatum [aci::inf:perf:depon:no:cop] patre, qui [aci:::bound:3rd:subj:raise] Syracusis perhibere [aci:believe:hab-] natus esse [aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop] in Sicilia [\_personal:passive], ubi rex Agathocles regnator fuit et iterum Phintia, tertium Liparo, qui in morte regnum Hieroni tradidit, nunc Hiero est [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (407 412)?

C Hercle opinor, pernegari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] non potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (414).

C Si possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] hospitium [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] nancisci [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (418).

C Neque ego illum maneo neque flocci facio neque, si venerit, eum [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj] volo [ecm:want:velle] intromitti [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (423 424).

C Eadem ignorabitur, ne uxor cognoscat [aci:know:cognosc-] te [aci:::unbound:2nd:subj] habere [aci::inf:pres] [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:null], si in via conspexerit [\_\_Plautus:Men] (428 429).

C Hunc [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle] etiam conloqui [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (431).

C Sed ego inscitus qui domino me [ctrl:obj:::bound:1st:subj] postule[m] [ctrl:obj:order:postul-] moderarier [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (443).

C Ubi ego dum hieto, Menaechmus se supterduxit mihi atque abit ad amicam, credo, neque me [ctrl:subj:::unbound:1st:obj] voluit [ctrl:subj:want:velle] ducere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (449 450).

C Qui illum di omnes perduint, qui primus commentust [ctrl:subj:want:comment-] contionem [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] habere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (453 454).



C Non ad eam rem otiosos homines [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] decuit  
[ecm:deontic:dec-] deligi [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (455).

C Eos [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] contioni dare  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] operam [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [\_linear:is:1st] atque  
comitiis [\_\_Plautus:Men] (459).

C Si id ita esset, non ego hodie perdidissem prandium, quoi tam credo  
[aci:believe:cred-] [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] datum  
[ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] voluisse  
[aci::inf:perf] [ecm:want:velle] quam me [aci:::bound:1st:subj] video  
[aci:see:vid-] vivere [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (460 461).

C Non faxo [ctrl:obj:make:fac-] eam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] dices [aci:say:dic-] [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct], ita  
ignorabitur [\_\_Plautus:Men] (468).

C Nequeo [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel] quae  
loquitur exaudire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] clanculum [\_\_Plautus:Men] (477).

C Ait [aci:say:ai-] hanc [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] dedisse [aci::inf:perf] me  
[aci:::unbound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear:demon] sibi  
[aci:::bound:se:goal:distant] atque eam [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] meae uxori  
[aci:::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord] surrupuisse [aci::inf:perf]  
[\_\_Plautus:Men] (480 481).

C Quoniam sentio [aci:feel:sent-] [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] errare  
[aci::inf:pres], extemplo, quasi res cum ea esset mihi, coepi  
[ctrl:subj:begin:coep-] adsentari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (481  
483).

C Nam turbare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] gestio  
[ctrl:subj:want:gest-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (486).

C Cur ausus [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null], quoi ego aequae heres eram [\_\_Plautus:Men]  
(493)?

C An tibi malem rem [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj] vis [ecm:want:velle] pro  
male dictis dari [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (496)?

C Atque id [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] me [aci:::unbound:1st:subj]  
[\_non:linear:is] dedisse [aci::inf:perf] intellego [aci:know:intelleg-]  
[\_\_Plautus:Men] (497).

C Non ego te [aci:::unbound:2nd:subj] indutum foras exire [aci::inf:pres]  
vidi [aci:see:vid-] pallam [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] [\_\_Plautus:Men]  
(511 512)?

C Omnis [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] cinaedos esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] censes  
[aci:believe:cens-] quia tu es [\_\_Plautus:Men] (513)?

C Tun med [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] indutum fuisse [aci::inf:perf:cop] pallam  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] praedicas [aci:say:dic-] [aci:say:dic-]  
[\_\_Plautus:Men] (514)?

C Aut te [ctrl:obj:::bound:2nd:subj] piari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] iube  
[ctrl:obj:order:iub-], homo insanissume [\_\_Plautus:Men] (517).

C Menaechme, amare [aci::inf:pres] ait [aci:say:ai-] te  
[aci:::unbound:2nd:obj] multum [aci:::bound:se:subj:local:null] Erotium  
[\_non:linear], ut hoc una opera ad aurificem deferas, atque huc ut addas auri  
pondo unciam iubeasque [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] spinter novom  
[ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj] reconcinnarier [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass]  
[\_\_Plautus:Men] (524 527).

C Et istuc [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] et aliud [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] si quid  
[ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj:indef] curari [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] volet  
[ecm:want:velle] me [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] curaturum  
[aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] dicito [aci:say:dic-], quidquid volet  
[\_\_Plautus:Men] (528 529).

C Hoc est quod [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_non:linear:rel] olim clanculum ex  
 armario te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] surrupuisse [aci::inf:perf] aiebas  
 [aci:say:ai-] uxori tuae [\_\_Plautus:Men] (531 532).  
 C Dicam [aci:say:dic-] [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null] curare [aci::inf:pres]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (538)?  
 C Haec [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_non:linear:demon] me  
 [aci::unbound:1st:subj] curaturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] dicito  
 [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (548).  
 C Sed quid ego cesso [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-], dum datur mi occasio tempusque,  
 abire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ab his locis lenoniis [\_\_Plautus:Men] (552 553)?  
 C Demam hanc coronam atque abiciam ad laevam manum, ut, si quid sequantur me  
 [aci::unbound:1st:subj] hac abiisse [aci::inf:perf] censeant  
 [aci:believe:cens-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (555 556).  
 C Clientes [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] sibi  
 [ecm:want::bound:se:goal:distant] omnes volunt [ecm:want:velle] esse  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres:cop] multos, bonine an mali sint, id hau quaeritant  
 [\_\_Plautus:Men] (574 575).  
 C Datum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:rel] [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop]  
 denegant [aci:say:neg-] quod datum est [\_\_Plautus:Men] (582).  
 C Neque quod [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] volui [ctrl:subj:want:velle] agere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (588 589).  
 C Nec magis manifestum ego hominem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] umquam ullum  
 teneri [aci::inf:pres:pass] vidi [aci:see:vid-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (594).  
 C Iussi [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] apparari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] prandium  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (598).  
 C Illico properavi [ctrl:subj:hurry:proper-] abire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] de  
 foro [\_\_Plautus:Men] (599).  
 C Quid [aci::trace] ais [aci:say:ai-], viro me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] malo  
 male nuptam [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (601).  
 C Clanculum te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] istaec flagitia  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] facere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] censebas [aci:believe:cens-] potis  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (605)?  
 C Te [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj] scire [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Plautus:Men]  
 (608).  
 C Per Iovem deosque omnis adiuro [aci:say:iur-], uxor, satin hoc est tibi, me  
 [aci::bound:1st:subj] isti non nutasse [aci::inf:perf] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (616  
 617).  
 C Properato [ctrl:subj:hurry:proper-] absente me comesse  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] prandium [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Men]  
 (628).  
 C Non ego te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] modo hic ante aedis cum corona florea  
 vidi [aci:see:vid-] astare [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (633 634)?  
 C Quom negabas [aci:say:neg-] mihi esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] sanum sinciput  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] et negabas [aci:say:neg-]  
 [aci::bound:2nd:subj:null] me [aci::unbound:1st:obj] novisse  
 [aci::inf:perf], peregrinum aibas [aci:say:ai-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] te  
 [aci::bound:2nd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (633 634)?  
 C Non mihi censebas [aci:believe:cens-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] qui te ulciscerer [\_\_Plautus:Men] (636).  
 C Non potes [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] celare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (641).  
 C Quando nil pudet neque vis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] tua voluntate ipse  
 profiteri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null], audi  
 atque ades [\_\_Plautus:Men] (642 643).

C Tu, tu istic, inquam, vin [ecm:want:velle] adferri  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] noctuam [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj], quae tu tu  
 [\_pun] usque dicat tibi [\_\_Plautus:Men] (653 654)?  
 C Mulierem [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] aequom [ecm:deontic:aequ-] est  
 vestimentum muliebre [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [\_linear] dare  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] foras, virum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] virile  
 [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [\_linear] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (659 660).  
 C Nam ex hac familia me [aci:::bound:1st:subj] plane excidisse  
 [aci::inf:perf] intellego [aci:know:intelleg-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (667).  
 C Male mi uxor sese [aci:::bound:se:subj:local] fecisse [aci::inf:perf]  
 censet [aci:believe:cens-], quom exclusit foras [\_\_Plautus:Men] (668).  
 C Numquam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] factum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop]  
 reperies [aci:find:reper-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (683).  
 C Neque edepol te defrudandi [\_gerund] causa posco, quin tibi dico  
 [aci:say:dic-] uxorem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] rescivisse [aci::inf:perf]  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (687 688).  
 C Frustra me [ctrl:subj:::unbound:1st:obj] ductare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] non  
 potes [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (694).  
 C Etiam audes [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] mea revorti [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] gratia  
 [\_\_Plautus:Men] (697)?  
 C Non te [ctrl:obj:::unbound:2nd:subj] pudet [ctrl:obj:impers:pud-] prodire  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] in conspectum meum, flagitium hominis, cum istoc ornatu  
 [\_\_Plautus:Men] (708 709)?  
 C Etiamne, impudens, muttire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] verbum unum  
 [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] audes [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] aut mecum loqui  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Men] (710 711)?  
 C Ut loqui [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] non  
 audeam [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (712)?  
 C Nonne tu scis [aci:know:sc-], mulier, Hecubam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 quapropter canem Graii esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] praedicabant [aci:say:dic-]  
 [aci::inf:indicat:indir] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (714 715)?  
 C Itaque adeo iure coepta [ctrl:subj:begin:coep-] appellari  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] est canes [\_\_Plautus:Men] (718).  
 C Non ego istaec tua flagitia [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] possum  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] perpeti [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (719).  
 C Nam med [ecm:want:::bound:1st:subj] aetatem [\_linear] viduam esse  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres:cop] mavelim [ecm:want:malle] quam istaec flagitia tua  
 [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:obj] [ecm:want:::bound:1st:subj:null:coord] pati  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres] quae tu facis [\_\_Plautus:Men] (720 721).  
 C Quid id ad me, tu te [ctrl:obj:::bound:2nd:subj] nuptam  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] possis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] perpeti  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj:allow:pat-] an sis abitura a tuo viro  
 [\_\_Plautus:Men] (722 723)?  
 C At mihi negabas [aci:say:neg-] dudum surrupuisse [aci::inf:perf]  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] te [aci:::bound:2nd:subj], nunc eandem ante  
 oculos adtines, non te pudet [\_\_Plautus:Men] (729 730)?  
 C Tun tibi hanc [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] surruptam  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [aci:say:dic-] audes  
 [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] quam mihi dedit alia mulier ut concinnandam  
 [\_gerundive] darem [\_\_Plautus:Men] (732 733)?  
 C Ita rem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] dicito  
 [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (737).  
 C Tuam qui possim [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] perpeti [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 petulantiam [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (743).

C Quem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] tu hominem [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] med  
arbitrere [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] [aci:think:arbitr-] nescio [aci:know:sc-]  
[\_\_Plautus:Men] (744).

C Negas [aci:say:neg-] [aci::bound:2nd:subj:null] novisse [aci::inf:perf] me  
[aci::unbound:1st:obj], negas [aci:say:neg-]  
[aci::bound:2nd:subj:null:coord] patrem meum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[\_\_Plautus:Men] (750)?

C Idem hercle dicam, si avom [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] vis  
[ctrl:subj:want:velle] adducere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (751).

C Progredi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] properabo [ctrl:subj:hurry:proper-]  
[\_\_Plautus:Men] (754).

C Credo [aci:believe:cred-] cum viro litigium [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] natum  
esse [aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop] aliquod [\_\_Plautus:Men] (765).

C Ita istaec solent, quae viros [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] supservire  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres] sibi [ctrl:obj::bound:se:goal:distant] postulant  
[ctrl:obj:order:postul-] dote fretae, feroces [\_\_Plautus:Men] (766 767).

C Verum est modus tamen, quoad [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null] pati  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] uxorem [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] oportet  
[ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (769).

C Atque eccam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] eampse ante aedis et eius virum  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] tristem video [aci:see:vid-]  
[\_\_Plautus:Men] (772 773).

C Salven, accersi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass]  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj:null] iubes [ctrl:obj:order:iub-]  
[\_\_Plautus:Men] (776)?

C Verum vivere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] hic non possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
neque durare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ullo modo [\_\_Plautus:Men] (781).

C Qui ego istuc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], mi pater, cavere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (787)?

C Una opera [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] prohibere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ad cenam ne promittat [ctrl:subj:promise:promitt-]  
[ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] postules [ctrl:obj:order:postul-] neu quemquam  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] accipiat [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] alienum apud  
se [ctrl:obj::bound:se:oblique:local] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (794 795).

C Serviren [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] tibi postulas [ctrl:obj:order:postul-] viros  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (795 796)?

C Dare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] una opera  
pensum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] postules [ctrl:obj:order:postul-] inter  
ancillas, [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] sedere  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres] iubeas [ctrl:obj:order:iub-], lanam  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] carere  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (796 797).

C Melius [ecm:deontic:bon-] sanam est, mulier, mentem [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj]  
[ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] sumere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men]  
(802).

C Me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] neque isti male fecisse [aci::inf:perf] mulieri  
quae me arguit [aci:say:argu-] [aci::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord] hanc  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] domo ab se [aci::bound:se:oblique:distant]  
surrupuisse [aci::inf:perf] atque [aci::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord]  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] abstulisse [aci::inf:perf] [\_\_Plautus:Men]  
(813 814).

C Sanun es, qui istuc exoptes aut neges [aci:say:neg-] te  
[aci::bound:2nd:subj] umquam pedem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_linear] in eas  
aedis intulisse [aci::inf:perf] ubi habitas, insanissime [\_\_Plautus:Men] (818  
819)?

C Tun, senex, ais [aci:say:ai-] habitare [aci::inf:pres] med  
[aci::unbound:1st:subj] in illisce aedibus [\_\_Plautus:Men] (820)?

C Viden [aci:see:vid-] tu illic oculos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] virere  
 [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (828)?  
 C Quid mihi meliust quam, quando illi me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] insanire  
 [aci::inf:pres] praedicant [aci:say:dic-], ego med  
 [ecm:pretend::bound:1st:subj] adsimule[m] [ecm:pretend:simul-] insanire  
 [ecm:pretend::inf:pres], ut illos a me absterream [\_\_Plautus:Men] (831 832)?  
 C Sed non abire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] ab his  
 regionibus [\_\_Plautus:Men] (836).  
 C Minatur [ctrl:subj:threaten:minit-] mihi oculos  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] exurere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men]  
 (842).  
 C Pugnis me [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj] votas [ctrl:obj:prohibit:veto-] in  
 huius ore quicquam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:indef:2nd] parcere  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (848).  
 C Nunc equos iunctos [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] iubes [ctrl:obj:order:iub-]  
 capere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_non:linear] me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj]  
 indomitos, ferocis, atque in currum [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord]  
 inscendere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres], ut ego hunc proteram leonem vetulum,  
 olentem, edentulum [\_\_Plautus:Men] (862 864).  
 C Ecce, Apollo, denuo me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] iubes  
 [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] facere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] impetum  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] in eum qui stat atque  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord] occidere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (868 869).  
 C Quid cesso [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-] abire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ad navem, dum  
 salvo licet [\_\_Plautus:Men] (878)?  
 C Ait [aci:say:ai-] se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] obligasse [aci::inf:perf]  
 crus fractum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] Aesculapio, Apollini autem  
 brachium [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (885 886).  
 C Nunc cogito utrum me [aci::bound:1st:subj] dicam [aci:say:dic-] ducere  
 [aci::inf:pres] medicum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] an fabrum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (886 887).  
 C Quid [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] illi morbi, dixerat  
 [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (889)?  
 C Sanum [ecm:promise::unbound:3rd:subj:null] futurum  
 [ecm:promise::inf:fut:cop], mea ego id [ecm:promise::trace] promitto  
 [ecm:promise:promitt-] fide [\_\_Plautus:Men] (894).  
 C Magna cum cura ego illum [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] curari  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] volo [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (895).  
 C Quae [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_non:linear:rel] me [aci::bound:1st:subj]  
 clam ratus [aci:think:rer-] sum facere [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (900).  
 C Sed ego stultus sum, qui illius [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:rel] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] dico [aci:say:dic-] quae meast [\_\_Plautus:Men] (904).  
 C Mihi se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] ait [aci:say:ai-] dedisse  
 [aci::inf:perf] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (908).  
 C Se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] miserum praedicat  
 [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (909).  
 C Adeas [ecm:want::inf\_subjunct] velim [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Men]  
 (909).  
 C Non potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] haec res ellebori, iungere optinerier  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (913).  
 C Iam hercle occepat [ctrl:subj:begin:occip-] insanire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 primulum [\_\_Plautus:Men] (916).  
 C Quin tu me [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj] interrogas [ctrl:obj:order:rog-],  
 purpureum panem [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] an puniceum solem  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] ego esse [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] (eat) an luteum  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj], solemne [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] esse

[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] (eat) avis squamosas [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj],  
piscis pennatos [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (916 918)?  
C Quid cessas [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-] dare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] potionis  
aliquid [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] prius quam percipit insania  
[\_\_Plautus:Men] (919 920)?  
C Solent [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] tibi umquam oculi duri fieri  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (922)?  
C Tu me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] lucustam censes [aci:believe:cens-] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop], homo ignavissime [\_\_Plautus:Men] (924)?  
C Nunc homo insanire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] occepat [ctrl:subj:begin:occip-]  
[\_\_Plautus:Men] (931).  
C Nam dudum uxorem suam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
aiebat [aci:say:ai-] rabiosam canem [\_\_Plautus:Men] (933).  
C Qui mihi etiam me [ctrl:subj::unbound:1st:obj] iunctis quadrigis minitatus  
[ctrl:subj:threaten:minit-] prosternere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men]  
(934).  
C Egomet haec [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_non:linear:demon] te  
[aci::unbound:2nd:subj] vidi [aci:see:vid-] facere [aci::inf:pres], egomet  
haec [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_non:linear:demon] ted [aci::unbound:2nd:subj]  
[aci::inf:pres:dup] arguo [aci:say:argu-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (939).  
C At ego te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] sacram coronam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[\_linear] surrupuisse [aci::inf:perf] Iovis scio [aci:know:sc-], et ob eam  
rem in carcerem ted [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] esse compactum  
[aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] scio [aci:know:sc-], et postquam es emissus,  
[aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord] caesum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] virgis  
sub furca scio [aci:know:sc-], tum [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord] patrem  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] occidisse [aci::inf:perf] et  
[aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord] matrem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] vendidisse  
[aci::inf:perf] etiam scio [aci:know:sc-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (941 944).  
C Non vides [aci:see:vid-] hominem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] insanire  
[aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (947)?  
C Ibi meo arbitratu potero [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] curare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
hominem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (949).  
C Proinde ut insanire [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] video  
[aci:see:vid-], quattuor, nihilo minus [\_\_Plautus:Men] (953).  
C Tu servos [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] hunc  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] ad me ferant  
[ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (955 956).  
C Quid illuc est quod med [aci::unbound:1st:subj] hisce homines insanire  
[aci::inf:pres] praedicant [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (958)?  
C Salvus [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] salvos alios [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] video  
[aci:see:vid-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (961).  
C An illi perperam insanire [aci::inf:pres] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] aiunt  
[aci:say:ai-], ipsi insaniunt [\_\_Plautus:Men] (962)?  
C Domum ire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] cupio [ctrl:subj:want:cup-], uxor  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord] [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:dup] non sinit  
[ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (963).  
C Tergum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] quam gulam [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], crura  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] quam ventrem [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] oportet  
[ecm:deontic:oport-] potiora esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] quoi cor  
modeste situmst [\_\_Plautus:Men] (970 971).  
C Propterea [ecm:deontic::1st:subj:null] bonum esse  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] certumst [ecm:deontic:cert-] potius quam malum  
[\_\_Plautus:Men] (977).  
C Alii ita ut in rem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
ducunt [aci:believe:duc-] sint, ego ita ero ut me [ecm:deontic::1st:subj]

esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (981).

C Eo ego exemplo servio, tergo ut [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] in rem esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (985).

C Nunc fores pultabo, adesse [aci::inf:pres:cop] ut me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] sciat [aci:know:sc-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (987).

C Iam sublinem [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] raptum [ecm:deontic::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] oportuit [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (995).

C Ecquis suppetias [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] mihi audet [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] ferre [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1003).

C Epidamnii cives, erum meum [interject:::3rd:subj] hic in pacato oppido luci deripier [interject::inf:pres:pass] in via [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1005)!

C Obsecro te, quisquis es, operam mihi ut des, neu sinas [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] in me insignite fieri [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] tantam iniuriam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1008).

C Numquam te [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj] patiar [ctrl:obj:allow:pat-] perire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres], me [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] perirest [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] aequius [ecm:deontic:aequ-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1010).

C Per Iovem adiuro [aci:say:iur-] patrem, med [aci::bound:1st:subj] erum tuom non esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1025 1026).

C Sic sine [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] igitur, si tuom negas [aci:say:neg-] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop], [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord] abire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] liberum [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1028).

C Alii me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] negant [aci:say:neg-] eum esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] qui sum atque excludunt foras, vel ille qui se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] petere [aci::inf:pres] argentum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] modo, qui servom se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] meum esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] aiebat [aci:say:ai-], meus servator, quem ego modo emisi manu, is ait [aci:say:ai-] se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] mihi adlaturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] cum argento marsuppium [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1040 1043).

C Socer et medicus me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] insanire [aci::inf:pres] aiebant [aci:say:ai-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1046).

C Haec [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] nihilo esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] mihi videntur [aci:see:vid-] setius quam somnia [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1047).

C Men [aci::unbound:1st:obj] [\_non:linear] hodie usquam convenisse [aci::inf:perf] te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord], audax, audes [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [aci:say:dic-], postquam advorsum mi imperavi [ctrl:obj:order:imper-] ut huc venires [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1050 1051)?

C Cum argentum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_non:linear] dixi [aci:say:dic-] me [aci::bound:1st:subj] petere [aci::inf:pres] et vasa [aci::unbound:3rd:obj], tu quantum potest praecucurristi obviam, ut quae fecisti infitas eas [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1055 1057).

C Liberum ego te [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj] iussi [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] abire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1058)?

C Qui certissimumst [ecm:deontic:cert-], mepte [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] potius fieri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] servom, quam te umquam emittam manu [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1058 1059).

C Si voltis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] per oculos iurare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1060).

C Quae [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] velis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] obsequi  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1067 1068).  
 C Ego quidem huius servos sum, sed med [aci::bound:1st:subj] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] huius credidi [aci:believe:cred-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1071).  
 C Ego hunc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] censebam [aci:believe:cens-] te esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1072).  
 C Delirare [aci::inf:pres] mihi videre [aci:see:vid-]  
 [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:raise:null] [\_personal:passive], non commeministi  
 [aci:remember:meminisc-] semul te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] hodie mecum exire  
 [aci::inf:pres] ex navi [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1074 1075)?  
 C Hunc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ego esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] aio  
 [aci:say:ai-] Menaechmum [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1077).  
 C Me [aci::bound:1st:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] dico [aci:say:dic-],  
 Moscho prognatum patre [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1078).  
 C Tuom [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] tibi neque occupare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] neque praeripere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
 postulo [ctrl:obj:order:postul-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1080).  
 C Meliust [ecm:deontic:bon-] nos [ecm:deontic::1st:subj] adire  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] atque hunc [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj]  
 [\_linear:demon:2nd] [ecm:deontic::1st:subj:null:coord] percontarier  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1091).  
 C Perge [ctrl:subj:continue:perg-] operam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] dare  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], obsecro hercle [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1093).  
 C Liber esto, si invenis [aci:know:inven-] hunc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] meum  
 fratrem esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1093 1094).  
 C Et ego idem [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:subj] spero [ecm:hope:sper-] fore  
 [ecm:hope::inf:fut:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1094).  
 C Menaechmum, opinor, te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] vocari [aci::inf:pres:pass]  
 dixeris [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1095).  
 C In Sicilia te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] Syracusis natum esse  
 [aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop] dixisti [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1096  
 1097).  
 C Moschum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] tibi patrem fuisse [aci::inf:perf:cop]  
 dixisti [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1098).  
 C Nunc operam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] potestis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
 ambo mihi dare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] et vobis simul [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1099).  
 C Spes [ecm:hope:sper-] mihi est, vos [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:subj:null]  
 inventurum [ecm:hope::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [\_non:linear] fratres germanos  
 duos geminos [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:obj], una matre natos et patre uno uno  
 die [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1101 1102).  
 C Utinam efficere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel] quod pollicitus possies  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1103).  
 C Patrem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] fuisse [aci::inf:perf:cop] Moschum tibi ais  
 [aci:say:ai-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1108)?  
 C Postea inter homines me [aci::bound:1st:subj] deerrare [aci::inf:pres] a  
 patre atque inde [aci::bound:1st:subj:null:coord] avehi [aci::inf:pres:pass]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1112 1113).  
 C Di me [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj] servatum  
 [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] volunt [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Men]  
 (1120).  
 C Contineri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] quin complectar non queo  
 [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1124).  
 C Postquam ad nos renuntiatum [aci:say:nunti-] [\_impersonal:passive] est te  
 [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] et patrem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse mortuom  
 [aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop], avos noster mutavit [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1127  
 1129).



C Credo [aci:believe:cred-] ita [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] esse factum [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] ut dicis [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1130).

C Frater, et tu, quem ego multe miserieis, laboribus usque adhuc quaesivi quemque [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] ego esse inventum [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] gaudeo [aci:emotion:gaud-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1133 1134).

C Hunc [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] censebat [aci:believe:cens-] te esse [aci::inf:pres:cop], credo, quom vocat te ad prandium [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1136).

C Namque edepol iussi [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] hic mihi hodie prandium [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj] apparier [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1137).

C Meretrix huc ad prandium me abduxit, me [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] sibi [aci:::bound:se:goal:distant] dedisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] aiebat [aci:say:ai-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1141).

C Nam illa quom te ad se vocabat, memet [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] credidit [aci:believe:cred-] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1144).

C Vis [ecm:want:velle] [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] conclamari [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [aci:say:clamit-] [\_\_impersonal:passive] auctionem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] fore [aci::inf:fut] [\_\_Plautus:Men] (1156)?

C Is quoniam moritur, ita avido ingenio fuit, numquam indicare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] id [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] filio voluit [ctrl:subj:want:velle] suo, inopemque optavit [ctrl:subj:want:opt-] potius eum [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] relinquere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] quam eum thensaurum commostraret filio [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (9 12).

C Coepi [ctrl:subj:begin:coep-] observare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [aci:see:observ-], ecqui maiorem filius mihi honorem haberet [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] quam eius habuisset pater [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (16 17).

C Credo aurum [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] inspicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] volt [ctrl:subj:want:velle], ne subreptum siet [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (39).

C Oculos hercle ego istos, improba, ecfodiam tibi, ne me [ctrl:subj:::unbound:1st:obj] observare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [aci:see:observ-] possis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] quid rerum geram [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (53 54).

C Scelestiorem [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] me [aci:::bound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear] hac anu [\_abl:compar] certo scio [aci:know:sc-] vidisse [aci::inf:perf] numquam [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (60 61).

C Noenum mecastor quid [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] ego ero dicam [aci:say:dic-] meo malae rei evenisse [aci::inf:perf] quamve insaniam [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] queo [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] comminisci [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (67 69).

C Neque iam quo pacto celem erilis filiae probrum, propinqua partitudo cui appetit, queo [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] comminisci [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (74 76).

C Postquam perspexi [aci:see:spect-] salva esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] intus omnia [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (80).

C Araneas [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj] mi ego illas servari [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] volo [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (87).

C Quod quispiam ignem quaerat, [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] extingui [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] volo [ecm:want:velle] ne causae quid sit quod te quisquam quaeritet [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (91 92).

C Tum aquam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] aufugisse [aci::inf:perf] dicito [aci:say:dic-], si quis petet [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (94).

C Cultrum [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_non:linear], securim [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj], pistillum [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj], mortarium [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj], quae utenda [\_gerundive] vasa [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] semper vicini rogant, fures [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj]

venisse [aci::inf:perf] atque apstulisse [aci::inf:perf] dicito  
[aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (95 97).

C Profecto in aedis meas me apse neminem [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj]  
volo [ecm:want:velle] intro mitti [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Aul]  
(98 99).

C Nam noster nostrae qui est magister curiae [aci:::bound:se:subj:local:null]  
dividere [aci::inf:pres] argenti dixit [aci:say:dic-] nummos  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] in viros [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (107).

C Id si relinquo ac non peto, omnes ilico me [aci:::unbound:1st:subj]  
suspicientur [aci:believe:suspici-], credo, habere [aci::inf:pres] aurum  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] domi [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (109 110).

C Nam non est veri simile [ecm:deontic:simil-], hominem pauperem  
[ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] pauxillum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [\_linear] parvi  
facere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] quin nummum petat [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (111 112).

C Nam nunc cum celo sedulo omnis, ne sciant, omnes  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] videntur [aci:see:vid-] scire [aci::inf:pres]  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (113 114).

C Velim [ecm:want:velle] te [ecm:want:::unbound:2nd:subj] arbitrari  
[ecm:want::inf:pres] [aci:think:arbitr-] med [aci:::bound:1st:subj] haec  
verba [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd], frater, mei fidei tuaque  
rei causa facere [aci::inf:pres], ut aequom [ecm:deontic:aequ-] est  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:dup] germanam sororem [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj]  
[\_\_Plautus:Aul] (120 122).

C Quamquam haud falsa sum [aci:know:fall-] nos [aci:::unbound:1st:subj]  
[aci::inf:pres:no:cop] odiosas [\_personal:passive] haberi  
[aci::inf:pres:pass] [aci:believe:hab-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (123).

C Nam multum [aci:::bound:1st:subj:raise:null] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop]  
loquaces merito omnes habemur [aci:believe:hab-] [\_personal:passive], nec  
mutam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] profecto repertam nullam esse  
[aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] aut hodie dicunt [aci:say:dic-] mulierem aut  
ullo in saeclo [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (124 126).

C Verum hoc [aci:::trace], frater, unum tamen cogitato [aci:think:cogit-],  
tibi proxumam me [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] mihi esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
item te [aci:::bound:2nd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (127 128).

C Ita aequom est quod [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] in rem esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] utrique arbitremur [aci:think:arbitr-] etiam mihi te  
[aci:::unbound:2nd:subj] et tibi me [aci:::bound:1st:subj] consulere  
[aci::inf:pres] et monere [aci::inf:pres], neque oculum  
[aci::inf:pres:no:cop] id [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] haberi  
[aci::inf:pres:pass] [aci:believe:hab-] [\_personal:passive] neque per metum  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] mussari [aci::inf:pres:pass]  
[\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (129 131).

C Decet [ecm:deontic:dec-] tequidem [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj] vera  
[ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [\_linear] proloqui [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
[\_\_Plautus:Aul] (138).

C Nam optuma nulla potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] eligi  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (139).

C Idem ego arbitrator, ned tibi advorsari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] certum  
[ecm:deontic:cert-] est de istac re umquam, soror [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (141).

C Id quod [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] in rem tuam optimum esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-], ted id monitum [\_supine]  
advento [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (144 145).

C Factum [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:no:cop]  
volo [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (144).

C Quod [ctrl:sent] [ctrl:sent:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] tibi sempiternum  
salutare [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] sit, liberis procreandis [\_gerundive]  
[\_\_Plautus:Aul] (145).

C Volo [ecm:want:velle] te [ecm:want:::unbound:2nd:subj] uxorem  
 [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] domum ducere [ecm:want::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (150).  
 C Sed his legibus si quam [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] dare  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] vis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] ducam [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (155).  
 C His legibus dare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null]  
 vis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (157)?  
 C Cum maxima possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] tibi, frater, dare  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] dote [\_\_Plautus:Aul]  
 (158).  
 C Eam [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_non:linear:is] si iubes  
 [ctrl:obj:order:iub-], frater, tibi me [ctrl:obj:::unbound:1st:subj] poscere  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres], poscam [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (160).  
 C Num non vis [ecm:want:velle] me [ecm:want:::unbound:1st:subj] interrogare  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres] te [ecm:want:::bound:2nd:obj] [\_linear] [\_\_Plautus:Aul]  
 (161)?  
 C Dic mihi, quaeso, quis ea est quam [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] vis  
 [ctrl:subj:want:velle] ducere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] uxorem [\_\_Plautus:Aul]  
 (169)?  
 C Eius cupio [ecm:want:cup-] filiam virginem [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj] mi  
 desponderi [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (172 173).  
 C Scio quid [aci:::trace] dictura [aci:say:dic-] es, hanc  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] pauperem [\_\_Plautus:Aul]  
 (174).  
 C Praesagibat [aci:say:praesag-] mi animus frustra me  
 [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] ire [aci::inf:pres], quom exhibam domo  
 [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (178).  
 C Nam neque quisquam curialium venit neque magister quem  
 [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] dividere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] argentum  
 [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [\_linear] oportuit [ecm:deontic:oport-]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (179 180).  
 C Nunc domum properare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] propero  
 [ctrl:subj:hurry:proper-], nam egomet sum hic, an imus domi est  
 [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (181).  
 C Iam illic homo aurum [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_non:linear] scit  
 [aci:know:sc-] me [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] habere [aci::inf:pres], eo me  
 salutat blandius [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (185).  
 C Ain [aci:say:ai-] tu te [aci:::bound:2nd:subj] valere [aci::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (186)?  
 C Da mi operam parumper, si operaest, Euclio, id quod  
 [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:obj] te [ecm:want:::unbound:2nd:subj]  
 [\_non:linear:rel] volo [ecm:want:velle] de communi re appellare  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres] mea et tua [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (199 200).  
 C Nunc hic eam rem [ctrl:subj:::trace] volt [ctrl:subj:want:velle], scio,  
 mecum adire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ad pactionem [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (201 202).  
 C Credo edepol, ubi mentionem ego fecero de filia, mi ut despondeat, sese  
 [aci:::bound:se:subj:local] a me [\_abl:agent] derideri [aci::inf:pres:pass]  
 rebitur [aci:think:rer-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (204 205).  
 C Quaeso, quod te percontabor, ne id [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj] te  
 [ctrl:obj:::unbound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear:is] pigeat [ctrl:obj:impers:pig-]  
 proloqui [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (210).  
 C Dum quidem ne quid perconteris quod [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj] non lubeat  
 [ctrl:impers:lub-] [ctrl:impers:::2nd:subj:null] proloqui  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (211).  
 C Dic mihi, quali me [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] arbitrare [aci:think:arbitr-]  
 genere prognatum [aci::inf:perf:depon:no:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (212)?

C Scio [aci:know:sc-] [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] grandem, item ut pecuniam [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (214).

C Certe edepol equidem te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] civem sine mala omni malitia semper sum arbitratus [aci:think:arbitr-] et nunc arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (215 216).

C Promitte [ecm:promise:promitt-] hoc [ecm:promise::unbound:3rd:subj] fore [ecm:promise::inf:fut:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (219).

C Neque edepol ego te derisum [\_supine] venio neque derideo, neque [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] dignum arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (223 224).

C Venit hoc mihi, Megadore, in mentem [aci:remember:venire:in:mentem], ted [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] hominem divitem, factiosum, me [aci::bound:1st:subj] autem esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] hominem pauperum pauperrimum, nunc si filiam locassim meam tibi, in mentem venit [aci:remember:venire:in:mentem] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] bovem esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] et me [aci::bound:1st:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] asellum [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (226 229).

C Ubi onus [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] nequeam [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] ferre [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] pariter, iaceam ego asinus in luto [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (230).

C Eo dico, ne me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] thensauros [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] repperisse [aci::inf:perf] censeas [aci:believe:cens-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (240).

C Hic apud me hortum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] confodere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] iussi [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (243).

C Fastidit mei, quia videt [aci:see:vid-] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] suam amicitiam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] velle [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (244 245).

C Pauper metuit [ctrl:subj:fear:metu-] congregari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], per metum male rem gerit [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (248).

C Video [aci:see:vid-] hercle ego te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] me [\_linear] [aci::unbound:1st:subj] arbitrari [aci::inf:pres] [aci:think:arbitr-], Euclio, [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] hominem idoneum, quem senecta aetate ludos facias, hau merito meo [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (252 253).

C Illud facito ut memineris [aci:remember:memisc-], [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] convenisse [aci::inf:perf] ut ne quid dotis mea ad te adferret filia [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (257 258).

C At scio quo vos soleatis [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] pacto perplexarier [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (258).

C Ubi tu es quae deblateravisti [aci:say:deblater-] iam vicinis omnibus meae me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] filiae daturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] dotem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (268 269)?

C Si quo tu totum me [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj] ire [ecm:want::inf:pres] vis [ecm:want:velle], operam dabo [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (284).

C Post si quis vellet, te [ecm:want::bound:2nd:subj] hau non velles [ecm:want:velle] dividi [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [\_pun] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (286).

C Ei adeo obsoni hinc iussit [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] dimidium [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] dari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass], coquom alterum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] itidemque alteram tibicinam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (291 292).

C Hic non poterat [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] de suo senex obsonari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] filiai nuptiis [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (294 295)?

C Existumat [aci:believe:existim-] suam rem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] periisse  
[aci::inf:perf] seque [aci::bound:se:subj:local] eradicarier  
[aci::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (298 299).

C Haec [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [\_non:linear:demon] mihi te  
[ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj] ut tibi med [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] aequom  
[ecm:deontic:aequ-] est, credo, credere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
[\_\_Plautus:Aul] (306).

C Aquam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] hercle plorat [ctrl:subj:want:plor-],  
cum lavat, profundere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (308).

C Censen [aci:believe:cens-] talentum magnum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] exorari  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] pote [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
ab istoc sene [\_abl:agent], ut det qui fiamus liberi [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (309  
310)?

C Censen [aci:believe:cens-] vero adeo [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] esse  
parcum [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] et misere  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] vivere [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Aul]  
(315)?

C Infit [ctrl:subj:begin:inf-] ibi postulare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] plorans,  
eiulans, ut sibi [ctrl:impers:::bound:se:goal:distant] liceret  
[ctrl:impers:lic-] milvom [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj] vadarier  
[ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (318 319).

C Cocus ille nundinalest, in nonum diem solet [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] ire  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] coctum [\_supine] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (324 325).

C Tibi recte facere [historical::inf:pres]  
[historical::unbound:3rd:obj:null], quando quod facias perit [\_\_Plautus:Aul]  
(338).

C Ne operam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] perdas [ctrl:subj:waste:perd-]  
poscere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (341).

C Quod [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj]  
[\_non:linear:rel] scio [aci:know:sc-] facile abstinere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], si nihil obviam est  
[\_\_Plautus:Aul] (344 345).

C Megadorus iussit [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] Euclioni  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] haec [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] mittere  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (353).

C Quia temeti nihil [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] allatum  
[aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] intellego [aci:know:intelleg-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul]  
(355).

C Quamquam Volcano studes, cenaene causa aut tuae mercedia gratis nos  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] nostras aedis [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[\_linear] postulas [ctrl:obj:order:postul-] comburere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
[\_\_Plautus:Aul] (359 361)?

C Volui [ctrl:subj:want:velle] animum grandem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
confirmare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] hodie meum, ut bene haberem me filiai  
nuptiis [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (371 372).

C Deinde egomet mecum cogitare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] intervias occepi [ctrl:subj:begin:occip-]  
[\_\_Plautus:Aul] (379 380).

C Festo die si quid prodegeris, profesto [ctrl:impers:::2nd:subj:null] egere  
[ctrl:impers::inf:pres] liceat [ctrl:impers:lic-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (380 381).

C Haec est parva, capere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] non quit [ctrl:subj:able:qu-]  
[\_\_Plautus:Aul] (391).

C Sed cesso prius quam prorsus perii [ctrl:subj:go:perir-] currere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (396)?

C Date viam qua [ctrl:impers:::3rd:subj:null] fugere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres]  
liceat [ctrl:impers:lic-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (407).

C Neque ligna ego usquam gentium praeberi [aci::inf:pres:pass] vidi  
 [aci:see:vid-] pulchrius [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (413).  
 C Istuc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] male factum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop]  
 arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-], quia non latus fodi [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (418).  
 C Volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle] scire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (428).  
 C Volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle] scire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], sinas  
 [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] an non sinas [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] nos  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] coquere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] hic cenam  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (431)?  
 C Volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle] scire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ego item, meae domi  
 mean salva futura [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (432)?  
 C Quid est qua prohibes [ctrl:obj:prohibit:prohib-] nunc gratia nos  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] coquere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] hic cenam  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (435)?  
 C Adeo ut tu meam sententiam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] iam noscere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (441).  
 C Nisi reddi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] mihi vasa  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] iubes [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul]  
 (445 446).  
 C Qui cum opulento pauper homine coepit [ctrl:subj:begin:coop-] rem  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] habere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] aut negotium  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (461).  
 C Veluti Megadorus temptat me omnibus miserum modis, qui simulavit  
 [ecm:pretend:simul-] [ecm:pretend::bound:se:subj:local:null] mei honoris  
 mittere [ecm:pretend::inf:pres] huc causa coquos  
 [ecm:pretend::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (462 463).  
 C Ubi erat haec defossa, occepit [ctrl:subj:begin:occip-] ibi scalpurrere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ungulis circum circa [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (466 467).  
 C Credo [aci:believe:cred-] edepol ego illi mercedem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 [\_non:linear] gallo pollicitos [aci::inf:perf:depon:no:cop] coquos  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], si id palam fecisset [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (470 471).  
 C Iam hunc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] non ausim [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-]  
 praeterire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], quin consistam et conloquar [\_\_Plautus:Aul]  
 (473).  
 C Neque lex neque sutor capere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] qui possit  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] modum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Aul]  
 (488).  
 C Enim mihi quidem aequomst [ecm:deontic:aequ-] purpuram  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] atque aurum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] dari  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], ancillas [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], mulos  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], muliones [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], pedisequos  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], salutigerulos pueros [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj],  
 vehicla [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] qui vehar [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (500 502).  
 C Moribus praefectum mulierum hunc [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] factum  
 [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] velim [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Aul]  
 (504).  
 C Iam hosce [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] absolutos [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop]  
 censeas [aci:believe:cens-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (517).  
 C Compellarem ego illum, ni metuam ne desinat [ctrl:subj:stop:desin-]  
 memorare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] mores [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] mulierum  
 [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (523 524).  
 C Miles inpransus astat, aes [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] censet  
 [aci:believe:cens-] dari [aci::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (528).  
 C Tam hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_non:linear:demon] scit [aci:know:sc-] me  
 [aci::unbound:1st:subj] habere [aci::inf:pres] quam egomet [\_\_Plautus:Aul]  
 (548).

C Praeterea tibicinam, quae mi interbibere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] sola, si vino scatat, Corinthiensem fontem Pirenam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (556 558).

C Quo quidem agno sat scio [aci:know:sc-] magis curiosam nusquam esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] ullam beluam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (561 562).

C Volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle] ego ex te scire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [aci:know:sc-] qui sit [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] agnus curio [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (563).

C Quin exta [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] inspicere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] in sole ei vivo [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:dative] licet [ctrl:impers:lic-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (565).

C Potare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] ego hodie, Euclio, tecum volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (569).

C At ego iussero [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] cadum unum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] vini veteris a me adferrier [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (570 571).

C Nolo hercle, nam mihi [ctrl:deontic::1st:subj:dative] bibere [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] decretum [ctrl:deontic:decret-] est aquam [ctrl:deontic::3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (572).

C Ego te hodie reddam madidum, si vivo, probe, tibi cui [ctrl:deontic::2nd:subj:dative] decretum [ctrl:deontic:decret-] est bibere [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] aquam [ctrl:deontic::3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (573).

C Hoc est servi facinus [ecm:deontic:facin-] frugi, [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] facere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null:rel] quod ego persequor [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (587).

C Nam qui ero ex sententia servire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] servos [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] postulat [ctrl:obj:order:postul-], in erum matura, in se [ecm:deontic::bound:se:subj:local] sera [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] condecet [ecm:deontic:dec-] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] capessere [ecm:deontic::inf:fut] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (589 590).

C Quod iubeat citis quadrigis citius properet [ctrl:subj:hurry:proper-] persequi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (600).

C Eodem modo servom [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ratem esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [aci:think:rer-] amanti ero [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] aequom [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [ecm:deontic:aequ-] censeo [aci:believe:cens-], ut toleret [ecm:deontic::inf\_subjunct], ne pessum abeat tamquam [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (597 598).

C Eam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ero nunc renuntiatum [aci:say:nunti-] [\_impersonal:passive] est nuptum [\_supine] huic Megadoro dari [aci::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (604).

C Hinc ego et huc et illuc potero [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] quid agant [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] arbitrarier [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [aci:think:arbitr-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (607).

C Tu modo cave quoquam indicassis [aci:say:dic-] aurum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] meum esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] istic, Fides [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (608).

C Di immortales, quod ego hunc hominem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] facinus [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:1st] audivi [aci:hear:aud-] loqui [aci::inf:pres] [aci:say:loqu-] se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] aulam onustam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] auri abstrusisse [aci::inf:perf] hic intus in fano Fidi [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (616 617).

C Continuo meum cor coepit [ctrl:subj:begin:coep-] artem  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ludicram atque in  
 pectus emicare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (626 627).  
 C Auferre [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] non potes  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (636).  
 C Id [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] quidem pol te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj]  
 [\_non:linear:is] datare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] credo [aci:believe:cred-]  
 consuetum [aci::inf:perf:depon:no:cop] [ctrl:subj:used:consu-], senex  
 [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (637).  
 C Di me perdant, si ego tui quicquam abstuli, nive adeo abstulisse  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:perf] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef:coord] vellem  
 [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (645 646).  
 C Ut ne abstulisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef:in] intellegam [aci:know:intelleg-]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (647).  
 C Non dico, audire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null]  
 expetis [ctrl:subj:want:expet-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (652).  
 C Emortuom [ecm:want::inf:perf:depon:no:cop] ego me  
 [ecm:want::bound:1st:subj] mavelim [ecm:want:malle] leto malo quam non ego  
 illi dem hodie insidias seni [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (661 662).  
 C Nam hic iam non audebit [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] aurum  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] abstrudere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (663).  
 C Fide censebam [aci:believe:cens-] maxumam multo fidem  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop], eo sublevit os mihi  
 paenissume [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (667 668).  
 C Euge, euge, di me [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj] salvom  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres:no:cop] et servatum [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:no:cop]  
 volunt [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (677).  
 C Quamquam hic manere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj]  
 erus sese [ctrl:obj::bound:se:obj:distant] [\_linear] iusserat  
 [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (680).  
 C Scis [aci:know:sc-] tute [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null:rel] facta  
 [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] [\_non:linear] velle [aci::inf:pres]  
 [ecm:want:velle] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] quae tu velis, et istuc  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_non:linear:demon] confido [aci:believe:fid-] a  
 fratre me [aci::bound:1st:subj] impetrassere [aci::inf:fut] [\_\_Plautus:Aul]  
 (686 687).  
 C Et causa iusta est, siquidem ita est ut praedicas [aci:say:dic-], te  
 [aci::bound:2nd:subj] eam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:is:2nd]  
 compressisse [aci::inf:perf] vinolentum virginem [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (688 689).  
 C Sed servom meum Strobilum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] miror [aci:wonder:mir-]  
 ubi sit [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir], quem [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] ego me  
 [ctrl:obj::bound:1st:obj] [\_linear:rel:1st] iusseram [ctrl:obj:order:iub-]  
 hic opperiri [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (696 698).  
 C Nam istos reges ceteros [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] memorare  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] nolo [ctrl:subj:want:nolle], hominum mendicabula  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (702 703).  
 C Inde ex eo loco video [aci:see:vid-] recipere [aci::inf:pres] se  
 [aci::bound:se:obj:local] senem [\_non:linear] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (710).  
 C Nequeo [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] cum animo certum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 investigare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (715).  
 C Tibi [ecm:deontic::1st:subj:null] credere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] certum  
 [ecm:deontic:cert-] est, nam esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] bonum  
 [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null] ex voltu cognosco [aci:know:cognosc-]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (717).



C Novi omnis, scio [aci:know:sc-] fures [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] hic compluris, qui vestitu et creta occultant sese atque sedent quasi sint frugi [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (718 719).

C Pati [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] nequeo [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (726).

C Palamst res, scit [aci:know:sc-] peperisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] iam, ut ego opinor, filiam suam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (728 729).

C Quo, obsecro, pacto esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (733)?

C Fateor [aci:say:fat-] peccavisse [aci::inf:perf] me [aci::bound:1st:subj] et me [aci::bound:1st:subj] culpam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] commeritum [aci::inf:perf:depon:no:cop] scio [aci:know:sc-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (738).

C Cur id [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] ausus [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], ut id quod non tuom esset tangeres [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (740)?

C Quid [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] vis [ecm:want:velle] fieri [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass], factum est illud, fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] infectum non potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (741).

C Deos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] credo [aci:believe:cred-] voluisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (742).

C At ego deos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] credo [aci:believe:cred-] voluisse [aci::inf:perf] [ecm:want:velle] ut apud me te [ecm:want::unbound:2nd:obj] in nervo enicem [ecm:want::inf\_subjunct] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (743).

C Homo audacissime, cum istacin te [interject::2nd:subj] oratione huc ad me adire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ausum [interject::inf:perf:depon:no:cop] [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (745 746)!

C Nam si istuc ius est ut tu istuc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] excusare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possies [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (747).

C Postid si prehensi simus, excusemus [aci:say:excus-] ebrios nos [aci::bound:1st:subj] fecisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] amoris causa [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (749 750).

C Si ebrio [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:dative] atque amanti [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:dative] impune facere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj:null:rel] quod lubeat licet [ctrl:impers:lic-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (751).

C Ergo quia sum tangere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] ausus [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (752).

C Tu illam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] scibas [aci:know:sc-] non tuam esse [aci::inf:pres:cop], non [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] attactam [ecm:deontic::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] oportuit [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (754).

C Sed [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] meam esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] oportere [aci::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic:oport-] arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (757).

C Quin tu iam invenies [aci:know:inven-], inquam, meam illam [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] oportere [aci::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic:oport-], Euclio [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (758).

C Aulam auri, inquam, te reposco, quam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] tu confessus [aci:say:confit-] es mihi te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear:rel] apstulisse [aci::inf:perf] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (763 764).

C Ego te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj], Euclio, de alia re rescivisse [aci::inf:perf] censui [aci:believe:cens-], quod ad me attinet [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (769 770).

C Magna est res quam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] ego tecum otiose, si otium est, cupio [ctrl:subj:want:cup-] loqui [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (771).

C Id [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle] noscere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (780).

C Is me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] nunc renuntiare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] repudium [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] iussit [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] tibi [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (783).

C Ego me [aci::bound:1st:subj] iniuriam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] fecisse [aci::inf:perf] filiae fateor [aci:say:fat-] tuae Cereis vigiliis per vinum atque impulsu adulescentiae [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (794 795).

C Haec propemodum iam esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] in vado salutis res [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] videtur [aci:see:vid-] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (803).

C Nunc servom [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [aci::inf:pres] ubi dicam [aci:say:dic-] meum Strobilum non reperio [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (804).

C Certo enim ego [aci::bound:1st:subj:raise] vocem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] hic loquentis modo mi audire [aci::inf:pres] visus [aci:see:vid-] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (811).

C Credo [aci:believe:cred-] ego illum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], ut iussi, eampse anum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:1st] adisse [aci::inf:perf], huius nutricem virginis [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (814).

C Quin ego illi me [aci::bound:1st:subj] invenisse [aci::inf:perf] dico [aci:say:dic-] hanc praedam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] atque eloquor [aci:say:loqu-] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (817)?

C Non quod [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] pueri clamitant [aci:say:clamt-] in faba se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] [\_non:linear:rel] repperisse [aci::inf:perf] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (818 819).

C Nunc volo [ecm:want:velle] me [ecm:want::bound:1st:subj] emitti [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] manu [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (823).

C Non potes [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] probasse [ctrl:subj::inf:perf] nugas [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (828).

C Quod [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] modo fassus [aci:say:fat-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] in arca [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (829).

C Soleo [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] hercle ego garrire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] nugas [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Aul] (830).

C Salvere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] iubeo [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] spectatores optumos [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (1).

C Signum clarum date mihi, ut vos [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] mi esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] aequos iam inde a principio sciam [aci:know:sc-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (3 4).

C Aequom [ecm:deontic:aequ-] est [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] placere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] ante alias veteres fabulas [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (8).

C Nos postquam populi rumore intelleximus [aci:know:intelleg-] studiose expetere [aci::inf:pres] vos [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] Plautinas fabulas [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear], anticuam eius edimus comoediam, quam vos probastis qui estis in senioribus [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (11 14).

C Vos omnis [ecm:want::unbound:2nd:subj] opere magno esse oratos [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] [ctrl:obj:beg:or-] volo [ecm:want:velle] benigne ut operam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] detis [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] ad nostrum gregem [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (21 22).

C Comoediai nomen [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] dare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] vobis volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle], Kleroumenoi vocatur haec comoedia graece, latine Sortientes [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (30 32).

C Sed abhinc annos factum est sedecim quom conspicatust [aci:see:spect-] primulo crepusculo puellam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] exponi [aci::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (40 41).

C Ut viris placere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] posset [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (57 48).

C Is sperat [ecm:hope:sper-], si ei sit data, sibi [ecm:hope::bound:se:goal:distant] fore [ecm:hope::inf:fut] paratas clam uxorem excubias [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:subj] foris [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (53 54).

C Scit [aci:know:sc-], si id impetret, [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:rel] futurum [aci::inf:fut:cop] quod amat intra praesepis suas [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (56 57).

C Senis uxor sensit [aci:sense:sent-] virum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] amori operam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] dare [aci::inf:pres], propterea una consentit cum filio [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (58 59).

C Ille autem postquam filium [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] sensit [aci:sense:sent-] suum eandem illam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] amare [aci::inf:pres] et esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] impedimento sibi [aci::bound:se:goal:distant], hinc adulescentem peregre ablegavit pater [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (61 62).

C Sunt hic inter se [aci::bound:se:oblique:local] quos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] nunc credo [aci:believe:cred-] dicere [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (67).

C At ego aio [aci:say:ai-] id [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] fieri [aci::inf:pres:pass] in Graecia et Carthagini, et hic in nostra terra in terra Apulia [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (71 72).

C Maioreque opere ibi serviles nuptiae quam liberales etiam curari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] solent [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (73 74).

C Non mihi [ctrl:impers:::1st:subj:dative] licere [interject::inf:pres] [ctrl:impers:lic-] meam rem [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj] me solum [ctrl:impers:::1st:subj] [\_non:linear], ut volo, loqui [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] atque [ctrl:impers:::1st:subj:null:coord] cogitare [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj:null:coord], sine ted arbitro [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (89 90)?

C Quia certum [ctrl:deontic:cert-] est mihi [ctrl:deontic:::1st:subj:dative], quasi umbra, quoquo tu ibis, te [ctrl:deontic:::2nd:obj] semper sequi [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (91 92).

C Quin edepol etiam si in crucem vis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] pergere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], [ctrl:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] sequi [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] [ctrl:deontic:::3rd:obj:null] decretumst [ctrl:deontic:decret-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (93 94).

C Dehinc conicito ceterum, possisne [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] necne clam me sutelis tuis praeripere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] Casinam uxorem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], proinde ut postulas [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (94 96).

C Scies [aci:know:sc-] hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ita esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (115).

C Ut postilena possit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] ex te fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (125).

C Quod te [ctrl:obj:::bound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear:rel] postules [ctrl:obj:order:postul-] gustare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] quicquam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (127 128).

C Concludere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::bound:2nd:obj:null] in fenestram firmiter, unde auscultare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (132 133).

C Sine [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] tuos ocellos [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] deosculer [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct], voluptas mea, sine [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-]

amabo ted [ctrl:obj::bound:2nd:subj] amari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (136 137).  
 C Nunc ne tu te [ctrl:obj::bound:2nd:subj] mihi respondere  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] postules [ctrl:obj:order:postul-], abeo intro  
 [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (141 142).  
 C Prandium [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] iusserat [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] senex  
 sibi [ctrl:obj::bound:se:goal:distant] parari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (147).  
 C Iussin [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] colum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] ferri  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] mihi [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (170)?  
 C Amo te, atque istuc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] expeto  
 [ctrl:subj:want:expet-] scire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [aci:know:sc-] quid sit  
 [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (183).  
 C Nam viri ius suom [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] ad mulieres optinere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] haud queunt [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (191  
 192).  
 C Quin mihi ancillulam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] ingratiis postulat  
 [ctrl:obj:order:postul-], quae mea est, quae meo educta sumptu siet, vilico  
 suo se [ctrl:obj::bound:se:subj:local] [\_\_non:linear] dare  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (193 194).  
 C Nam hic nunc licet [ctrl:impers:lic-] [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null] dicere  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (195).  
 C Nam peculi probam [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] nil [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj]  
 [\_\_linear] habere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] addecet [ecm:deontic:dec-] clam  
 virum [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (200).  
 C Hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] viri censeo [aci:believe:cens-] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] omne quidquid tuom est [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (202).  
 C Noli [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] sis tu illi advorsari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (204).  
 C Omnibus rebus ego amorem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] credo [aci:believe:cred-]  
 et nitoribus nitidis antevenire [aci::inf:pres], nec potis  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] quicquam  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] commemorari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] quod plus  
 salis plusque leporis hodie habeat [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (216 218).  
 C Cocos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] equidem nimis demiror [aci:wonder:mir-], tot  
 qui utuntur condimentis, eos eo condimento uno non utier [aci::inf:pres],  
 omnibus quod praestat [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (219 220).  
 C Nam ubi amor condimentum inerit, cuivis placitum  
 [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] escam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] credo  
 [aci:believe:cred-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (221).  
 C Neque salsum neque suave esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:cop] potest  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] quicquam, ubi amor non admiscetur [\_\_Plautus:Cas]  
 (222).  
 C Sed uxor me excruciat, quia vivit, tristem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] astare  
 [aci::inf:pres] aspicio [aci:see:spect-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (227 228).  
 C Heia, mea Iuno, non decet [ecm:deontic:dec-] esse  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] te [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj] tam tristem tuo Iovi  
 [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (230).  
 C Nolo [ecm:want:nolle] ames [ecm:want::inf\_subjunct] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (233).  
 C Non potes [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] impetrare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (233).  
 C Veras [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] dicas  
 [ecm:want::inf\_subjunct] [aci:say:dic-] velim [ecm:want:velle]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (234).  
 C Cesso [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-] caput [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] pallio  
 detergere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (237)?

C Quid [aci:::trace] tu scis [aci:know:sc-], te sene [\_abl:compar] omnium senem hominem neminem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] ignaviorem [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (244).

C Potius ut quod [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj] vir velit [ecm:want:velle] fieri [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass], id facias [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (250 251)?

C Mirum [ecm:deontic:mir-] ecastor te [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj] senecta aetate officium tuom [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [\_linear] non meminisse [ecm:deontic::inf:perf] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (259 260).

C Me [ctrl:obj:::unbound:2nd:subj] sinas [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] curare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] ancillas [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (261).

C Qui, malum, homini scutigerulo [ctrl:impers:::3rd:subj:null] dare [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj:null] lubet [ctrl:impers:lub-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (262)?

C Quia enim filio nos [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] opitulari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] unico [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (262 263).

C Illum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] mi aequiust [ecm:deontic:aequ-] quam me [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] illi [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj:null:rel] quae volo concedere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:dup] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (265).

C Quid si ego autem ab armigero impetro eam illi permittat, atque [aci:::bound:1st:subj:null] hoc [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] credo [aci:believe:cred-] impetrassere [aci::inf:fut] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (270 271).

C Quod [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj] nunc liceat [ctrl:impers:lic-] [ctrl:impers:::3rd:subj:null] dicere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (275).

C Te [aci:::unbound:2nd:subj] uxor aiebat [aci:say:ai-] tua me [aci:::unbound:1st:obj] [\_linear] vocare [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (279 280).

C Ego enim [ctrl:obj:::unbound:2nd:subj:null] vocari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] iussi [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (279).

C Primum ego te [ecm:want:::unbound:2nd:subj] porrectiore fronte volo [ecm:want:velle] mecum loqui [ecm:want::inf:pres], stultitia [ecm:deontic:stult-] est ei te [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj] esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] tristem quous potestas plus potest [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (281 282).

C Probum et frugi hominem [aci:::unbound:2nd:subj:null] iam pridem esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (283).

C Sed nihil [ecm:deontic:nihil] est me [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] cupere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:want:cup-] [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] factum [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] [\_linear], nisi tu factis adiuvas [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (285).

C Quid velis modo id [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:obj] velim [ecm:want:velle] me [ecm:want:::bound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear:is] scire [ecm:want::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (287).

C Casinam [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] ego uxorem promisi [ctrl:subj:promise:promitt-] vilico nostro dare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (288).

C Sed utrum nunc tu caelibem te [ecm:want:::bound:2nd:subj] esse [ecm:want::inf:pres:cop] mavis [ecm:want:malle] liberum an maritum servom [ecm:want:::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord] aetatem [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:obj] degere [ecm:want::inf:pres] et gnatos tuos [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_non:linear] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (290 291)?

C De Casina certum [ecm:deontic:cert-] est [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj:null] concedere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic:::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] homini nato nemini [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (294).

C Nam si sic nihil [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] impetrare  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] potero [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (298).  
 C Mi illa nubet, machinare [historical::inf:pres]  
 [historical::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel] quid [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj]  
 [ctrl:impers:::3rd:subj:null] lubet [ctrl:impers:lub-]  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres:dup] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (301).  
 C Una libella liber [\_pun] possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] fieri  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (316).  
 C Negavi [aci:say:neg-] enim ipsi me [aci::bound:1st:subj] concessurum  
 [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] Iovi [\_\_Plautus:Cas]  
 (323).  
 C Ego edepol illam [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] mediam diruptam  
 [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] velim [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Cas]  
 (325).  
 C Credo [aci:believe:cred-] edepol [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (326).  
 C Non hercle opinor [aci:think:opin-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] posse  
 [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (340).  
 C Ita rem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] natam [aci::inf:perf:depon:no:cop]  
 intellego [aci:know:intelleg-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (343).  
 C Necessum [ecm:deontic:necess-] est vorsis gladiis  
 [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null:impers] depugnarier [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (344).  
 C Sed tamen vidi [aci:see:vid-] ego dis [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] fretos saepe  
 multos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_non:linear] decipi [aci::inf:pres:pass]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (349).  
 C Ille edepol videre [historical::inf:pres] [aci:see:vid-] ardentem  
 [aci::inf:pres:participle] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] extra portam mortuam  
 [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (354).  
 C Credo [aci:believe:cred-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] ecastor velle  
 [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (355).  
 C Qui didicit [ctrl:subj:know:disc-] dare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (362).  
 C Atque ego censui [aci:believe:cens-] aps te posse [aci::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] hoc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_non:linear:demon]  
 me [aci::bound:1st:subj] impetrare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], uxor mea, Casina  
 ut uxor mihi daretur [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (363 364).  
 C Ah, non id [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] volui [ctrl:subj:want:velle]  
 dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (366).  
 C Optimum atque aequissimum istuc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] iure iudico [aci:believe:iudic-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (375).  
 C Verbero, men te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] censes [aci:believe:cens-] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (380 381)?  
 C Noli [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] uxori credere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (386).  
 C At tu ut oculos [historical::unbound:3rd:obj] emungare  
 [historical::inf:pres] ex capite per nasum tuos [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (390).  
 C Paratum [ecm:deontic::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-]  
 esse iam laqueum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] tibi [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (392).  
 C Quia tute es fugitvos, omnis [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] te  
 [ecm:want::bound:2nd:obj] [\_linear] imitari [ecm:want::inf:pres] cupis  
 [ecm:want:cup-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (397)?  
 C Sicut [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] factum esse  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] Herculeis praedicant [aci:say:dic-]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (398).

C Tam huic [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null] loqui [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
[ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj:null] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] quam isti  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Cas] (410).

C Malo, Chaline, tibi cavendum [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null]  
[aci::inf:pres:no:cop] [\_gerundive] censeo [aci:believe:cens-]  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Cas] (411).

C Scin [aci:know:sc-] tu rus [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] hinc esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] ad villam longe quo ducat [\_\_\_Plautus:Cas] (420)?

C Nam praesente hoc plura verba [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj] fieri  
[ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] non desidero [ecm:want:desider-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Cas]  
(423).

C Atque id [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] non tam aegrest [ecm:deontic:aegr-] iam,  
vicisse [ecm:deontic::inf:perf] vilicum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj]  
[\_non:linear:is], quam id [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] expetivisse  
[ecm:deontic::inf:perf] opere tam magno senem [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj]  
[\_non:linear:is] [\_\_\_Plautus:Cas] (429 430).

C Attat, concedam huc, audio [aci:hear:aud-] aperiri [aci::inf:pres:pass]  
fores [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj], mei benevolentes atque amici prodeunt  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Cas] (434 435).

C Ita [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null] fieri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass]  
oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Cas] (439).

C Volui [ctrl:subj:want:velle] Chalinum [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj], si  
domi esset, mittere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] tecum opsonatum [\_supine], ut etiam  
in maerore insuper inimico nostro miseriam hanc adiungerem [\_\_\_Plautus:Cas]  
(440 442).

C Ecfodere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] hercle hic volt [ctrl:subj:want:velle],  
credo, vesicam [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] vilico [\_\_\_Plautus:Cas] (455).

C Licetne [ctrl:impers:lic-] [ctrl:impers:::3rd:subj:null] amplecti  
[ctrl:impers::inf:pres] te [ctrl:impers:::2nd:obj] [\_\_\_Plautus:Cas] (457)?

C Ut, quia te tango, mel [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] mihi  
[aci:::bound:1st:subj:raise:null] videor [aci:see:vid-] lingere  
[aci::inf:pres] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_\_Plautus:Cas] (458)!

C Solet [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] hic barbatus [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] sane  
sectari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] senex [\_\_\_Plautus:Cas] (466).

C Iam hercle amplexari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], iam osculari  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] gestio [ctrl:subj:want:gest-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Cas] (471).

C Sine [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] prius deduci  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_\_Plautus:Cas] (472).

C At non opinor [aci:think:opin-] fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] hoc  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] hodie  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Cas] (473).

C Siquidem cras censes [aci:believe:cens-] te [aci:::bound:2nd:subj] posse  
[aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] emitti [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] manu  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Cas] (474).

C Is mihi se [aci:::bound:se:subj:local] [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] locum  
[\_linear] dixit [aci:say:dic-] dare [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Plautus:Cas] (479).

C Ego iussi, et dixit [aci:say:dic-] se [aci:::bound:se:subj:local] facturam  
[aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] uxor mea  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Cas] (483).

C In re praesenti ex copia piscaria consulere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] quid emam  
potero [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Cas] (500).

C Argento parci [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass]  
[ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] nolo [ecm:want:nolle]  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Cas] (501).

C Tribus non conduci [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
libertatibus [\_\_\_Plautus:Cas] (504).

C Sed si nunc facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] volt [ctrl:subj:want:velle] era officium suom [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], nostra omnis lis est [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (508 509).

C Cur amem me [historical::bound:1st:obj] castigare [historical::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (517).

C Quin edepol servos [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj], ancillas [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] domo certum [ecm:deontic:cert-] est omnis [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] mittere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] ad te [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (521 522).

C Quid me [ecm:impers::1st:subj] amare [ecm:impers::inf:pres] [ecm:impers::3rd:obj:null] refert [ecm:impers:refer-], nisi sim doctus ac dicaculus [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (529)?

C Ut properarem [ctrl:subj:hurry:proper-] arcessere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] hanc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] huc ad me vicinam meam [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (532).

C Miror [aci:wonder:mir-] huc iam non arcessi [aci::inf:pres:pass] in proximum uxorem meam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], quae iam dudum, si arcessatur, ornata exspectat domi [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (539 540).

C Nil moror, molesta [ctrl:subj::bound:1st:subj:raise] ei esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] nolo [ctrl:subj:want:volle] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (545).

C Flagitium hominis, qui dixit [aci:say:dic-] mihi suam uxorem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] hanc [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] arcessituram esse [aci::inf:fut:peri:with:cop], ea se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] eam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_non:linear:is:2nd] negat [aci:say:neg-] morarier [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (553).

C Nam ego aliquid [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] contrahere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] cupio [ctrl:subj:want:cup-] litigi inter eos duos [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (561).

C At, quom aspicias [aci:see:spect-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] tristem, [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] frugi censeas [aci:believe:cens-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (562).

C Stultitia [ecm:deontic:stult-] magna est, mea quidem sententia, hominem amatorem ullum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] ad forum procedere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres], in eum diem quoi quod amet in mundo siet [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (563 565).

C Quem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] hercle ego litem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:rel:1st] adeo perdidisse [aci::inf:perf] gaudeo [aci:emotion:gaud-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (568).

C Nam meo quidem animo qui advocatos advocet [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] rogare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] et contarier [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] adsitne ei animus necne ei adsit quem advocet [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (570 572).

C Si neget [aci:say:neg-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] adesse [aci::inf:pres], exanimatum amittat domum [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (573).

C Negavit [aci:say:neg-] [aci::bound:se:subj:local:null] posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], quoniam arcesso, mittere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (583).

C Non matronarum officiumst [ecm:deontic:offici-], sed meretricium, viris alienis, mi vir, [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] subblandirier [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (585 586).

C Nempe tute dixeris [aci:say:dic-] tuam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] arcessituram esse [aci::inf:fut:peri:with:cop] uxorem meam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (599 600).

C Ergo arcessivisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] ait [aci:say:ai-] sese [aci::bound:se:subj:local], et dixisse [aci::inf:perf]



[aci:say:dic-] te [aci:::unbound:2nd:subj] eam [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[\_linear:is:2nd] non missurum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (601  
602).

C Quin eapse ultro mihi negavit [aci:say:neg-] eius operam  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_non:linear] se [aci:::bound:se:subj:local] morarier  
[aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (602 603).

C Quin cupio [ctrl:subj:want:cup-] tibi, quin, aliquid  
[ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] aegre facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[\_\_Plautus:Cas] (605 607).

C Ego iam per hortum iussero [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] meam istuc transire  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres] uxorem [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj] ad uxorem tuam  
[\_\_Plautus:Cas] (613 614).

C Qua ego hunc amorem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] mi esse avi dicam  
[aci:say:dic-] datum [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] aut quot ego umquam erge  
Venerem inique fecerim [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (616 617).

C Apud nos tua ancilla hoc pacto exordiri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] coepit  
[ctrl:subj:begin:coop-], quod haud Atticam [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] condecet  
[ecm:deontic:dec-] [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:dup] [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:dup]  
disciplinam [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (651 652).

C Possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] scire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [aci:know:sc-] ego  
istuc [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] ex te quid negotist  
[aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (545)?

C Interemere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ait [aci:say:ai-]  
[aci:::bound:se:subj:local:null] velle [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:want:velle]  
vitam [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (659).

C Insectatur omnis domi per aedis nec quemquam [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj]  
prope ad se [ctrl:obj:::bound:se:oblique:distant] sinit [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-]  
adire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (662 663).

C Scelestissimum me [aci:::bound:1st:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] credo  
[aci:believe:cred-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (667).

C Istuc [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] expeto [ctrl:subj:want:expet-] scire  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (669).

C Per omnis deos et deas deieravit [aci:say:deiur-],  
[aci:::bound:se:subj:local:null] occisurum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] eum  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] hac nocte quicum cubaret [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (671).

C Illuc [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], vilicum,  
volebam [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (674).

C Quia se des uxorem Olympioni, neque se [aci:::bound:se:subj:local] suam  
[ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj] neque viri vitam [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj]  
sinere [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] in crastinum protolli  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (677 679).

C Ego [ctrl:obj:::unbound:1st:subj:raise] hunc [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj]  
missa sum [ctrl:obj:make:mitt-] ludere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas]  
(688).

C Est quod [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle]  
exquirere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ex te [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (689).

C Habet, sed duos, quid, duos (gladios), altero  
[aci:::bound:se:subj:local:null] te [aci:::unbound:2nd:obj] occisurum  
[aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] ait [aci:say:ai-], altero vilicum  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] hodie [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (692 693).

C Loricam [ecm:deontic:::unbound:3rd:obj] induam [ecm:deontic::inf\_subjunct]  
mi optimum [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] [ecm:deontic:bon-] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (695).

C Nemo audet [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] prope accedere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[\_\_Plautus:Cas] (696).

C Negat [aci:say:neg-] [aci:::bound:se:subj:local:null:dup] ponere  
[aci::inf:pres] [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] alio modo ullo profecto, nisi se

[aci::bound:se:subj:local] sciat [aci:know:sc-] vilico non datum iri  
 [aci::inf:fut:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (698 699).  
 C Dic [aci:say:dic-] med [aci::unbound:1st:subj] uxorem  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] orare [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj:beg:or-] ut  
 exoret [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [ctrl:obj:beg:or-] illam  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj], gladium [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] ut ponet  
 [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] et redire [ecm:impers::inf:pres] me  
 [ecm:impers::1st:subj] intro ut liceat [ecm:impers:lic-]  
 [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (705 706).  
 C Cesso [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-] magnifice patricique amicitier  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] atque ita ero meo ire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] advorsum  
 [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (722 723)?  
 C Potin [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] a me abeas [ctrl:subj::inf\_subjunct], nisi me  
 [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj] vis [ecm:want:velle] vomere  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres] hodie [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (731)?  
 C Gladium [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] Casinam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 [\_non:linear] intus habere [aci::inf:pres] ait [aci:say:ai-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas]  
 (751).  
 C Sic sine [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] habere  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (750).  
 C Novi [aci:know:nosc-] ego illas [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] malas merces [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (751).  
 C Nec pol ego Nemeae credo [aci:believe:cred-] neque ego Olympiae neque  
 usquam ludos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] tam festivos fieri [aci::inf:pres:pass]  
 quam hic intus fiunt ludi ludificabiles seni nostro et nostro Olympioni  
 [\_pun] vilico [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (759 762).  
 C Properate, cenam [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] iam esse coctam  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] oportuit [ecm:deontic:oport-]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (766).  
 C Quasi nil [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] sciant [aci:know:sc-] fore  
 [aci::inf:fut] huius quod futurumst [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (771 772).  
 C Illae autem senem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] cupiunt  
 [ctrl:subj:want:cup-] extrudere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] incenatum ex aedibus,  
 ut ipsae solae ventris distendant suos [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (775 777).  
 C Corbitam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] cibi comesse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 possunt [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (779).  
 C Nam novom maritum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] et novam nuptam  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle] rus prosequi  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], novi [aci:know:nosc-] [\_pun] hominum mores  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] maleficos, ne quis eam  
 abripiat [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (782 784).  
 C Sed properate [ctrl:subj:hurry:proper-] istum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 atque istam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] actutum emittere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (785).  
 C Quid [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj] [ctrl:sent] hic  
 [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] speculari [ctrl:sent::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (791)?  
 C Dicere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null] hic quidvis  
 [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] licet [ctrl:impers:lic-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (794).  
 C Di hercle me [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj] cupiunt [ecm:want:cup-] servatum  
 [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (813).  
 C Cubitum [\_supine] ergo ire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] volt  
 [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (853).  
 C Acceptae bene et commode eximus [ctrl:subj:go:ex-] intus ludos visere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] huc in viam nuptialis [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (855 856).

C Lubet [ctrl:impers:lub-] Chalinum [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] quid agat  
 [ctrl:impers::1st:subj:null] scire [ctrl:impers::inf:pres], novom nuptum  
 [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] cum novo marito [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (859).  
 C Optunso ore nunc pervelim [ecm:want:velle] progredi [ecm:want::inf:pres]  
 senem [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (862 863).  
 C Ne illum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] quidem nequiorem arbitror  
 [aci:think:arbitr-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (865).  
 C Te [ecm:want::unbound:2nd:subj] nunc praesidem volo [ecm:want:velle] hic,  
 Pardalisce, esse [ecm:want::inf:pres:cop], qui hinc exeat eum ut ludibrio  
 habeas [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (866 868).  
 C Et ibi licet [ctrl:impers:lic-] audacius [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj:null:rel]  
 quae velis libere [ctrl:impers::2nd:subj:null] proloqui  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (871 872).  
 C Est operae pretium [ecm:deontic:pret-] auribus  
 [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] accipere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
 [ecm:deontic::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (879).  
 C Tardus esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:cop] ilico coepi [ctrl:subj:begin:coop-]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (884).  
 C Neque enim dare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] sibi  
 [ctrl:obj::bound:se:goal:distant] savium [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] me  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear] sivit [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (888).  
 C Enim iam magis adpropero, magis iam libet [ctrl:impers:lib-] in Casinam  
 [ctrl:impers::1st:subj:null] intruere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres], cupio  
 [ctrl:subj:want:cup-] illam operam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] seni  
 surripere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (889 890).  
 C Omnem ordine rem [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null]  
 fateri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] ergo aequom [ecm:deontic:aequ-] est  
 [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (896).  
 C Pudet [ctrl:obj:impers:pud-] [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj:null] dicere  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (898).  
 C Inde volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle] memorare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [aci:say:memor-] quid est [aci::inf\_indicat:indir] factum flagitium est  
 [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (901).  
 C Id [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] quaerere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] occepi  
 [ctrl:subj:begin:occip-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (907).  
 C Rogo ut altero [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] sinat  
 [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] ire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (922).  
 C Sed equis est qui homo munus [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] velit  
 [ctrl:subj:want:velle] fungier [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] pro me [\_\_Plautus:Cas]  
 (949 950)?  
 C Nugas [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] istic [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null] dicere  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] licet [ctrl:impers:lic-] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (952).  
 C Nunc tu si vis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] subigitare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] me  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:1st:obj], probast occasio [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (964).  
 C Iubeo [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] te [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj] salvere  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres], amator [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (969).  
 C Hac ibo, caninam scaevam [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:subj] spero  
 [ecm:hope:sper-] meliorem fore [ecm:hope::inf:fut:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (973).  
 C Sin id fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] non potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (981).  
 C Haec Casina [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] huius reperietur  
 [aci:find:reper-] filia esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] ex proximo eaque nubet  
 Euthynico nostro erili filio [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (1013 1014).  
 C Nunc vos [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj] aequomst [ecm:deontic:aequ-] manibus  
 meritis meritam mercedem [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [\_linear] dare  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Cas] (1015).

C Curate ut splendor meo sit cluqueo clarior quam solis radii esse  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres:cop] olim quom sudumst solent [ctrl:subj:used:sol-]  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1 2).

C Nam ego hanc machaeram [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] consolari  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle], ne lamentetur neve animum  
despondeat [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (5 6).

C Mars haud ausit [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] neque aequiperare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
suas virtutes [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] ad tuas [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (11 12).

C Edepol vel elephanto in India, quo pacto ei pugno praefregisti brachium,  
quid brachium, illud dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] volui  
[ctrl:subj:want:velle] femur [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
(26 27).

C Ne hercle operae pretium [ecm:deontic:pret-] quidemst mihi te  
[ecm:deontic::2nd:subj] narrare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [aci:say:narr-] tuas  
qui virtutes sciam [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (31 32).

C Ehem, scio iam quid [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] vis  
[ctrl:subj:want:velle] dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], factum hercle est,  
memini [aci:remember:meminisc-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] fieri  
[aci::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (34 35).

C Novisse [ecm:deontic::inf:perf] mores tuos [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] me  
[ecm:deontic::1st:subj] [\_non:linear] meditare decet [ecm:deontic:dec-]  
curamque [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] adhibere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
[ecm:deontic::1st:subj:null:coord] ut praeolat mihi quod tu velis  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (40 41).

C Tantum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] oportet  
[ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (47).

C Quid [aci::trace] tibi ego dicam [aci:say:dic-], quod omnes mortales  
sciunt, Pyrgopolynicem te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] unum in terra vivere  
[aci::inf:pres] virtute et forma et factis invictissimis [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (55  
57)?

C Nimiast miseria [ecm:deontic:miser-] nimis pulchrum hominem  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
(68).

C Orant, ambiunt, exobsecrant [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null] videre  
[ctrl:impers::inf:pres] ut liceat [ctrl:impers:lic-],  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj:null] ad sese  
[ctrl:obj::bound:se:oblique:distant] arcessi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass]  
iubent [ctrl:obj:order:iub-], ut tuo non liceat [ctrl:impers:lic-]  
[ctrl:impers::1st:subj:null] dare [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] operam  
[ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] negotio [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (69 71).

C Videtur [aci:see:vid-] tempus [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise]  
[ecm:deontic:tempus] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_personal:passive] ut eamus  
[ecm:deontic::inf\_subjunct] ad forum, ut in tabellis quos consignavi hic heri  
latrones, ibus denumerem stipendium [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (72 74).

C Qui autem auscultare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] volt [ctrl:subj:want:velle]  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (82).

C Ait [aci:say:ai-] sese [aci::bound:se:obj:distant] ultro omnis mulieres  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] sectarier [aci::inf:pres] [\_non:linear], is  
deridiculost quaqua incedit omnibus [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (91 92).

C Id [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] volo [ecm:want:velle] vos  
[ecm:want::unbound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear:is] scire [ecm:want::inf:pres]  
[aci:know:sc-] quo modo ad hunc devenerim [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] in  
servitutem ab eo quoi servivi prius [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (96 97).

C Occepit [ctrl:subj:begin:incip-] eius matri suppalarier  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] vino [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (106 107).

C Ubi amicam erilem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] Athenis avectam  
[aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] scio [aci:know:sc-], ego gnatum vivos possum mihi  
navem paro, inscendo, ut eam rem Naupactum ad erum nuntiem [\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
(114 116).

C Quo ire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] occeperam [ctrl:subj:begin:occip-]  
[\_\_Plautus:Mil] (119).

C Ait [aci:say:ai-] sese [aci::bound:se:subj:local] Athenas  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] fugere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] cupere  
[aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:want:cup-] ex hac domu, sese  
[aci::bound:se:subj:local] illum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd]  
amare [aci::inf:pres] meum erum, Athenis qui fuit, neque  
[aci::bound:se:subj:local:null:coord] peius quemquam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj]  
odisse [aci::inf:perf] quam istum militem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[\_\_Plautus:Mil] (126 128).

C Et mox ne erretis, haec duarum hodie vicem et hinc et illinc mulier feret  
imaginem, atque eadem erit, verum alia [ecm:pretend::unbound:3rd:subj:raise]  
esse [ecm:pretend::inf:pres:cop] adsimulabitur [ecm:pretend:simul-]  
[\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (150 152).

C Hic illest lepidus quem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] dixi [aci:say:dic-]  
[aci::inf:pres:no:cop] senem [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (155).

C Quod ille gallinam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] aut columbam  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] [\_non:linear] sectari  
[aci::inf:pres] aut simiam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] dicat [aci:say:dic-],  
disperiistis ni usque ad mortem male mulcassitis [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (162 163).

C Ita hic senex talos [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] elidi  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] iussit [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] conservis meis  
[\_\_Plautus:Mil] (167).

C Hau multos homines [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], si optandum [\_gerundive]  
foret, nunc videre [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] et  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] convenire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] quam  
te [ctrl:subj::unbound:2nd:obj] mavellem [ctrl:subj:want:malle]  
[\_\_Plautus:Mil] (170 171).

C Suspikor [aci:believe:suspici-] me [aci::bound:1st:subj] periisse  
[aci::inf:perf] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (178).

C Ubi abit, conclamo heus quid agis tu inquam in tegulis, ille mihi abiens  
ita respondit [aci:say:respond-] se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] sectari  
[aci::inf:pres] simiam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (178  
179).

C I sis, iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null]  
transire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] huc quantum possit, se ut videant domi  
familiares, nisi quid illa nos [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj] volt  
[ecm:want:velle], qui servi sumus, propter amorem suam omnis crucibus  
contubernalis dari [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (182 184).

C Profecto ut ne quoquam de ingenio degrediatu muliebri earumque artem  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] et disciplinam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
optineat [ctrl:subj:want:optin-] colere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
(185 186).

C Qui illam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] hic vidit [aci:see:vid-] osculantem  
[aci::inf:pres:participle] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (199).

C Nam os [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] columnatum [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop]  
poetae esse indauidi [aci:hear:aud-] barbaro, quoi bini custodes semper  
totis horis occubant [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (211 212).

C Nisi quidem hic agitare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] mavis [ctrl:subj:want:malle]  
varius virgis vigilias [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (216).

C Videns [aci:see:vid-] hostis [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] tibi adesse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] tuoque tergo opsidium [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
[\_\_Plautus:Mil] (219)?

C Interclude inimicis commeatum, tibi muni viam qua cibatus commeatusque ad te et legiones tuas tuto possit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] pervenire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (224 225).

C Tute unus si recipere [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] ad te dicis [aci:say:dic-], confidentiast [aci:believe:fid-] nos [aci::unbound:1st:subj] inimicos [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] profligare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (229 230).

C Et ego [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null] impetrare [aci::inf:pres] dico [aci:say:dic-] id [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:rel] quod petis [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (231).

C Auden [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] participare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] me [ctrl:subj::unbound:1st:obj] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel] quod [\_linear] commentus [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (232)?

C Nunc sic rationem incipisso, hanc institutam astutiam, ut Philocomasio hanc sororem geminam germanam alteram [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] dicam [aci:say:dic-] Athenis advenisse [aci::inf:perf] cum amatore aliquo suo, tam similem quam lacte lactist [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (237 240).

C Ut si illic concriminatus [aci:say:concrimin-] sit advorsum militem meus conservos, [aci::bound:1st:subj:null] eam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] vidisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci:see:vid-] hic cum alieno osculari [aci::inf:pres], eam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [aci::bound:1st:subj:null] arguam [aci:say:argu-] vidisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci:see:vid-] apud te contra conservom meum cum suo amatore amplexantem [aci::inf:pres:participle] atque [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] [aci::bound:3rd:subj:null:coord] osculantem [aci::inf:pres:participle] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (242 245).

C Sed [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] simillimas dicito [aci:say:dic-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (246 247).

C Trecentae possunt [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] causa conligi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (250).

C Dum modo hunc prima via inducamus vera ut [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:rel] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] credat [aci:believe:cred-] quae mentibitur [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (253 254).

C Intro abi ergo et, si isti est mulier, eam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] cito domum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] transire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres], atque haec ei dice, monstra, praecipe, ut teneat consilia nostra quem ad modum exorsi sumus de gemina sorore [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (255 258).

C Nam ille non potuit quin sermone suo aliquem familiarium participaverit [aci:say:particip-] de amica eri, sese [aci::bound:se:subj:local] vidisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci:see:vid-] eam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:is:2nd] hic in proxumo osculantem [aci::inf:pres:participle] cum alieno adulescentulo [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (262 264).

C Egomet tacere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] nequeo [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] solus [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel] quod scio [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (265).

C Nisi quidem ego hodie ambulavi dormiens in tegulis, certo edepol scio [aci:know:sc-] me [aci::bound:1st:subj] vidisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci:see:vid-] hic proxumae viciniae Philocomasium erilem amicam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_linear] sibi [aci::bound:se:goal:local] malam rem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] quaerere [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (272 274).

C Hic illam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] vidit [aci:see:vid-] osculantem [aci::inf:pres:participle], quantum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] hunc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_non:linear:rel] audivi [aci:hear:aud-] loqui [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (275).

C Te [ecm:deontic::2nd:obj], Palaestrio, volup [ecm:deontic:volup] est [ecm:deontic::1st:subj:null] convenisse [ecm:deontic::inf:perf] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (276 277).

C Tute scias soli tibi, mihi ne dixis, scire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] nolo [ctrl:subj:want:nolle]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (282 283).  
 C Te istuc aequom [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] quoniam occepisti  
 [ctrl:subj:begin:occip-] eloqui [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (285).  
 C Atque ego illi aspicio [aci:see:spect-] osculantem  
 [aci::inf:pres:participle] Philocomasium [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] cum altero  
 nescioquo adulescente [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (288 289).  
 C Num tibi [aci::unbound:1st:subj:raise:null] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] lippus  
 videor [aci:see:vid-] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (291 292)?  
 C Medicum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] istuc [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj]  
 [\_linear:demon:2nd] tibi meliust [ecm:deontic:bon-]  
 [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] percontarier [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (292).  
 C Quid fuat [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] me nescio [aci:know:sc-], haec  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] me [aci::bound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear:demon] vidisse  
 [aci::inf:perf] ego certo scio [aci:know:sc-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (299).  
 C Visse, abi intro tute, nam ego mi iam nil [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 credi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] postulo [ctrl:obj:order:postul-]  
 [\_credere:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (302).  
 C Certum [ecm:deontic:cert-] est [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] facere  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (302).  
 C Non ego possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel]  
 quae ipsa sese venditat tutarier [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (312).  
 C Iuben [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] tibi oculos [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 ecfodiri [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass], quibus id quod nusquam hic vides  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (315)?  
 C Non tu tibi istam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] praetruncari  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] linguam largiloquam iubes [ctrl:obj:order:iub-]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (318).  
 C Philocomasium eccam domi, quam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] in proxumo vidisse  
 [aci::inf:perf] aiebas [aci:say:ai-] te [aci::bound:2nd:subj]  
 [\_non:linear:rel] osculantem [aci::inf:pres:participle] atque  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] amplexantem [aci::inf:pres:participle]  
 cum altero [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (319 320).  
 C Mirumst [ecm:deontic:mir-] lolio victitare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] te  
 [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj] tam vili tritico [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (321).  
 C Tuo istuc [ecm:promise::unbound:3rd:subj], Sceledre, promitto  
 [ecm:promise:promitt-] fore [ecm:promise::inf:fut] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (326).  
 C Nam nihil est qua hinc hunc transire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ea possit  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] nisi recto ostio [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (328).  
 C Neque te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] quicquam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:indef]  
 [\_linear] sapere [aci::inf:pres] corde neque oculis uti [aci::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (330)?  
 C Nempe tu istic ais [aci:say:ai-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] erilem concubinam [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (331)?  
 C Vin [ecm:want:velle] iam faciam [ecm:want::inf\_subjunct]  
 [ctrl:obj:make:fac-], ut stultivium esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] tu te  
 [aci::bound:2nd:subj] fateare [aci:say:fat-] [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (335).  
 C Atque arguo [aci:say:argu-] eam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] me  
 [aci::bound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear:is] vidisse [aci::inf:perf]  
 [aci:see:vid-] osculantem [aci::inf:pres:participle] hic intus cum alieno  
 viro [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (337 338).  
 C Scin [aci:know:sc-] tu nullum commeatum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] hinc esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] a nobis, scio, neque solarium [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]

neque hortum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] nisi per impluvium [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (339 340)?

C Si ea domist, si facio [ctrl:obj:make:fac-], ut eam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] exire [aci::inf:pres] hinc videas [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [aci:see:vid-] domo [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (341).

C Consilium [ctrl:sent] est ita [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] facere [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (343).

C Volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle] scire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (345).

C Quod [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] facturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [aci::bound:se:subj:local:null] [\_non:linear] dicit [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (346).

C Sed ego hoc quod ago, id [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] me [ecm:deontic::1st:subj] [\_non:linear:is] agere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], hoc observare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] ostium [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::1st:subj:null:coord] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (352).

C Totiens [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] monere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null] mirumst [ecm:deontic:mir-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (354).

C Credo [aci:believe:cred-] ego istoc extemplo tibi esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] pereundum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_gerundive] extra portam, dispessis manibus, patibulum quom habebis [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (359 360).

C Perire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] propera [ctrl:subj:hurry:proper-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (363).

C Tun [aci::bound:2nd:subj:null] me [aci::unbound:1st:obj] vidisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci:see:vid-] in proxumo hic, sceleste, ais [aci:say:ai-] osculantem [aci::inf:pres:participle] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (366)?

C Noli [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] minitari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], scio [aci:know:sc-] crucem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] futuram [aci::inf:fut:cop] mihi sepulchrum [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (372).

C Non possunt [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] mihi minaciis tuis hisce oculi exfodiri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (374).

C Pergin [ctrl:subj:continue:perg-], sceleste, intendere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:want:intend-] hanc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] arguere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (380)?

C Hac nocte in somnis mea soror geminast germana [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] visa [aci:see:vid-] venisse [aci::inf:perf] Athenis in Ephesum cum suo amatore quodam [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (383 384).

C Propter eandem suspicionem maximam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] sum visa [aci::unbound:1st:subj:raise:null] [aci:see:vid-] sustinere [aci::inf:pres] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (388).

C Nam arguere [aci::inf:pres] [aci:say:argu-] in somnis me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] meus mihi familiaris [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] visust [aci:see:vid-] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] cum alieno adolescentulo, quasi nunc tu, esse osculatam [aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop], quom illa osculata mea soror gemina esset suompte amicum [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (389 391).

C Id [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] me [aci::bound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear:is] insimulatam [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] perperam falsum esse somniavi [aci:dream:somni-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (392).

C Narrandum [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] [\_gerundive] ego istuc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] militi censebo [aci:believe:cens-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (395).



C Facere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null]  
[ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] certum [ecm:deontic:cert-] est [\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
(396).

C Neque me [ctrl:obj::bound:1st:subj] quidem patiar [ctrl:obj:allow:pat-]  
probri falso impune insimulatam [ctrl:obj::inf:perf:pass:no:cop]  
[\_\_Plautus:Mil] (395).

C Scin [aci:know:sc-] te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] periisse [aci::inf:perf]  
[\_\_Plautus:Mil] (398)?

C Certa res [ecm:deontic:cert-] est nunc nostrum  
[ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] observare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] ostium  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:obj], ubi ubist [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (399).

C At, Sceledre, quaeso, ut ad id exemplum somnium quam simile somniavit  
[aci:dream:somni-] atque ut tu suspicatus [aci:believe:susp-] es  
[aci::bound:2nd:subj:null] eam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_linear] vidisse  
[aci::inf:perf] [aci:see:vid-] osculantem [aci::inf:pres:participle]  
[\_\_Plautus:Mil] (399 401)!

C Nescio [aci:know:sc-] quid credam [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] egomet mihi  
iam, ita quod [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] vidisse [aci::inf:perf] credo  
[aci:believe:cred-] me [aci::bound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear:rel:cataphor] id  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] iam non [aci::bound:1st:subj:null:coord] vidisse  
[aci::inf:perf] arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (402 403).

C Nunc demum experior [aci:learn:exper-] mi ob oculos caliginem  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] opstitisse [aci::inf:perf] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (405).

C Dum te [ctrl:subj::bound:2nd:obj] fidelem facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ero  
voluisti [ctrl:subj:want:velle], apsumptus paene [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (409).

C Hercle opinor, ea [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop]  
videtur [aci:see:vid-] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (417).

C Quo modo haec hinc huc transire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] potuit  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (418).

C An dubium [aci:doubt:dubi-] tibi est eam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] hanc [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (419)?

C Ea [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] videtur  
[aci:see:vid-] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (419).

C Nam [aci::bound:se:subj:local:null] nec te [aci::unbound:2nd:obj] neque  
me [aci::unbound:1st:obj] novisse [aci::inf:perf] ait [aci:say:ai-] haec  
[\_\_Plautus:Mil] (430).

C Persectari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] hic  
volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (430).

C Falsum nomen [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] possidere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres],  
Philocomasium, postulas [ctrl:subj:want:postul-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (437).

C Geminam germanam meam hic sororem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] indauidi [aci:hear:aud-], eam veni quaesitum [\_supine]  
[\_\_Plautus:Mil] (441 442).

C Abire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] non sinam [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] te  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (444).

C Nil moror [ecm:want:mor-] negotiosum mi esse [ecm:want::inf:pres:cop]  
tergum [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (447).

C Vin [ctrl:subj:want:velle] tu facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] hoc  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] strenue [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (458)?

C Quemque [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] hic intus videro [aci:see:vid-] cum  
Philocomasio osculantem [aci::inf:pres:participle] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (460 461).

C Visanest [aci:see:vid-] ea [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (462)?

C Quia hanc attingere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ausus [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-]  
mulierem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] hinc ex proximo [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (472).

C Eam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] pol tu osculantem [aci::inf:pres:participle]  
hic videras [aci:see:vid-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (474).

C Id quidem palam [aci:say:palam] est eam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop], ut dicis [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (475).

C Plus [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] scire [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] servom [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] [\_non:linear] quam [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null:coord] loqui [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj:null:coord] [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (477).

C Certum [ecm:deontic:cert-] est nunc observationi operam [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] dare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (485).

C Non hercle hisce homines me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] marem, sed feminam vicini rentur [aci:think:rer-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] servi milites, ita me ludificant [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (486 488).

C Metuo illaec mihi res ne malo magno fuat, quantum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] hunc audiui [aci:hear:aud-] facere [aci::inf:pres] verborum senem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_non:linear:rel] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (492 493).

C Expurigare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle] me [ctrl:subj::bound:1st:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (497).

C Arbitramini [aci:think:arbitr-] quidvis [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] licere [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:impers:lic-] facere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] vobis [ctrl:impers:::2nd:subj:dative], verbero [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (499 500)?

C Quodque [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] concubinam erilem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_non:linear:rel] insimulare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ausus [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] es probri pudicam meque summi flagiti [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (508 509).

C Ita sum coactus, Periplectomene, ut nesciam utrum me [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] expostulare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj:null] prius tecum aequiust [ecm:deontic:aequ-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (514 515).

C Nisi si istaec non est haec neque haec istast, mihi med [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] expurgare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] haec [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] tibi videtur [aci:see:vid-] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] aequius [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null:impers] [ecm:deontic:aequ-] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (516 517).

C Ita [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] facere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj:null] certum [ecm:deontic:cert-] est [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (522).

C Pro di immortales, similiorem mulierem magisque eandem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], ut pote quae non sit eadem, non reor [aci:think:rer-] deos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_non:linear] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (528 531).

C Vidi [aci:see:vid-] et illam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] et hospitem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] complexam [aci::inf:perf:depon:no:cop] atque osculantem [aci::inf:pres:participle] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (534).

C Vin [ctrl:subj:want:velle] scire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] plane [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (535)?

C Numquam edepol hominem quemquam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ludificarier [aci::inf:pres:pass] magis facete vidi [aci:see:vid-] et magis miris modis [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (538 539).

C Nunc demum scio [aci:know:sc-] me [aci::bound:1st:subj] fuisse [aci::inf:perf:cop] excordem, caecum, incogitabilem [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (543 544).

C Erum [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] exhibeas [ecm:want::inf\_subjunct] volo [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (546).

C Meruisse [aci::inf:perf] equidem me [aci::bound:1st:subj] maximum fateor [aci:say:fat-] malum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] et tuae fecisse

[aci::inf:perf] me [aci:::bound:1st:subj] hospitae aio [aci:say:ai-] iniuriam  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (547 548).

C Sed [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] meam esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] erilem  
concubinam censui [aci:believe:cens-], quoi me custodem erus addidit miles  
meus [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (549 550).

C Nam ex uno puteo similior numquam potis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] aqua aquai  
sumi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] quam haec est atque ista hospita  
[\_\_Plautus:Mil] (551 552).

C Et me [aci:::bound:1st:subj] despexe [aci::inf:perf] ad te per impluvium  
tuom fateor [aci:say:fat-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (553 554).

C Et ibi osculantem [aci::inf:pres:participle] meum hospitem  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] cum ista hospita vidisti [aci:see:vid-]  
[\_\_Plautus:Mil] (554 555)?

C Vidi, cur negem quod viderim, sed Philocomasium [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[\_non:linear] me [aci:::bound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear] vidisse [aci::inf:perf]  
censui [aci:believe:cens-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (556 557).

C Ratur [aci:think:rer-] istic me [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] hominem esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] omnium minimi preti, si ego me sciente paterer  
[ctrl:obj:allow:pat-] vicino meo eam fieri [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] apud me  
tam insignite iniuriam [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (559  
560)?

C Nunc demum a me [\_abl:agent] insipienter [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null]  
factum esse [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] quom  
rem cognosco [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (561 562).

C Nam hominem servom [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] suos domitos [\_linear] habere  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] oculos  
[ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] et manus [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] orationemque  
[ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (563 565).

C Ita [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] facere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
[ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj:null] certum [ecm:deontic:cert-] est [\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
(574).

C Vincam animum meum, ne malitiose factum [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] id  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] esse aps te [\_abl:agent] arbitrer  
[aci:think:arbitr-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (568 569).

C Sat edepol certo scio [aci:know:sc-] occisam saepe sapere [aci::inf:pres]  
plus [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] multo suem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj]  
[\_non:linear] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (586 587).

C Frequens senatus poterit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] nunc haberier  
[aci::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (594).

C Sinite [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] me [ctrl:obj:::unbound:1st:subj] prius  
perspectare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres], ne uspiam insidiae sient concilium quod  
[ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] habere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] volumus  
[ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (597 598).

C Atque eadem quae [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] illis voluisti  
[ctrl:subj:want:velle] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (606).

C Volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle] scire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (612).

C Magis non potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:cop] ad  
rem utibile [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (613).

C Pol ita decet [ecm:deontic:dec-] hunc [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] facere  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (615).

C Me [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] tibi istuc aetatis homini facinora puerilia  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] obicere [aci::inf:pres], ea  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] te [aci:::unbound:2nd:obj] [\_non:linear] expetere  
[aci::inf:pres] ex opibus summis mei honoris gratis mihique amanti ire  
[aci::inf:pres] opitulatum [\_supine] atque ea [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] te  
[aci:::unbound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear:is] facere [aci::inf:pres] facinora,

quae istaec aetas fugere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] facta  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] magis quam sectari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] solet  
 [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (619 622).  
 C Eam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] pudet [ctrl:obj:impers:pud-] me  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] [\_\_non:linear] tibi in senecta obicere  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] sollicitudinem [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (623).  
 C Hancine aetatem [interject::3rd:obj] exercere [interject::inf:pres] mei me  
 [interject::1st:subj] amoris gratis [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (625)?  
 C Itane tibi ego [aci::unbound:1st:subj:raise] videor [aci:see:vid-] oppido  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] Acherunticus [\_\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
 (626)?  
 C Tamine tibi diu videor [aci:see:vid-] [aci::bound:1st:subj:raise:null]  
 vitam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] vivere [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_personal:passive]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (627)?  
 C Pol id quid [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] experior [aci:find:exper-] ita esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] ut praedicas, Palaestro [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (633).  
 C Quid opus [ecm:deontic:opus] nota [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj]  
 [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] noscere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
 (637)?  
 C Incommoditate abstinere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] me  
 [ctrl:subj::bound:1st:obj] apud convivas commodo commenini  
 [ctrl:subj:remember:commenisc-] et meae orationis iustam partem  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] persequi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] et meam partem  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] itidem tacere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (644 646).  
 C Tute me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] ut fateare [aci:say:fat-] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] adulescentem moribus [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (661).  
 C Huius pro meritis ut referri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] pariter possit  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] gratia, tibi que, quibus nunc me [aci::bound:1st:subj]  
 esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] experior [aci:find:exper-] summae sollicitudini  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (670 671).  
 C At tibi tanto sumptui esse [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres:cop] mihi  
 [ctrl:deontic::1st:dative] molestumst [ctrl:deontic:molest-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
 (672).  
 C Mei volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle] vivere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (678).  
 C Propter divitias meas licuit [ctrl:impers:lic-] uxorem dotatam  
 [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] genere summo [ctrl:impers::1st:subj:null] ducere  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (679 680).  
 C Sed nolo [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] mi oblatratricem  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] in aedis intro mittere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (681).  
 C Nam [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] procreare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] liberos  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] lepidumst onus [ecm:deontic:lepid-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
 (682 683).  
 C Tu homo et alteri sapienter potis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] es consulere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] et tibi [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (684).  
 C Ubi ea possit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] inveniri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (686).  
 C Tum plicatricem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] clementer non potest  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] quin munerem [ctrl:subj::inf\_subjunct] [\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
 (695).  
 C Tum opstetrix expostulavit [aci:say:expostul-] mecum, parum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] missum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] sibi  
 [aci::bound:se:goal:distant] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (697).

C At illa laus [ecm:deontic:laus] est, magno in genere et in divitiis maximum  
liberos [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] hominem [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj]  
[\_non:linear] educare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres], generi monumentum  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] et sibi [ecm:deontic::bound:3rd:goal:distant]  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (703 704).

C Huic homini dignum [ecm:deontic:dign-] est divitias  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] et diu vitam  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] dari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
(723).

C Aequom [ecm:deontic:aequ-] fuit deos [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] paravisse  
[ecm:deontic::inf:perf] [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (724).

C Itidem divos [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] dispertisse [ecm:deontic::inf:perf]  
vitam humanam [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [\_linear] aequom [ecm:deontic:aequ-]  
fuit [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (730).

C Nunc istis rebus [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:impers] desisti  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] decet [ecm:deontic:dec-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (737).

C Nunc volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle] opsonare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (738).

C Nam hospes nullus tam in amici hospitium devorti [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass]  
potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (741).

C Nam ei solent [ctrl:subj:used:sol-], quando accubere, ubi cena adpositast,  
dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], (direct quote) quid opus fuit hoc, hospes,  
sumptu tanto nostra gratia [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (753).

C Iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] illud [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] demi  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (759).

C Neminem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] eorum haec [aci::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[\_linear:demon:2nd] adseverare [aci::inf:pres] audias [aci:hear:aud-]  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (762).

C Possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] expromere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (764).

C Igitur id [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:rel] quod agitur ei hic primum praeverti  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] decet [ecm:deontic:dec-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (765).

C Dari [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] istanc rationem  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] volo [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (770).

C At ego mi anulum [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] dari  
[ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] istunc tuom volo [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
(771).

C Ut neminem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] fuisse [aci::inf:perf:cop] aequae neque  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] futurum [aci::inf:fut:cop] credo  
[aci:believe:cred-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (775 776).

C Isque Alexandria praestare [aci::inf:pres] praedicat [aci:say:dic-] formae  
suam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], itaque omnes [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] se  
[aci::bound:se:obj:distant] [\_linear] ultro sectari [aci::inf:pres] in  
Epheso memorat [aci:say:memor-] mulieres [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (776 778).

C Edepol qui te [ecm:want::unbound:2nd:subj] de isto multi cupiunt  
[ecm:want:cup-] non mentirier [ecm:want::inf:pres], sed ego ita  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] esse [aci::inf:pres] ut dicis teneo  
[aci:believe:ten-] pulchre [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (779 780).

C Ecquam tu potes [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] reperire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] forma  
lepida mulierem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (781).

C Lautam [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null]  
vis [ecm:want:velle] an quae nondum sit lauta [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (787)?

C Adsimuletque [ecm:pretend:simul-] se [ecm:pretend::bound:se:subj:local]  
esse [ecm:pretend::inf:pres:cop] uxorem [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (792 793).

C Ut simulet [ecm:pretend:simul-] se [ecm:pretend::bound:se:subj:local] tuam  
esse [ecm:pretend::inf:pres:cop] uxorem et  
[ecm:pretend::bound:se:subj:local:null:coord] deperire

[ecm:pretend::inf:pres] hunc militem [ecm:pretend::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 [\_linear] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (79796).  
 C Ne me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] surdum esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] arbitrare  
 [aci:think:arbitr-], si audes [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (799).  
 C Ei dabo, aps tua mi uxore [\_abl:agent] dicam [aci:say:dic-]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] delatum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] et  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] datum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (800).  
 C Non potuit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] reperire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (803).  
 C Sed quid [ecm:impers::3rd:subj:null] meminisse [ecm:impers::inf:perf] id  
 [ecm:impers::3rd:obj] refert [ecm:impers:refer-], rogo ego te tamen  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (808).  
 C Illud stretit, volui [ctrl:subj:want:velle] dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (819).  
 C Qui lubitum [ctrl:impers:lub-] est illi [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:dative]  
 condormiscere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (826)?  
 C Nego hercle vero, nam ille me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] vetuit  
 [ctrl:obj:prohibit:vet-] dicere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (830).  
 C Di me perdant, si bibi, si bibere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] potui [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (833 834).  
 C Quoniam [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null] aemulari [ctrl:impers::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj:null] non licet [ctrl:impers:lic-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
 (840).  
 C Atque ut tu scire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null], ego dico tibi [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (842).  
 C Ut tu ipse me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] dixisse [aci::inf:perf]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] delices [aci:say:delic-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (844).  
 C Numquam edepol [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] vidi [aci:see:vid-] promere  
 [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (847).  
 C Vidi [aci:see:vid-] eam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] plenam atque inanem fieri  
 [aci::inf:pres:pass], plenam maxume [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (853 854).  
 C Perii, excruciabit me erus, domum si venerit, quom haec  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] facta [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] scibit  
 [aci:know:sc-], quia sibi non dixerim [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (859 860).  
 C Hanc fabricam fallaciasque minus si tenetis, denuo volo [ecm:want:velle]  
 [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj:null] percipiatis [ecm:want::inf\_subjunct] plane  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (875 876).  
 C Stultitia [ecm:deontic:stult-] atque insipientia [ecm:deontic:insipient-]  
 mea istaec sit, mi patrone, me [ecm:deontic::1st:subj] ire  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] in opus alienum aut  
 [ecm:deontic::1st:subj:null:coord] ibi meam operam [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj]  
 pollicitari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres], si ea in opificina nesciam  
 [aci:know:sc-] aut mala [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] aut  
 fraudulenta [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (878 879).  
 C At melius [ecm:deontic:bon-] est [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] monerier  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (880).  
 C Meretricem [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] commoneri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass],  
 quam sane magni referat, nihil [ecm:deontic:nihil] clam est [\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
 (880 881).  
 C Quin egomet ultro, postquam adbibere auris meae tuae oram orationis, tibi  
 dixi [aci:say:dic-], miles quem ad modum potis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] sit  
 [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] deasciari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (881 883).

C Nam ego multos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] saepe vidi [aci:see:vid-] regionem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] fugere [aci::inf:pres] consili prius quam repertam haberent [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (885 886).

C Ea sibi [ctrl:subj::bound:se:goal:distant] immortalis memoriast [ctrl:subj:remember:memor-] meminisse [ctrl:subj::inf:perf] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] et sempiterna [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (880).

C Meminisse [ctrl:subj::inf:perf] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] nequeunt [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (890).

C Cesso [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-] ego illis obviam ire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (894)?

C Venire [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] salvom gaudeo [aci:emotion:gaud-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (895).

C Em tibi adsunt quas [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear:rel] iussisti [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] adducere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] et quo ornatu [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (898 899).

C Audire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] cupio [ctrl:subj:want:cup-] quem ad modum [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (904).

C Nempe ludificari [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] militem tuom erum [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] vis [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (906)?

C Atque huius uxorem [ecm:want::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord] volo [ecm:want:velle] te [ecm:pretend::bound:2nd:subj] esse [ecm:pretend::inf:pres:cop] adsimulare [ecm:want::inf:pres] [ecm:pretend:simul-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (908).

C Quasi militi animum adieceris [ecm:pretend::inf\_subjunct], simulare [historical::inf:pres] [ecm:pretend:simul-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (909).

C Bonus vates poteras [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (911).

C Hoc [aci::trace] cogitato [aci:think:cogit-], ubi probus est architectus, bene lineatam si semel carinam conlocavit, facile [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [ecm:deontic:facil-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] navem [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [\_linear] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] facere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (915 917).

C Rogare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] mirumst [ecm:deontic:mir-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (921).

C Eo pote [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] fuerit lepidius pol fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (926).

C Atque illi hunc anulum dabo atque praedicabo [aci:say:dic-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] a tua uxore [\_abl:agent] mihi datum esse [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] eamque [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] illum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:is:1st] deperire [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (931 932).

C Confido [aci:believe:fid-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] confuturum [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (941).

C Vah, egone ut ad te ab libertina esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:cop] auderem [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] internuntius, qui ingenuis satis respondere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] nequeas [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel] quae cupiunt tui [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (962 963)?

C Quo pacto potis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] nupta et vidua esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:cop] eadem [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (965 966)?

C Hercle [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] pulchram praedicas [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (968).

C Ea demoritur te atque ab illo cupit [ctrl:subj:want:cup-] abire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (970).

C Nunc [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj:null] te [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:obj]  
 orare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj:beg:or-] atque  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord]  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:obj:null:coord] obsecrare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:obj:beg:obsecr-] iussit [ctrl:obj:order:iub-], ut eam copiam  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] sibi [ctrl:obj::bound:se:goal:distant]  
 potestatemque [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] facias [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (971 972).  
 C Quin tu illam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] abs  
 te abire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] quo [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null]  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres:dup] lubet [ctrl:impers:lub-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (974).  
 C Immo vin [ctrl:subj:want:velle] tu lepide facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (978)?  
 C Vin [ctrl:subj:want:velle] tu illam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] actutum  
 amovere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], a te ut abeat per gratiam [\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
 (979)?  
 C Tum te [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj] hoc [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj]  
 [\_linear:demon:2nd] facere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet  
 [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (980).  
 C Iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] sibi  
 [ctrl:obj::bound:se:goal:local] aurum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] atque  
 ornamenta [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj], quae illi instruxti mulieri, dono  
 habere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres], [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] abire  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres], [ctrl:impers::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] auferre  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj:null:coord] abs te quo lubeat  
 [ctrl:impers:lub-] sibi [ctrl:impers::bound:se:goal:distant] [\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
 (981 982).  
 C Viden [aci:see:vid-] tu illam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] oculis venaturam  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] facere [aci::inf:pres] atque aucupium  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] auribus [\_pun] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (990)?  
 C Hos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] quasi non videam [aci:see:vid-] neque esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] hic etiamdum sciam [aci:know:sc-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (992).  
 C Quid ergo hanc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] dubitas  
 [ctrl:subj:hesitate:dubit-] conloqui [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
 (1008)?  
 C Pedetemptim, tu hoc scis, tractari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] satiust  
 [ecm:deontic:sat-] hasce huius modi mercis [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1024).  
 C Quo pacto hoc Ilium [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] accedi  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] velis [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1025 1026).  
 C Lamentari [aci::inf:pres] ait [aci:say:ai-] illam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj],  
 miseram [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:coord] cruciari [aci::inf:pres] et  
 lacrimantem se [aci::bound:se:obj:local] adflictare [aci::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1031 1032).  
 C Iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] adire  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1033).  
 C Tecum aetatem [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null] exigere  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] ut liceat [ctrl:impers:lic-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1039).  
 C Meminisse [ctrl:subj::inf:perf] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] haud  
 possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1048).  
 C Quid [ctrl:subj::trace] nunc volt [ctrl:subj:want:velle], te  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:2nd:obj] compellare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] et  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:2nd:obj:null:coord] complecti [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] et  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:2nd:obj:null:coord] contrectare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1052).  
 C Quin tu huic respondes [aci:say:respond-] aliquid [aci::trace], aut  
 [aci::bound:2nd:subj:null] facturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop]



[aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] aut [aci::bound:2nd:subj:null:coord] non  
facturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord]  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1067 1068)?

C Iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] eampse [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] exire  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres] huc ad nos [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1069).

C Dic [aci:say:dic-] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] omnia  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] quae volt facturum  
[aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1070).

C Facis nunc ut te [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj] facere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null] aequom [ecm:deontic:aequ-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
(1070).

C Quomque me [ctrl:subj::bound:1st:obj] oratricem haud sprevisti  
[ctrl:subj:want:spurn-] sistique [ctrl:subj:want:sist-] exorare  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ex te [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1072).

C Nequeo [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] hercle equidem risu meo moderari  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1073).

C Contra auro alii hanc vendere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] potuit  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-] operam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
(1076).

C Ne haec censeret [aci:believe:cens-] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] advorsum  
se [aci::bound:se:oblique:distant] mentiri [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil]  
(1079).

C Philocomasio dic [aci:say:dic-], si est istic, domum ut transeat, hunc  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] hic esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1088  
1089).

C Iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] maturare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj:hurry:matur-] illam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] exire  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] huc [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1093).

C Nam nullo pacto potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] prius haec in aedis recipi  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] quam illam amiserim [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1095 1906).

C Dixi [aci:say:dic-] equidem tibi quo id pacto fieri  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] possit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
[aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] clementissime [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1097 1098).

C Dicasque [aci:say:dic-] tempus [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
[ecm:deontic:tempus] maxime esse [aci::inf:pres:cop], ut eat  
[ecm:deontic::inf\_subjunct] domum [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1101).

C Sororem geminam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] adesse [aci::inf:pres:cop] et  
matrem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] dicito [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1102).

C Qui tu scis [aci:know:sc-] eas [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] adesse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1103)?

C Quia oculis meis vidi [aci:see:vid-] hic sororem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] eius [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1103 1104).

C Omnia [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] vis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] optinere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1106 1107).

C Ubi matrem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] aiebat  
[aci:say:ai-] soror [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1107)?

C Cubare [aci::inf:pres] in navi lippam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] atque oculis  
turgidis nauclerus dixit [aci:say:dic-], qui illas advexit, mihi  
[\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1108 1109).

C Te [ecm:want::unbound:2nd:subj] cum illa verba  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] facere [ecm:want::inf:pres] de ista re  
volo [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1115).

C Dicas [aci:say:dic-] uxorem [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] tibi  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] necessum [aci::inf:pres:no:cop]  
[ecm:deontic:necess-] [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] ducere  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres], cognatos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] persuadere  
[aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null], amicos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]

cogere [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1118 1119).

C Tu hic ante aedis interim speculari [historical::inf:pres], ut, ubi illa eci prodeat, me provoces [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1121 1122).

C Credo [aci:believe:cred-] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] facile impetrassere [aci::inf:fut] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1128).

C Noli [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] stare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1130).

C Numquid videtur [aci:see:vid-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null] [\_\_impersonal:passive] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] demutare [aci::inf:pres] alio atque uti dixi esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] vobis dudum hunc moechum militem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1130 1131)?

C Nam quos [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] videre [ecm:want::inf:pres] exoptabam [ecm:want:opt-] me [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj] [\_\_non:linear:rel] maxime [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1135).

C Una [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] exeuntis [aci::inf:pres:participle] video [aci:see:vid-] hinc e proximo [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1136).

C Nihil efferri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] poterit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] huius [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1153).

C Domi esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] ad eam rem video [aci:see:vid-] silvai satis [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1154).

C Certo scio [aci:know:sc-] oppidum quodvis [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], si detur, posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] expugnari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] dolis [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1156 1157).

C Militem [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] lepide et facete et laute ludificari [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] volo [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1160 1161).

C Nempe ut adsimulem [ecm:pretend:simul-] me [ecm:pretend::bound:1st:subj] amore istius differri [ecm:pretend::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1163).

C Hasce esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] aedis [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] dicas [aci:say:dic-] dotalis tuas, hinc senem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] abs te abiisse [aci::inf:perf], postquam feceris divortium [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1166 1167).

C Ne ille mox vereatur [ctrl:subj:fear:ver-] intro ire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] in alienam domum [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1168).

C Sed ubi ille exierit intus, istinc te [ecm:want::unbound:2nd:subj] procul ita volo [ecm:want:velle] adsimulare [ecm:want::inf:pres] [ecm:pretend:simul-], prae illius forma quasi spernas [ecm:pretend::inf\_subjunct] tuam [ecm:pretend::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1169 1170).

C Ut improbare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] non queas [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1174)?

C Adsimulato [ecm:pretend:simul-] quasi gubernator sies [ecm:pretend::inf\_subjunct] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1181).

C Atque ut iubeat [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] ferri [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] in navim si quid [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:indef] imponi [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] velit [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1187).

C Nisi eat, te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] soluturum esse [aci::inf:fut:peri:with:cop] navim [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_linear], ventum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] operam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_linear] dare [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1188).

C Ille iubebit [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] ire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] cum illa ad portum [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1192).

C Atque ubi illo veneris, triduum servire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] numquam te [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear], quin liber sis, sinam [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1194).

C Nam illum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] huc sat scio [aci:know:sc-] iam exiturum esse [aci::inf:fut:peri:with:cop] intus [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1195 1196).

C Quid tam intus fuisse [aci::inf:perf:cop] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] dicam [aci:say:dic-] diu [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1201)?

C Numquam ego me [aci::bound:1st:subj] tam sensi [aci:sense:sent-] amari [aci::inf:pres:pass] quam nunc ab illa muliere [\_abl:agent] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1202).

C Nam si possem [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] ullo modo impetrare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ut abiret [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1207 1208).

C At modice decet [ecm:deontic:dec-] [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] moderare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] animo, ne sis cupidus [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1215 1216).

C Ne ille nos [aci::unbound:1st:subj] se [aci::bound:se:obj:distant] sentiat [aci:sense:sent-] videre [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1217).

C Edepol nunc nos [ecm:deontic::1st:subj] tempus [ecm:deontic:tempus] est malas peioris fieri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1218).

C Ut [aci::unbound:1st:subj:raise:null] amari [aci::inf:pres:pass] videor [aci:see:vid-] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1223).

C Permirum [aci::trace] ecaster praedicas [aci:say:dic-], te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] adiasse [aci::inf:perf] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] atque [aci::bound:2nd:subj:null:coord] exorasse [aci::inf:perf] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord], per epistulam aut per nuntium, quasi regem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] adiri [aci::inf:pres:pass] eum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] aiunt [aci:say:ai-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1224 1225).

C Spero [ecm:hope:sper-] ita [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:subj:null] futurum [ecm:hope::inf:fut:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1231).

C Si pol me [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj] nolet [ecm:want:nolle] ducere [ecm:want::inf:pres] uxorem [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear], genua amplectar atque obsecrabo, alio modo si non quibo [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] impetrare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null], consciscam letum, vivere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] sine illo scio [aci:know:sc-] me [aci::bound:1st:subj] non posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1239 1241).

C Prohibendam [\_gerundive] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] mortem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] mulieri video [aci:see:vid-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1242).

C Perdere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] istam gloriam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] vis [ctrl:subj:want:velle], quam habes [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1245)?

C Nam nulli mortali scio [aci:know:sc-] obtigisse [aci::inf:perf] hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], nisi duobus, tibi et Phaoni Lesbio, tam mulier se ut amaret [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1246 1247).

C Durare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] nequeo [ctrl:subj:able:qu-], quin eam intro [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1249 1250).

C Nescio [aci:know:sc-] ubi hic prope adest [aci::inf\_indicat:indir] quem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] expeto [ctrl:subj:want:expet-] videre [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1258).

C Quia stare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] nequeo [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1260).

C Iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] ergo [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] adire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1268).

C Verbum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] edepol facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] non potis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], si accesserit prope ad te [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1270).

C Levandum [\_gerundive] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] morbum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] mulieri video [aci:see:vid-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1272).

C Sed quid [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:obj] illa volt [ecm:want:velle] me  
 [ecm:want:::unbound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear:interrog] facere  
 [ecm:want:::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1274)?  
 c Tecum vivere [ctrl:subj:::inf:pres] volt [ctrl:subj:want:velle] atque  
 aetatem [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] exigere [ctrl:subj:::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1275).  
 C Qui id [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] facere [ctrl:subj:::inf:pres] potuit  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1277)?  
 C Iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] domum [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] ire  
 [ctrl:obj:::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1278).  
 C Alium [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] alio pacto propter amorem ni sciam  
 [aci:know:sc-] fecisse [aci:::inf:perf] multa [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 [\_linear] nequiter, verear [ctrl:subj:fear:ver-] magis me  
 [ctrl:subj:::bound:1st:obj] amoris causa hoc ornatu incedere  
 [ctrl:subj:::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1284 1286).  
 C Verum quom multos [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] multa [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 [\_linear] admissee [aci:::inf:perf] acceperim [aci:believe:accip-] inhonesta  
 propter amorem atque aliena a bonis [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1287 1288).  
 C Nam quaevis alia quae morast aequae, mora [aci:::inf:pres:no:cop] minor ea  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] videtur [aci:see:vid-] quam quae propter  
 mulieremst [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1293 1294).  
 C Hoc [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] adeo fieri [aci:::inf:pres:pass] credo  
 [aci:believe:cred-] consuetudine [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1295).  
 C Navim [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] cupimus [ctrl:subj:want:cup-] solvere  
 [ctrl:subj:::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1300).  
 C Nam si abstinuissem [ctrl:subj:stop:abstin-] amare [ctrl:subj:::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1309).  
 C Quin tu iubes [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] ecferris [ctrl:obj:::inf:pres:pass] omnia  
 [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj] quae isti dedi [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1314)?  
 C Materque et soror tibi salutem [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj] me  
 [ctrl:obj:::unbound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear] iusserunt [ctrl:obj:order:iub-]  
 dicere [ctrl:obj:::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1315 1316).  
 C Istuc crucior [aci:emotion:cruc-], a viro [\_abl:agent] me  
 [aci:::bound:1st:subj] tali abalienarier [aci:::inf:pres:pass], nam tu quemvis  
 [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] potis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] es facere  
 [ctrl:subj:::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj:make:fac-] ut afluat [ctrl:obj:::inf\_subjunct]  
 facetiis [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1321 1322).  
 C Eam nobilitatem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] amittendam [\_gerundive]  
 [aci:::inf:pres:no:cop] video [aci:see:vid-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1323).  
 C Obsecro licet [ctrl:impers:lic-] [ctrl:impers:::1st:subj:null] complecti  
 [ctrl:impers:::inf:pres] [ctrl:impers:::2nd:obj:null] prius quam proficisco  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1329)?  
 C Aurem [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] admotam [ecm:deontic:::inf:perf:pass:no:cop]  
 oportuit [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1337).  
 C Nos secundum ferri [aci:::inf:pres:pass] nunc per urbem haec omnia  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1349).  
 C Cum ero pauca [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] volo [ctrl:subj:want:velle]  
 loqui [ctrl:subj:::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1352).  
 C Quamquam alios [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] [aci:::inf:pres:no:cop] fideliores  
 semper habuisti [aci:believe:hab-] tibi quam me [aci:::bound:1st:subj]  
 [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1353).  
 C Tibi servire [ctrl:subj:::inf:pres] malui [ctrl:subj:want:malle] multo, quam  
 alii libertus esse [ctrl:subj:::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1355 1356).  
 C Si forte liber fieri [ctrl:subj:::inf:pres:pass] occeperim  
 [ctrl:subj:begin:occip-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1362).  
 C Vix reprimor quin te [ctrl:obj:::unbound:2nd:subj] manere  
 [ctrl:obj:::inf:pres] iubeam [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1368).

C Dicent [aci:say:dic-] te [aci:::unbound:2nd:subj] mendacem nec verum esse [aci::inf:pres:cop], fide nulla esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] te [aci:::unbound:2nd:subj:coord], dicent [aci:say:dic-] servorum praeter me esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] hic fidelem neminem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1369 1370).

C Nam si honeste censeam [aci:believe:cens-] te [aci:::unbound:2nd:subj] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], suadeam [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1371).

C Ante hoc factum hunc [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] sum arbitratus [aci:think:arbitr-] semper [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] pessimum [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1374).

C Eum [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] fidelem mi esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] invenio [aci:find:inven-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1375).

C Qui omnis [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] se [aci:::bound:se:obj:distant] [\_\_linear] amare [aci::inf:pres] credit [aci:believe:cred-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1391).

C Quin iamdudum gestit [ctrl:subj:want:gest-] moecho hoc abdomen [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] adimere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1398).

C Cur es ausus [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] subigitare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] alienam uxorem [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj], impudens [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1402)?

C Non licet [ctrl:impers:lic-] mihi [ctrl:impers:::1st:subj:dative] dicere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1403)?

C Quor ire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ausus [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1404)?

C Viduam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] hercle esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] censui [aci:believe:cens-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1409).

C Iura [aci:say:iur-] te [aci:::bound:2nd:subj] non nociturum esse [aci::inf:fut:peri:with:cop] homini de hac re nemini [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1411).

C Iuro [aci:say:iur-] per Iovem et Mavortem, me [aci:::bound:1st:subj] nociturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:peri:no:cop] nemini, quod ego hic hodie vapularim, iureque id [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] factum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1414 1415).

C Postibi [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] amittendum [\_\_gerundive] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] censeo [aci:believe:cens-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1418).

C Nil cessarunt [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-] ilico osculari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] atque amplexari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] inter se [ctrl:subj:::bound:se:local] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1432 1433).

C Verba [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] mihi data esse [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] video [aci:see:vid-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1434).

C Iure [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] factum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] iudico [aci:believe:iudic-] [\_\_Plautus:Mil] (1435).

= Terence

C Sororem falso creditam meretriculae genere Andriae, Glycerium, vitiat Pamphilus gravidaque facta dat fidem [aci:believe:fid-] uxorem sibi [aci:::bound:se:goal:distant] fore [aci::inf:fut:cop] hanc [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Terence:And] (Arg).

C Poeta quom primum animus ad scribendum [\_\_gerundive] adpulit, id [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] sibi [aci:::bound:se:goal:distant] negoti credidit [aci:believe:cred-] solum dari [aci::inf:pres:pass], populo ut placerent quas fecisset fabulas [\_\_Terence:And] (1 3).

C Verum [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] aliter evenire [aci::inf:pres] multo intellegit [aci:know:intelleg-] [\_\_Terence:And] (4).

C Quae convenere in Andriam ex Perinthia fatetur [aci:say:fat-] [aci:::bound:se:subj:local:null] transtulisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] atque [aci:::bound:se:subj:local:null:coord]

usum [aci::inf:perf:depon:no:cop] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] pro suis  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (13 14).  
 C Id [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] isti vituperant [aci:say:vituper-] factum  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] atque in eo disputant [aci:think:disput-]  
 contaminari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] non  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] decere [aci::inf:pres]  
 [ecm:deontic:dec-] fabulas [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] [\_\_Terence:And] (15 16).  
 C Qui quom hunc accusant, Naevium Plautum Ennium accusant, quos hic noster  
 auctores habet, quorum aemulari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] exoptat  
 [ctrl:subj:want:opt-] neclegentiam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] potius quam  
 istorum obscuram diligentiam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Terence:And]  
 (18 21).  
 C Dehinc ut quiescant porro moneo et desinant [ctrl:subj:stop:desin-] male  
 dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], malefacta ne noscant sua [\_\_Terence:And] (22  
 23).  
 C Quid est quod tibi mea ars efficere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] hoc  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] possit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] amplius  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (31)?  
 C Sed eis quas [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] semper in te intellexi  
 [aci:know:intelleg-] sitas [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] [\_\_Terence:And] (33).  
 C Gaudeo, si tibi quid feci aut facio quod placeat, Simo, et id  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] gratum fuisse [aci::inf:perf:cop] advorsum te habeo  
 gratiam [aci:emotion:grat-] [\_\_non:linear:is] [\_\_Terence:And] (40 42).  
 C Quas [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] credis [aci:believe:cred-] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] has non sunt verae nuptiae [\_\_Terence:And] (46 47).  
 C Et quid [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] facere [ecm:want::inf:pres] in hac re  
 te [ecm:want::unbound:2nd:subj] [\_\_non:linear:interrog] velim  
 [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Terence:And] (50).  
 C Nam ante qui scire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] posses [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] aut  
 ingenium [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] noscere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (53).  
 C Nam id [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] adprime in  
 vita esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] utile [\_\_Terence:And] (60 61).  
 C Sic vita erat [ctrl:sent], facile [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] omnis  
 [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj] perferre [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] ac  
 [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord]  
 [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] pati [ctrl:sent::inf:pres], cum  
 quibus erat quomque una eis sese dedere, eorum studiis  
 [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] obsequi [ctrl:sent::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (62 64).  
 C Comperibam [aci:know:comper-] nil [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ad Pamphilum  
 quicquam attinere [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And] (90 91).  
 C Enim vero [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] spectatum  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] satis putabam [aci:think:put-] et  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] magnum exemplum  
 continentiae [\_\_Terence:And] (91 92).  
 C Scias [aci:know:sc-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] posse [aci::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] habere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] iam ipsum suae vitae modum  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Terence:And] (95).  
 C Quom id mihi placebat [ecm:impers:plac-] tum uno ore omnes  
 [ecm:impers::3rd:subj] omnia bona [ecm:impers::3rd:obj] [\_\_linear] dicere  
 [ecm:impers::inf:pres] et [ecm:impers::3rd:subj:null:coord] laudare  
 [ecm:impers::inf:pres] fortunas meas [ecm:impers::3rd:obj] [\_\_Terence:And]  
 (96 97).  
 C Haec [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ego putabam [aci:think:put-] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] omnia humani ingeni mansuetique animi officia  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (113 114).

C Quae [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] cum mihi lamentari [aci::inf:pres] praeter ceteras visast [aci:see:vid-] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Terence:And] (121 122).

C Sororem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] aiunt [aci:say:ai-] Chrysidis [\_\_Terence:And] (124).

C Quae sese [ctrl:subj:::bound:se:local] in ignem inicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voluit [ctrl:subj:want:velle], prohibui [ctrl:obj:prohibit:prohib-] [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:dup], servavi [\_\_Terence:And] (140 141).

C Venit Chremes postridie ad me clamitans [aci:say:clamat-], indignum facinus, [aci:::bound:se:subj:local:null] comperisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci:know:comper-] Pamphilum [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] pro uxore habere [aci::inf:pres] hanc peregrinam [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] [\_\_Terence:And] (144 146).

C Ego illud [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] sedulo negare [historical::inf:pres] [aci:say:neg-] factum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] [\_\_Terence:And] (146 147).

C Denique ita tum discedo ab illo, ut qui se [aci:::bound:se:subj:local] filiam [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] neget [aci:say:neg-] daturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [\_\_Terence:And] (147 149).

C Prope adest quom alieno more vivendumst [\_gerundive] mihi, sine [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] nunc meo me [ctrl:obj:::unbound:1st:subj] vivere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] interea modo [\_\_Terence:And] (152 153).

C Si propter amorem uxorem [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] nolet [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] ducere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And] (155).

C Quem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] ego credo [aci:believe:cred-] manibus pedibusque obnixae omnia [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:rel:1st] facturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [\_\_Terence:And] (161 162).

C In Pamphilo ut nil sit morae, restat Chremes qui mi exorandus [\_gerundive] est, et spero [ecm:hope:sper-] [ecm:hope:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] confore [ecm:hope::inf:fut:cop] [\_\_Terence:And] (165 166).

C Ita Davom [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] modo timere [aci::inf:pres] sensi [aci:sense:sent-], ubi nuptias [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] futuras esse [aci::inf:fut:cop] audivit [aci:hear:aud-] [\_\_Terence:And] (173 174).

C Qui postquam audierat [aci:hear:aud-] non datum iri [aci::inf:fut:pass] filio uxorem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] suo, numquam quouquam nostrum verbum fecit neque id aegre tulit [\_\_Terence:And] (177 178).

C Id [ecm:want:::trace] voluit [ecm:want:velle], nos [ecm:want:::unbound:1st:subj] sic necopinantis duci [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] falso gaudio, sperantis iam, amoto metu, interoscitantis opprimi [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:And] (180 181).

C Meum gnatum [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] rumor [aci:say:rumor] est amare [aci::inf:pres] [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Terence:And] (185).

C Sed nunc ea [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] me [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] [\_non:linear:is] exquirere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] iniqui patris [ecm:deontic:aequ-] est [\_\_Terence:And] (186 187).

C Omnes qui amant graviter sibi [ctrl:obj:::bound:se:goal:distant] dari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] uxorem [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj] ferunt [ctrl:obj:allow:fer-] [\_\_Terence:And] (191).

C Nempe ergo aperte vis [ecm:want:velle] [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel] quae restant me [ecm:want:::unbound:1st:subj] loqui [ecm:want::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And] (195)?

C Si sensero [aci:sense:sent-] hodie quicquam [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] in his te [aci:::unbound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear] nuptiis fallaciae conari [aci::inf:pres] quo fiant minus, aut [aci:::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord] velle [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:want:velle] in ea re ostendi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [aci:show:ostend-] quam sis

[aci::inf\_subjunct:indir], callidus, verberibus caesum te in pistrinum, Dave, dedam usque ad necem [\_\_Terence:And] (196 199).

C Ubivis facilius passus sim [ctrl:obj:allow:pat-] quam in hac re me [ctrl:obj::bound:1st:subj] deludier [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:And] (203).

C Neque tu haud dicas [aci:say:dic-] tibi [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] non praedictum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] [\_\_Terence:And] (205).

C Quoi verba [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] dare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] difficilest [ecm:deontic:difficil-] [\_\_Terence:And] (211).

C Audireque [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] eorumst operae pretium [ecm:deontic:pret-] audaciam [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [\_\_Terence:And] (217).

C Quidquid peperisset decreverunt [ctrl:subj:decide:cern-] tollere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel:indef] [\_\_Terence:And] (219).

C Et fingunt [ecm:pretend:fing-] quandam inter se nunc fallaciam [ecm:pretend:::trace] civem Atticam esse [ecm:pretend::inf:pres:cop] hanc [ecm:pretend::unbound:3rd:subj], fuit olim hinc quidam senex mercator, navem is fregit apud Andrum insulam, is obiit mortem, ibi tum hanc eiectam [ecm:pretend::unbound:3rd:obj] Chrysidis patrem [ecm:pretend::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_non:linear:demon] recepissee [ecm:pretend::inf:perf] orbam, parvam [\_\_Terence:And] (220 224).

C Lesbiam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] adduci [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] iubes [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [\_\_Terence:And] (228).

C Sed quidnam Pamphilum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] exanimatum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] video [aci:see:vid-] [\_\_Terence:And] (234)?

C Uxorem [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] decreverat [ecm:want:cern-] dare [ecm:want::inf:pres] sese [ecm:want::bound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear] mi hodie, nonne oportuit [ecm:deontic:oport-] praescisse [ecm:deontic::inf:perf] [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj:null] me [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] ante, nonne prius [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null:coord] communicatum [ecm:deontic::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] oportuit [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Terence:And] (238 239)?

C Chremes, qui denegarat [aci:say:neg-] se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] commissurum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] mihi gnatam suam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] uxorem, id mutavit, quom me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] inmutatum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] videt [aci:see:vid-] [\_\_Terence:And] (241 242)?

C Adeon hominem [interject:::3rd:subj] esse [interject::inf:pres:cop] invenustum aut infelicem quemquam ut ego sum [\_\_Terence:And] (244)!

C Nullon ego Chremetis pacto adfinitatem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] effugere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] potero [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Terence:And] (245)?

C Ea quoniam nemini obtrudi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Terence:And] (250).

C Ah, tantamne rem [interject:::3rd:obj] tam neclegenter [interject:::3rd:subj:null] agere [interject::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And] (252 253)!

C Id [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null] mihi visust [aci:see:vid-] dicere [aci::inf:pres] (direct quote), abi cito ac suspende te [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Terence:And] (255).

C Censen [aci:believe:cens-] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] verbum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] potuisse [aci::inf:perf] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] ullum proloqui [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And] (256)?



C Qui me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] tam leni passus est  
 [ctrl:obj:allow:pat-] animo usque adhuc [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:rel]  
 [\_linear] [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:dup] quae [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] meo quomque  
 animo [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:dative] lubitumst [ctrl:impers:lub-] facere  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And] (262 263).  
 C Sed peropust [ecm:deontic:opus] nunc aut hunc [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] cum  
 ipsa aut de illa aliquid [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] me [ecm:deontic::1st:subj]  
 [\_non:linear:indef:1st] advorsum hunc loqui [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (265).  
 C Hem egon istuc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] conari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 queam [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] [\_\_Terence:And] (270)?  
 C Egon propter me illam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] decipi  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] miseram sinam [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] [\_\_Terence:And]  
 (271).  
 C Bene et pudice eius doctum atque eductum sinam [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-]  
 coactum egestate ingenium [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] inmutarier  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:And] (274 275)?  
 C Sed ut vim [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] queas [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] ferre  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And] (277).  
 C Adeon me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] ignavom putas  
 [aci:think:put-], adeon porro ingratum aut inhumanum aut ferum, ut neque me  
 consuetudo neque amor neque pudor commoveat neque commoneat ut servem fidem  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (277 280)?  
 C Unum hoc [aci::trace] scio [aci:know:sc-], hanc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 meritam esse [aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop] ut memor esses sui  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (281).  
 C Quoniam non potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] id fieri  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] quod vis [\_\_Terence:And] (305).  
 C Ah, quanto id te [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj] satiust [ecm:deontic:sat-] dare  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] operam istam [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj]  
 [\_linear:demon:2nd] qui ab animo amoveas tuo, quam id [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj]  
 [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null:coord] eloqui [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] quo magis  
 lubido frustra incendatur tua [\_\_Terence:And] (307).  
 C Omnia [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::1st:subj:null] experiri  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] certumst [ecm:deontic:cert-] prius quam pereo  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (311).  
 C Si nil impetres, ut te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] arbitretur  
 [aci:think:arbitr-] sibi [aci::bound:se:goal:distant] paratum  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] moechum, si illam duxerit [\_\_Terence:And] (315  
 316).  
 C Vereor [ctrl:subj:fear:ver-] dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Terence:And] (323).  
 C Ego, Charine, neutiquam officium [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 [ecm:deontic:offici-] liberi esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] hominis puto  
 [aci:think:put-], quom is nil mereat, [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] postulare  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj:order:postul-] id  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] gratiae adponi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] sibi  
 [ctrl:obj::bound:se:goal:distant] [\_\_Terence:And] (330 331).  
 C Nuptias [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] effugere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ego  
 istas malo [ctrl:subj:want:malle] quam tu apiscier [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (332).  
 C Nisi ea [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:rel] quae nil opus [ecm:deontic:opus] sunt  
 sciri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:And] (337).  
 C Quem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ego nunc credo [aci:believe:cred-], si iam  
 audierit [aci:hear:aud-] sibi [aci::bound:se:goal:distant] paratas  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] nuptias [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], audin  
 [aci:hear:aud-] tu illum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], toto me

[aci::unbound:1st:obj] [\_linear] oppido exanimatum quaerere [aci::inf:pres] sed ubi quaeram [\_\_Terence:And] (343).

C Cessas [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-] adloqui [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And] (343)?

C Ait [aci:say:ai-] tibi [aci::bound:se:subj:local:null] uxorem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] dare [aci::inf:pres] hodie, item alia multa [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:rel] quae nunc non est narrandi [\_gerund] locus [\_\_Terence:And] (353 354).

C Forte ibi huius video Byrriam, rogo, negat [aci:say:neg-] [aci::bound:se:subj:local:null] vidisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Terence:And] (356 357).

C Interea intro ire [aci::inf:pres] neminem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] video [aci:see:vid-], exire [aci::inf:pres] neminem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], matronam nullam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] in aedibus, nil [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ornati [aci::inf:pres:no:cop], nil [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] tumulti [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] [\_\_Terence:And] (363 365).

C Num videntur [aci:see:vid-] convenire [aci::inf:pres] haec [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] nuptiis [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Terence:And] (366).

C Holera [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] et pisculos minutos [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] ferre [aci::inf:pres] obolo in cenam seni [\_\_Terence:And] (369).

C Ridiculum caput, quasi necessus [ecm:deontic:necess-] sit, si huic non dat, te [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj] illam uxorem [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] ducere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres], nisi vides, nisi senis amicos oras, ambis [\_\_Terence:And] (371 373).

C Si id suscenseat nunc, quia non det tibi uxorem Chremes, prius quam tuom animum ut sese habet ad nuptias perspexerit, ipsus [aci::bound:se:subj:raise] sibi [aci::bound:se:goal:local] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] iniurius videatur [aci:see:vid-] [\_personal:passive], neque id iniuria [\_\_Terence:And] (378 379).

C Sed si tu negaris [aci:say:neg-] [aci::bound:2nd:subj:null] ducere [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null], ibi culpam in te transferet [\_\_Terence:And] (380).

C Dic [aci:say:dic-] te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] ducturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Terence:And] (384).

C Suadere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] noli [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] [\_\_Terence:And] (385).

C Nempe hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] sic esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] opinor [aci:think:opin-], dicturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] patrem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] (direct quote) ducas [ecm:want::inf\_subjunct] volo [ecm:want:velle] hodie uxorem [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Terence:And] (387 388).

C Patri dic [aci:say:dic-] [aci::bound:2nd:subj:null] velle [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null], ut, quom velit, tibi iure irasci [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] non queat [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] [\_\_Terence:And] (394).

C Inveniet inopem potius quam te [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj] corrumpi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] sinat [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] [\_\_Terence:And] (396).

C Sed si te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] aequo animo ferre [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] accipiet [aci:believe:accip-], neclegentem feceris [\_\_Terence:And] (397).

C Puerum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] autem ne resciscat [aci:know:sc-] mi esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] ex illa cautiost, nam pollicitus [ecm:promise:pollic-] sum [ecm:promise::bound:1st:subj:null] suscepturum [ecm:promise::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [ecm:promise::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] [\_\_Terence:And] (400 401).

C Hanc fidem sibi me obsecravit, qui se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] sciret [aci:know:sc-] non desertum iri [aci::inf:fut:pass], ut darem [\_\_Terence:And] (402).

C Cave te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] tristem sentiat [aci:sense:sent-] [\_\_Terence:And] (403).

C Hic nunc non dubitat quin te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] ducturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] neges [aci:say:neg-] [\_\_Terence:And] (405).

C Orationem [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:obj] sperat [ecm:hope:sper-] invenisse [ecm:hope::inf:perf] se [ecm:hope::bound:se:subj:local] [\_non:linear] qui differat te [\_\_Terence:And] (407 408).

C Crede [aci:believe:cred-] inquam hoc [aci::trace] mihi, Pamphile, numquam hodie tecum commutaturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:with:cop] patrem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] unum esse verbum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear], si te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] dices [aci:say:dic-] ducere [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Terence:And] (409 411).

C Erus me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] relictis rebus iussit [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] Pamphilum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] hodie observare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres], ut quid ageret [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] de nuptiis scirem [aci:know:sc-] [\_\_Terence:And] (412 413).

C Utrumque [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] adesse [aci::inf:pres:cop] video [aci:see:vid-] [\_\_Terence:And] (416).

C Hodie uxorem [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] ducas [ecm:want::inf\_subjunct], ut dixi, volo [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Terence:And] (418).

C Nullane in re esse [interject::inf:pres:cop] quoiquam homini fidem [interject::3rd:subj] [\_\_Terence:And] (425).

C Verum illud verbumst, volgo quod dici [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [aci:say:dic-] solet [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] [\_impersonal:passive], omnis [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] sibi [ecm:want::bound:se:goal:distant] malle [aci::inf:pres] [ecm:want:malle] [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] melius esse [ecm:want::inf:pres:cop] quam alteri [\_\_Terence:And] (426 427).

C Ego illam vidi, virginem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] forma bona memini [aci:remember:meminisc-] videri [aci::inf:pres:pass], quo aequior sum Pamphilo, si se [ecm:want::bound:se:subj:local] illam [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] in somnis quam illum [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] amplecti [ecm:want::inf:pres] [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] maluit [ecm:want:malle] [\_\_Terence:And] (428 430).

C Hic nunc me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] credit [aci:believe:cred-] aliquam sibi [aci::bound:se:goal:distant] fallaciam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] portare [aci::inf:pres] et ea [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear:is] hic restitisse [aci::inf:perf] gratia [\_\_Terence:And] (432 433).

C Potin [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] es mihi verum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And] (437)?

C Subtristis [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null] visust [aci:see:vid-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] aliquantillum mihi [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Terence:And] (447).

C Ait [aci:say:ai-] nimium parce [aci::bound:se:subj:local:null] facere [aci::inf:pres] sumptum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Terence:And] (450).

C Vix inquit drachumis est obsonatum decem, non filio videtur [aci:see:vid-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null] uxorem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] dare [aci::inf:pres] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Terence:And] (452 453).

C Nam quod peperisset iussit [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null:rel] tolli [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:And] (464).

C Quid [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] hic [aci::bound:se:subj:local:null] sensisse [aci::inf:perf] ait [aci:say:ai-] [\_\_Terence:And] (470)?

C Haec primum adfertur iam mi ab hoc [\_abl:agent] fallacia, hanc [ecm:pretend::unbound:3rd:subj] simulant [ecm:pretend:simul-] parere [ecm:pretend::inf:pres] [ecm:pretend::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef], quo Chremetem absterreant [\_\_Terence:And] (472 473).

C Postquam ante ostium me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] audivit [aci:hear:aud-] stare [aci::inf:pres], adproperat [\_\_Terence:And] (475 476).

C Adhuc, Archylis, quae adsolent quaeque oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] signa [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] ad salutem, omnia [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] huic esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] video [aci:see:vid-] [\_\_Terence:And] (481 482).

C Post deinde, quod [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] iussi [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] ei [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:dative] dari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] [ctrl:impers:dar-] bibere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] et quantum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass:dup] imperavit [ctrl:obj:order:imper-], date [\_\_Terence:And] (483 485).

C Vel hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] quis non credat [aci:believe:cred-], qui te norit, abs te esse ortum [aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop] [\_\_Terence:And] (489).

C Aut itane tandem [aci::unbound:1st:subj:raise:null] idoneus tibi videor [aci:see:vid-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_personal:passive], quem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] tam aperte fallere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] incipias [ctrl:subj:begin:incip-] dolis [\_\_Terence:And] (492 493)?

C Credon [aci:believe:cred-] tibi hoc [aci::trace] nunc, peperisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] hanc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] e Pamphilo [\_\_Terence:And] (497)?

C Quasi non tibi renuntiata [aci:say:nunti-] sint haec [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] sic fore [aci::inf:fut:cop] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Terence:And] (499).

C Eho, an tute intellexti [aci:know:intelleg-] hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] adsimulari [aci::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:And] (500).

C Quasi tu dicas [aci:say:dic-] factum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] id [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] consilio meo [\_\_Terence:And] (502).

C Sed si quid [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] tibi narrare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] occepi [ctrl:subj:begin:occip-], continuo dari [aci::inf:pres:pass] tibi verba [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] censes [aci:believe:cens-] [\_\_Terence:And] (504).

C Itaque herc e nil [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] iam muttire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] audeo [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] [\_\_Terence:And] (505).

C Hoc [aci::trace] ego scio [aci:know:sc-] unum, neminem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] peperisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] hic [\_\_Terence:And] (506).

C Id [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ego iam nunc tibi, ere, renuntio [aci:say:nunti-] futurum [aci::inf:fut:cop], ut sis sciens, ne tu hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] posterius dicas [aci:say:dic-] Davi factum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] consilio aut dolis [\_\_Terence:And] (508 509).

C Prorsus a me opinionem hanc tuam [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] esse ego amotam [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] volo [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Terence:And] (510).

C Iam prius haec se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] a Pamphilo gravidam dixit [aci:say:dic-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Terence:And] (512 513).

C Nunc, postquam videt [aci:see:vid-] nuptias [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] domi adparari [aci::inf:pres:pass], missast ancilla ilico obstetricem acceritum ad eam et puerum ut adferret simul [\_\_Terence:And] (513 515).

C Quom intellexeras [aci:know:intelleg-] id consilium [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] capere [aci::inf:pres], quor non dixti extemplo Pamphilo [\_\_Terence:And] (517 518)?

C Tu tamen idem has nuptias [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] perge [ctrl:subj:continue:perg-] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ita ut facis, et id [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:obj] spero [ecm:hope:sper-] adiuturos [ecm:hope::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] deos [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_non:linear:is] [\_\_Terence:And] (521 522).

C Ibi me [ctrl:subj::unbound:1st:subj] opperire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] et quod parato opus [ecm:deontic:opus] est para [ctrl:subj:want:par-] [\_\_Terence:And] (523).

C Si impetro, quid alias [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] malim [ecm:want:malle] quam hodie has fieri [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] nuptias [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Terence:And] (528 529)?

C Quin eum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] merito possim [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] cogere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And] (531).

C Aliquot me adierunt, ex te [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] auditum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] [aci:hear:aud-] [\_impersonal:passive] qui aibant [aci:say:ai-] hodie nubere [aci::inf:pres] meam filiam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] tuo gnato [\_\_Terence:And] (534 535).

C Quasi hoc [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] te [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj] [\_non:linear:demon] orando [\_gerund] a me impetrare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oporteat [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Terence:And] (543).

C Alium esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] censes [aci:believe:cens-] nunc me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] atque olim quom dabam [\_\_Terence:And] (543)?

C Si in remst utrique ut fiant, [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] accersi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [\_\_Terence:And] (544).

C Id [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] oro [ctrl:obj:beg:or-] te [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear:is] in commune ut consulas [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [\_\_Terence:And] (548).

C Ita magnae ut sperem [ecm:hope:sper-] [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:subj:null] posse [ecm:hope::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] avelli [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:And] (553).

C Spero [ecm:hope:sper-] consuetudine et coniugio liberali devinctum [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:subj], Chremes, dein facile ex illis sese [ecm:hope::bound:se:obj:local] [\_linear] emersurum [ecm:hope::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] malis [\_\_Terence:And] (560 562).

C Tibi ita hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] videtur [aci:see:vid-] [\_personal:passive], at ego non posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] neque illum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] hanc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:both] perpetuo habere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] neque me [aci::bound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear] perpeti [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj:allow:pat-] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:dup] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] [\_\_Terence:And] (563 564).

C At istuc periculum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] in filia fieri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] gravest [ecm:deontic:grav-] [\_\_Terence:And] (568).

C Si ita istuc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] animum inducti [aci:believe:duc-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] utile, nolo [ecm:want:nolle] tibi ullum commodum [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] in me claudier [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:And] (572 573).

C Qui scis [aci:know:sc-] eos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] nunc discordare [aci::inf:pres] inter se [aci::bound:se:oblique:local] [\_\_Terence:And] (575)?

C Num censes faceret, filium [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] nisi sciret  
 [aci:know:sc-] eadem haec [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] velle  
 [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And] (578)?  
 C Atque eccum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] video [aci:see:vid-] ipsum foras  
 [\_linear:demon:1st] exire [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And] (580).  
 C Numquam istuc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] quivi [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] ego  
 intellegere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And] (589).  
 C Ut hinc te [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj] intro ire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
 iussi [ctrl:obj:order:iub-], opportune hic fit mi obviam [\_\_Terence:And]  
 (590).  
 C Ego optume inquam [aci:say:inquam] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] factum  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] [\_\_Terence:And] (593).  
 C Nunc te [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj] oro [ctrl:obj:beg:or-], Dave, quoniam  
 solus mi effecisti has nuptias, ego vero solus, corrigi  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] mihi gnatum [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] porro  
 enitere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ecm:want:enit-] [\_\_Terence:And] (595 596).  
 C Atque hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] confiteor [aci:say:confit-] iure mi  
 obtigisse [aci::inf:perf], quandoquidem tam iners, tam nulli consili sum  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (608).  
 C Servon fortunas meas [interject::3rd:obj] me [interject::1st:subj]  
 [\_non:linear] commisisse [interject::inf:perf] futtili [\_\_Terence:And]  
 (609)!  
 C Posthac me [aci::bound:1st:subj] incolumem sat scio [aci:know:sc-] fore  
 [aci::inf:fut:cop], nunc si devito hoc malum [\_\_Terence:And] (611).  
 C Negabon [aci:say:neg-] velle [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:want:velle] me  
 [aci::bound:1st:subj] [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:dup]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null], modo qui sum pollicitus  
 [ctrl:subj:promise:pollic-] ducere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] [\_\_Terence:And] (612 613)?  
 C Qua audacia id [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 audeam [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] [\_\_Terence:And] (613)?  
 C Dicam [aci:say:dic-] aliquid [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:indef] me  
 [aci::bound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear:indef] inventurum  
 [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop], ut huic malo aliquam productem moram  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (615).  
 C Viden [aci:see:vid-] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] consiliis tuis miserum  
 inpeditum esse [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] [\_\_Terence:And] (616 617)?  
 C An non dixi [aci:say:dic-] esse hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] futurum  
 [aci::inf:fut:cop] [\_\_Terence:And] (622)?  
 C Namque hoc tempus praecavere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] mihi me  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] haud te [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:obj] [\_linear]  
 ulcisci [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] sinit [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] [\_\_Terence:And]  
 (625).  
 C Post ubi tempust [ecm:deontic:tempus] promissa [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] iam  
 perfici [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], tum coacti necessario se aperiunt  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (631 632).  
 C Etiam nunc me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] ducere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] istis dictis postulas  
 [ctrl:obj:order:postul-] [\_\_Terence:And] (644)?  
 C Postquam me [aci::bound:1st:subj] amare [aci::inf:pres]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] dixi [aci:say:dic-], complacitast tibi  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (645).  
 C Non tibi sat esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise]  
 visum [aci:see:vid-] solidumst gaudium [\_personal:passive], ni me lactasses  
 amantem et false spe produceres [\_\_Terence:And] (648)?  
 C Nec te [ctrl:subj::unbound:2nd:obj] quivit [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] hodie  
 cogere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj:force:cog-] illam

[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] ut duceres [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct]  
[\_\_\_Terence:And] (654).  
C Haec nuptiae non adparabantur mihi nec postulabat [ctrl:obj:order:postul-]  
nunc quisquam uxorem [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] dare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Terence:And]  
(656 657).  
C Scio [aci:know:sc-] equidem illam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] ducturum esse  
[aci::inf:fut:peri:with:cop] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] [\_\_non:linear:demon]  
[\_\_\_Terence:And] (659).  
C Numquam destitit [ctrl:subj:stop:dest-] instare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], ut  
dicerem [aci:say:dic-] me [aci::bound:1st:subj] ducturum  
[aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] patri, suadere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres], orare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] usque adeo donec perpulit  
[\_\_\_Terence:And] (660 662).  
C Nescio [aci:know:sc-] nisi mi deos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] fuisse iratos  
[aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop] qui auscultaverim [\_\_\_Terence:And] (663 664).  
C Eho, dic me, si omnes hunc [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] coniectum  
[ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] in nuptias inimici vellent [ecm:want:velle],  
quod nisi consilium hoc darent [\_\_\_Terence:And] (668)?  
C Nisi si id [aci::trace] putas [aci:think:put-], quia primo processit  
parum, non posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] iam ad salutem  
convorti [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] hoc malum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
[\_\_\_Terence:And] (671 672).  
C Ego, Pamphile, hoc [ctrl:subj::trace] tibi pro servitio debeo  
[ctrl:subj:ought:deb-], conari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] manibus pedibus  
noctisque et dies, capitis periculum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] adire  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Terence:And] (675 677).  
C Noli [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] te [ctrl:subj::bound:2nd:obj] macerare  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Terence:And] (685).  
C Orare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj:beg:or-]  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj:null] [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:obj:null]  
[ctrl:obj:beg:or-] iussit [ctrl:obj:order:iub-], si se ames, era, iam ut ad  
sese [ctrl:obj::bound:se:oblique:distant] venias [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct]  
[\_\_\_Terence:And] (687).  
C Videre [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ait [aci:say:ai-]  
[aci::bound:se:subj:local:null] te [ctrl:subj::unbound:2nd:obj] cupere  
[aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:want:cup-] [\_\_\_Terence:And] (688).  
C Sicine me [interject::1st:subj] atque illam [interject::3rd:subj] opera  
tua nunc miseros sollicitari [interject::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_\_Terence:And]  
(689)!  
C Nam idcirco accersor nuptias [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] quod mi adparari  
[aci::inf:pres:pass] sensit [aci:sense:sent-] [\_\_\_Terence:And] (690).  
C Quibus quidem quam facile potuerat [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] quiesci  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_\_Terence:And] (691).  
C Per omnis tibi adiuro [aci:say:iur-] deos numquam eam  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_non:linear] me [aci::bound:1st:subj]  
[\_\_non:linear:is] deserturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop], non si capiundos  
[\_gerundive] mihi sciam [aci:know:sc-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] inimicos  
omnis homines [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_\_Terence:And] (694 695).  
C Si poterit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] ut ne  
pater per me [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] stetisse [aci::inf:perf] credat  
[aci:believe:cred-], quo minus haec fierent nuptiae, volo, sed si id non  
poterit, id faciam, in proclivi quod est per me [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null]  
stetisse [aci::inf:perf] ut credat [aci:believe:cred-] [\_\_\_Terence:And] (699  
701).  
C Dies hic mi ut satis sit vereor ad agendum [\_gerundive], ne  
[aci::inf:pres:no:cop] vocivom me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] nunc ad narrandum

[\_gerundive] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] credas [aci:believe:cred-]  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (705 706).  
 C Nilne [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] proprium quoiquam  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (713).  
 C Tu, Mysis, dum exeo, parumper opperire [historical::inf:pres] hic  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (714).  
 C Summum bonum esse erae putabam [aci:think:put-] hunc Pamphilum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], amicum, amatorem, virum in quovis loco paratum  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] [\_\_Terence:And] (717 718).  
 C Quia, si forte opus sit ad erum iurato [aci:say:iur-] mihi non  
 [aci::bound:1st:subj:null] adposuisse [aci::inf:perf]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null], ut liquido possim [\_\_Terence:And] (728 729).  
 C Ego quoque hinc ab dextera venire [ecm:pretend::inf:pres] me  
 [ecm:pretend::bound:1st:subj] adsimulabo [ecm:pretend:simul-]  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (734 735).  
 C Revortor, postquam quae opus fuere ad nuptias gnatae paravi, ut iubeam  
 [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] accersi  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:And] (740 741).  
 C Adeone [aci::unbound:1st:subj:raise:null] videmur [aci:see:vid-] vobis  
 esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] idonei [\_personal:passive], in quibus sic inludatis  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (757 758)?  
 C Propera [ctrl:subj:hurry:proper-] adeo puerum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 tollere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] hinc ab ianua [\_\_Terence:And] (759).  
 C Au, quid clamitas, quemne [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ego heri vidi  
 [aci:see:vid-] ad vos adferri [aci::inf:pres:pass] vesperi [\_\_Terence:And]  
 (767 768)?  
 C Vidi [aci:see:vid-] Cantharam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] suffarcinatam  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] [\_\_Terence:And] (769 770).  
 C Iam susurrari [aci:say:susurr-] [aci::inf:pres:pass]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:null:impers] [\_impersonal:passive] audio [aci:hear:aud-]  
 civem Atticam esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] hanc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (780 781).  
 C Hanc [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] iam oportere  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] [aci::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic:oport-] in  
 cruciatum hinc abripi [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:And] (787).  
 C Non te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] credes [aci:believe:cred-] Davom  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] ludere [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And]  
 (788).  
 C Alio pacto haud poterat [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] fieri  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] ut sciret haec quae volumus [\_\_Terence:And] (793  
 794).  
 C Paulum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] interesse [aci::inf:pres:cop] censes  
 [aci:believe:cens-], ex animo omnia, ut fert natura, facias an de industria  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (795 796)?  
 C In hac habitasse [aci::inf:perf] platea dictumst [aci:say:dic-]  
 [\_impersonal:passive] Chrysidem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], quae sese  
 [ecm:want::bound:se:subj:local] inhoneste optavit [ecm:want:opt-] parere  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres] hic ditias [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] potius  
 quam in patria honeste pauper viveret [\_\_Terence:And] (796 798).  
 C Semper ei dictast [aci:say:dic-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] haec  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] atque habitast [aci:believe:hab-]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null:coord] [aci::inf:pres:cop] soror  
 [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Terence:And] (809).  
 C Nunc me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] hospitem [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 [\_linear] litis sequi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres], quam id mihi sit facile atque  
 utile, aliorum exempla commonent [ctrl:obj:warn:mon-] [\_\_Terence:And] (810  
 812).



C Simul [aci:::trace] arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-], iam aliquem  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] amicum et denfensorem ei  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (812 813).  
 C Clamitent [aci:say:clamit-] me [aci:::unbound:1st:subj]  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] sycphantam, hereditatem [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 persequi [aci::inf:pres] mendicum [aci:::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord]  
 [\_non:linear] [\_\_Terence:And] (814 816).  
 C Tum ipsam [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj] [ctrl:impers:::1st:subj:null] despoliare  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] non lubet [ctrl:impers:lub-] [\_\_Terence:And] (816).  
 C Me [ecm:want:::bound:1st:obj] nolo [ecm:want:nolle] in tempore hoc videat  
 [ecm:want::inf\_subjunct] senex [\_\_Terence:And] (819).  
 C Satis [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] pericli incepti [ctrl:subj:begin:incip-]  
 adire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And] (821).  
 C Nam si cogites, remittas [ctrl:subj:stop:mitt-] iam me  
 [ctrl:subj:::unbound:1st:obj] onerare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] iniuriis  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (827).  
 C Illam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] hinc civem esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] aiunt  
 [aci:say:ai-] [\_\_Terence:And] (833).  
 C Nos [ctrl:obj:::unbound:1st:subj] missos [ctrl:obj::inf:perf:pass:no:cop]  
 face [ctrl:obj:make:fac-] [\_\_Terence:And] (833).  
 C Per ego te [ctrl:obj:::unbound:2nd:subj] deos [\_non:linear] oro  
 [ctrl:obj:beg:or-], ut ne illis animum [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj] inducas  
 [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [ctrl:obj:allow:duc-] credere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
 [aci:believe:cred-], quibus id maxime utilest, illum [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] quam deterrumum [\_\_Terence:And] (834 835).  
 C Vero voltu, quom ibi me [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] adesse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
 neuter tum praesenserat [aci:sense:sent-] [\_\_Terence:And] (839).  
 C Ac volui [ctrl:subj:want:velle] dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Terence:And] (841).  
 C Animo nunciam otioso [ctrl:obj:::unbound:2nd:subj:null] esse  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:cop] impero [ctrl:obj:order:imper-] [\_\_Terence:And]  
 (842).  
 C Cesso [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-] adloqui [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And]  
 (845)?  
 C Eho, non tu dixti [aci:say:dic-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] inter eos  
 inimicitias [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj], carnufex [\_\_Terence:And] (853)?  
 C Videtur [aci:see:vid-] [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] quantivis preti [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Terence:And]  
 (854).  
 C Nil equidem, nisi quod [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] illum  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_non:linear:rel] audiui [aci:hear:aud-] dicere  
 [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And] (858).  
 C Quid ait [aci:say:ai-] tandem, Glycerium [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 [\_non:linear] se [aci:::bound:se:subj:local] scire [aci::inf:pres]  
 [aci:know:sc-] civem esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] Atticam [\_\_Terence:And] (859).  
 C Si quicquam [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] invenies [aci:find:inven-] me  
 [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear:indef] mentitum  
 [aci::inf:perf:depon:no:cop] [\_\_Terence:And] (864).  
 C Ostendam [aci:show:ostend-] erum quid sit [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir]  
 [ctrl:sent] pericli [ctrl:sent:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] fallere  
 [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And] (865).  
 C Tantum laborem [interject:::3rd:obj] [interject:::3rd:subj:null] capere  
 [interject::inf:pres] ob talem filium [\_\_Terence:And] (870)!  
 C Rem potius ipsam dic ac mitte [ctrl:subj:stop:mitt-] male loqui  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And] (873).  
 C Quasi quicquam in hunc iam gravius dici [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] possiet  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Terence:And] (874).

C Adeo inpotenti [interject:::3rd:null] esse [interject::inf:pres:cop] animo  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (879).  
 C Tamen hanc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] habere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 studeat [ctrl:subj:want:stud-] cum summo probro [\_\_Terence:And] (881).  
 C Ego me [aci:::bound:1st:subj] amare [aci::inf:pres] hanc  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] fateor [aci:say:fat-]  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (896).  
 C Vis [ecm:want:velle] me [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj] uxorem  
 [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] ducere [ecm:want::inf:pres],  
 [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord] hanc [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 amittere [ecm:want::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:And] (898)?  
 C Hoc modo te [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj] obsecro [ctrl:obj:beg:obsecr-],  
 ut ne credas [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [aci:believe:cred-] a me [\_abl:agent]  
 adlegatum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] hunc senem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (899).  
 C Sine [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] expurgem  
 [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Terence:And]  
 (900).  
 C Sine [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] te [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj] hoc  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] exorem  
 [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [ctrl:obj:beg:or-] [\_\_Terence:And] (902).  
 C Dum ne ab hoc me [aci:::bound:1st:subj] falli [aci::inf:pres:pass]  
 comperiar [aci:find:comper-], Chremes [\_\_Terence:And] (903).  
 C Mitte [ctrl:subj:stop:mitt-] orare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Terence:And] (904).  
 C Eho tu, Glycerium [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] hinc civem esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] ais [aci:say:ai-] [\_\_Terence:And] (908)?  
 C Si mihi perget [ctrl:subj:continue:perg-]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel] quae volt dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (920).  
 C Iam sciri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (922).  
 C Ibi ego audiui [aci:hear:aud-] ex illo [\_oblique:antecedent] sese  
 [aci:::bound:se:subj:distant] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] Atticum  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (927).  
 C Verum hercle opinor [aci:think:opin-] fuisse [aci::inf:perf:cop] Phanium  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], hoc certo scio, Rhamnusium se  
 [aci:::bound:se:subj:local] aiebat [aci:say:ai-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (929 930).  
 C Suamne [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] aiebat  
 [aci:say:ai-] [\_\_Terence:And] (933)?  
 C Tum illam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] veritust [ctrl:subj:fear:ver-]  
 relinquere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] hic [\_\_Terence:And] (936).  
 C Ne istam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] multimodis tuam inveniri  
 [aci::inf:pres:pass] gaudeo [aci:emotion:gaud-] [\_\_Terence:And] (939).  
 C Egone huius memoriam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] patiar  
 [ctrl:obj:allow:pat-] meae voluptati obstare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres], quom ego  
 possim [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] in hac re medicari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass]  
 mihi [\_\_Terence:And] (943 944)?  
 C Omnis nos [aci::unbound:1st:subj] gaudere [aci::inf:pres] hoc  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd], Chremes [\_\_Terence:And] (946).  
 C Te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] credo [aci:believe:cred-] credere  
 [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Terence:And] (947).  
 C Eho mecum, Crito, nam illam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] me  
 [aci::unbound:1st:obj] [\_linear:demon:1st] credo [aci:believe:cred-] haud  
 nosse [aci::inf:perf] [\_\_Terence:And] (951 952).

C Quor non illam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] huc transferri  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] iubes [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [\_\_Terence:And] (952)?  
 C Iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] solvi  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass], obsecro [\_\_Terence:And] (955).  
 C Me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] aliquis fors putet [aci:think:put-] non putare  
 [aci::inf:pres] [aci:think:put-] hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] verum, at mihi [ctrl:impers::1st:subj:dative] nunc  
 sic esse [ctrl:impers::inf:pres:cop] hoc [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj] verum lubet  
 [ctrl:impers:lub-] [\_\_Terence:And] (957 958).  
 C Ego deorum vitam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] eapropter sempiternam esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] quod voluptates eorum  
 propriae sunt [\_\_Terence:And] (959 960).  
 C Sed quem [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] ego mihi [ecm:want::inf:pres:no:cop]  
 potissimum optem [ecm:want:opt-], quoi nunc haec [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 narrem [aci:say:narr-] dari [aci::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:And] (962)?  
 C Nemost quem mallem omnium nam hunc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] scio  
 [aci:know:sc-] mea solide solum gavisurum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] gaudia  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:1st] [\_\_Terence:And] (963 964).  
 C Facturum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] [aci::inf:fut:peri:with:cop] quae  
 voles scio [aci:know:sc-] esse omnia [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear]  
 [\_\_Terence:And] (976).  
 C Atque adeo longumst [ecm:deontic:long-] illum [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] me  
 [ecm:deontic::1st:subj] [\_non:linear:demon] exspectare  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] dum exeat [\_\_Terence:And] (977).  
 C Novam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] ostendi  
 [aci:show:ostend-] et quae esset [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] [\_\_Terence:Hea]  
 (7).  
 C Nunc qui scripserit et quonia Graeca sit, ni partem maxumam  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] existumarem [aci:believe:existim-] scire  
 [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] vostrum, id dicerem  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (8 9).  
 C Oratorem esse [ecm:want::inf:pres:cop] voluit [ecm:want:velle] me  
 [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj], non prologum [\_\_Terence:Hea] (11).  
 C Quantum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] ille poterit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
 cogitare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] commode [\_\_Terence:Hea] (14).  
 C Nam quod [aci::trace] rumores distulerunt [aci:say:differ-] malevoli,  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] multas contaminasse [aci::inf:perf] Graecas  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj], dum facit paucas Latinas [\_\_Terence:Hea] (16 18).  
 C Id [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse factum [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] hic  
 non negat [aci:say:neg-] neque se [ctrl:obj::bound:se:obj:distant]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] pigere [aci::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:obj:impers:pig-] [ctrl:obj::bound:se:subj:null:coord]  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:perf:pass:with:cop:dup] et deinde  
 [aci::bound:se:subj:local:null] facturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] autumat [aci:say:autum-] [\_\_Terence:Hea]  
 (18 19).  
 C Quo exemplo sibi [ctrl:impers::bound:se:goal:distant]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] licere [aci::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:impers:lic-] id [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] facere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres]  
 quod illi fecerunt putat [aci:think:put-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (20 21).  
 C Tum quod malevolt vetus poeta dictitat [aci:say:dic-], repente ad studium  
 hunc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] se [aci::bound:se:obj:local]  
 [\_linear:demon:1st] adplicasse [aci::inf:perf] musicum, amicum ingenio  
 fretum, haud natura sua [\_\_Terence:Hea] (22 24).  
 C Qua re oratos [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] [ctrl:obj:beg:or-] omnis vos  
 [ecm:want::unbound:2ndd:subj] volo [ecm:want:velle], ne plus iniquom possit  
 [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] quam aequom oratio [\_\_Terence:Hea] (26 27).

C Ne ille pro se [aci::bound:se:oblique:distant] dictum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] existumet  
 [aci:believe:existim-], qui nuper fecit [ctrl:obj:make:fac-] servo currenti  
 in via decesse [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] populum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (30 32).  
 C Date potestatem mihi [ctrl:impers::1st:subj:dative] statariam  
 [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] agere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] ut liceat  
 [ctrl:impers:lic-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (35 36).  
 C Mea causa causam hanc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] iustam esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] animum inducite [aci:believe:cred-], ut aliqua pars  
 laboris minuatur mihi [\_\_Terence:Hea] (41 42).  
 C Ut adulescentuli vobis placere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] studeant  
 [ctrl:subj:want:stud-] potius quam sibi [ctrl:subj::bound:se:goal:local]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (51 52).  
 C Quod [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ego [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] in propinqua parte  
 amicitiae puto [aci:think:put-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (57).  
 C Quod [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] mihi videre [aci:see:vid-]  
 [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:raise:null] praeter aetatem tuam facere  
 [aci::inf:pres] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (59 60).  
 C Numquam tam mane egredior neque tam vesperi domum revortor quin te  
 [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] in fundo conspicer [aci:see:spect-] fodere  
 [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef:coord] aut  
 [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord] arare [aci::inf:pres]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef:coord] aut aliquid  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] [\_linear] [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord]  
 ferre [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (67 69).  
 C Haec [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] non voluptati tibi esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
 satis certo scio [aci:know:sc-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (71).  
 C Homo sum, humani nil [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] a me  
 alienum puto [aci:think:put-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (77).  
 C Vel me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] monere [aci::inf:pres] hoc  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] vel  
 [aci::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord] percontari [aci::inf:pres]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] puta [aci:think:put-] [\_\_Terence:Hea]  
 (78).  
 C Scire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] hoc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] vis  
 [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (87)?  
 C Sine [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] vocivom tempus  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] ne quod dem [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct]  
 mihi laboris [\_\_Terence:Hea] (90 91).  
 C Filium unicum adulescentulum habeo, ah, quid dixi [aci:say:dic-], habere  
 [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] me [aci::bound:1st:subj]  
 [\_non:linear], immo habui [\_\_Terence:Hea] (94 95).  
 C Eius filiam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] ille amare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 coepit [ctrl:subj:begin:coep-] perdit [\_\_Terence:Hea] (98).  
 C Coepi [ctrl:subj:begin:coep-] non humanitus neque ut animum  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] decuit [ecm:deontic:dec-] aegrotum adulescentuli  
 tractare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:dup]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null], sed vi et via pervolgata [\_pun] patrum  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (100 102).  
 C Hem, tibine [ctrl:impers::2nd:subj:dative] haec  
 [ctrl:impers::unbound:3rd:obj] diutius  
 [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] licere [ctrl:impers:lic-] speras  
 [ecm:hope:sper-] facere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] me  
 [ecm:hope::unbound:1st:subj] vivo patre, amicam ut habeas prope iam in  
 uxoris loco [\_\_Terence:Hea] (103 105)?

C Ego te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] meum esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] dici [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass]  
[aci:say:dic-] [\_personal:passive] tantisper volo [ecm:want:velle], dum quod  
te dignumst facies [\_\_Terence:Hea] (106 107).

C Ego quod [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] me [ecm:deontic::1st:subj]  
[\_non:linear:rel] in te sit [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] facere  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] dignum [ecm:deontic:dign-] invenero [aci:find:inven-]  
[\_\_Terence:Hea] (108).

C Aetate me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] putavit [aci:think:put-] et sapientia  
plus [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] scire [aci::inf:pres] et  
[aci::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord]  
providere [aci::inf:pres] quam se ipsum [aci::bound:se:subj:local] sibi  
[aci::bound:se:goal:local] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (115 116).

C Video [aci:see:vid-] alios [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] festinare  
[aci::inf:pres], [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] lectos  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] sternere [aci::inf:pres],  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] cenam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear]  
adparare [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (125 126).

C Ubi video, haec [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] coepi [ctrl:subj:begin:coop-]  
cogitare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (128).

C Sed gnatum unicum, quem [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] pariter uti  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] his decuit [ecm:deontic:dec-] aut etiam amplius, quod  
illa aetas magis ad haec utenda [\_gerundive] idoneast, eum ego hinc eieci  
miserum iniustitia mea [\_\_Terence:Hea] (131 134)!

C Malo quidem me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] quovis [aci::inf:pres:no:cop]  
dignum deputem [aci:think:put-], si id faciam [\_\_Terence:Hea] (135 136).

C Decrevi [ecm:want:cern-] me [ecm:want::bound:1st:subj] tantisper  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] minus [\_linear] iniuriae, Chremes, meo gnata  
facere [ecm:want::inf:pres] dum fiam miser, nec fas  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] [ecm:deontic:fas] esse [ecm:want::inf:pres:cop]  
ulla me [ecm:deontic::1st:subj] voluptate hic frui [ecm:deontic::inf:pres],  
nisi ubi ille huc salvos redierit meus particeps [\_\_Terence:Hea] (148 150).

C Ingenio te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] in liberos  
leni puto [aci:think:put-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (151).

C Nec tibi illest credere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ausus [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel] quae [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] est  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] aequom [ecm:deontic:aequ-]  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:dup] patri [\_\_Terence:Hea] (156).

C Menedeme, at porro recte spero et illum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] tibi  
salvom adfuturum esse [aci::inf:fut:cop] hic confido [aci:believe:fid-]  
propediem [\_\_Terence:Hea] (159 160).

C Idem absens facere [ecm:want::inf:pres] te [ecm:want::unbound:2nd:subj]  
hoc [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] volt [ecm:want:velle]  
filius [\_\_Terence:Hea] (164).

C Non convenit [ecm:deontic:conven-], qui illum ad laborem hinc pepulerim  
nunc me ipsum [ecm:deontic::1st:subj] fugere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
[\_\_Terence:Hea] (165 166).

C Sed ut diei tempus est, tempust [ecm:deontic:tempus] monere  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj:advise:mon-] me [ecm:deontic::1st:subj]  
hunc vicinum Phanium [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_linear] ad cenam ut  
veniat [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (169 170).

C Iam dudum domi praesto apud me [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] aiunt [aci:say:ai-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (171 172).

C Et illam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] simul cum nuntio hic tibi adfuturam  
[aci::inf:fut:cop] hodie scio [aci:know:sc-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (176).

C Huic filium [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] scis [aci:know:sc-] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop], audivi [aci:hear:aud-]

[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop], in Asia  
[\_\_Terence:Hea] (182)?

C Quam vellem [ecm:want:velle] Menedemum [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj]  
invitatum [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] ut nobiscum esset amplius  
[\_\_Terence:Hea] (186).

C Quid [aci::trace] narrat [aci:say:narr-], quid ille, se  
[aci::bound:se:subj:local] miserum esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Terence:Hea]  
(193).

C Nam in metu esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] hunc [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj]  
illist utile [ecm:deontic:utile] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (199).

C Ut ut erat, [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] mansum  
[ecm:deontic::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] tamen oportuit [ecm:deontic:oport-]  
[\_\_Terence:Hea] (200).

C Huncine [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] erat aequom [ecm:deontic:aequ-] ex more  
illius an illum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] ex huius vivere  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (203)?

C Scortari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] crebro nolunt [ctrl:subj:want:nolle], nolunt  
[ctrl:subj:want:nolle] crebro convivariet [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[\_\_Terence:Hea] (206).

C Necessest [ecm:deontic:necess-], Clitipho, consilia [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj]  
[ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] consequi [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] consimilia  
[\_\_Terence:Hea] (209).

C Scitumst [ctrl:deontic:scit-] periculum ex aliis facere  
[ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] tibi [ctrl:deontic::2nd:dative]  
[ctrl:deontic::3rd:obj:null:rel] quod ex usu siet [\_\_Terence:Hea] (210).

C Qui [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] aequom [ecm:deontic:aequ-] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] censent [aci:believe:cens-] nos [ecm:deontic::1st:subj]  
a pueris ilico nasci [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] senes neque illarum adfinis  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] rerum quas fert  
adulescentia [\_\_Terence:Hea] (214 215).

C Nam nil [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] mihi  
[ctrl:deontic::1st:subj:dative] religiosi [ctrl:deontic:religio] dicere  
[ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (228).

C Pergin [ctrl:subj:continue:perg-] istuc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] prius  
diudicare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] quas scis quid veri siet [\_\_Terence:Hea]  
(237)?

C Non cogitas [aci:think:cogit-] hinc longule [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null]  
esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (239)?

C Non oportuit [ecm:deontic:oport-] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] relictas  
[ecm:deontic::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (248).

C Hic reliqui, unde ei [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
censes [aci:believe:cens-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (253)?

C Qui harum mores cantabat [aci:say:cant-] mihi,  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] monuisse [aci::inf:perf]  
[aci::unbound:1st:obj:null] neque eum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] potuisse  
[aci::inf:perf] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] umquam ab hac me  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:1st:obj] aspellere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea]  
(260 261).

C Tum quom gratum mihi esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:cop] potuit  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-], nolui [\_\_Terence:Hea] (262).

C Nam mihi nunc nil rerum omniumst quod malim [ecm:want:malle] quam me  
[ecm:want::bound:1st:subj] hoc [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[\_\_linear:demon:2nd] falso suspicariet [ecm:want::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea]  
(267 268).

C Anus, quae [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] est dicta [aci:say:dic-] mater  
esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] ei antehac [\_\_personal:passive], non fuit  
[\_\_Terence:Hea] (269 270).

C Hic sciri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] potuit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] aut nusquam alibi [\_\_Terence:Hea] (279).

C Scin hanc quam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] dicit [aci:say:dic-] sordidatam [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] et [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] sordidam [\_\_Terence:Hea] (297)?

C Magnum hoc quoque signumst [aci:show:sign-] dominam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] extra noxiam [\_\_Terence:Hea] (298).

C Nam disciplinast [ctrl:impers:disciplin-] isdem [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:dative] munerarier [ctrl:impers::inf:pres:pass] ancillas [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] primum ad dominas qui adfectant viam [\_\_Terence:Hea] (300 301).

C Perge, obsecro te, et cave ne falsam gratiam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] studeas [ctrl:subj:want:stud-] inire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (301 302).

C Ubi dicimus [aci:say:dic-] redisse [aci::inf:perf] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] et [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord] rogare [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] uti veniret ad te [\_\_Terence:Hea] (304).

C Ut facile sciress [aci:know:sc-] desiderio id [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] fieri [aci::inf:pres:pass] tuo [\_\_Terence:Hea] (307).

C At ego nil [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] scibam [aci:know:sc-], Clinia [\_\_Terence:Hea] (309).

C Quas, malum, ambages [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] mihi narrare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] occipit [ctrl:subj:begin:occip-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (318 319)?

C Enimvero reticere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] nequeo [ctrl:subj:able:qu-], multimodis iniurius, Clitipho, es neque ferri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] potis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] es [\_\_Terence:Hea] (320 321).

C Vis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] amare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null], vis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] potiri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], vis [ecm:want:velle] [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null:rel] quod des illi effici [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (321 322).

C Tuom esse [ecm:want::inf:pres:cop] in potiundo [\_gerund] periculum [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] non vis [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (322).

C Siquid id [ctrl:sent] [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] saperest [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] velle [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] te [ctrl:sent::unbound:2nd:obj] id [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:rel] [\_non:linear:is:2nd] quod non potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] contingere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (324).

C Etsi consilium [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] quod cepi rectum esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] et tutum scio [aci:know:sc-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (327).

C Adsimulabimus [ecm:pretend:simul-] tuam amicum [ecm:pretend::unbound:3rd:subj] huius esse [ecm:pretend::inf:pres:cop] amicum [\_\_Terence:Hea] (332 333).

C Quam ob rem accipere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] hunc mi [ctrl:impers::1st:subj:dative] expediat [ctrl:impers:exped-] metum [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (337).

C Quod [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ambo confiteamini [aci:say:confit-] sine periculo esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (338 339).

C Huius modi obsecro [ctrl:obj:beg:obsecr-] aliquid [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] reperi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (339).

C Ademptum [ctrl:obj::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] tibi iam faxo [ctrl:obj:make:fac-] omnem metum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (341).

C Iam hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] quoque negabis [aci:say:neg-] tibi placere [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (350).

C Ridiculumst [ecm:deontic:ridicul-] istuc [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] me [ecm:deontic:::1st:obj] [\_non:linear:demon] [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] admonere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres], Clitipho [\_\_Terence:Hea] (333).

C Sed istunc [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] exora [ctrl:obj:beg:or-] ut [ecm:pretend::unbound:3rd:subj:null] suam esse [ecm:pretend::inf:pres:cop] adsimulet [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [ecm:pretend:simul-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (358).

C Scilicet [aci:know:sc-] facturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:with:cop] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] esse [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (359).

C At hoc demiror qui tam facile potueris [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] persuadere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] illi, quae solet [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] quos [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] spernere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (362 363).

C Ego te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] autem novi [aci:know:nosc-] quam esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] soleas [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] inpotens [\_\_Terence:Hea] (371).

C Edepol te, mea Antiphila, laudo et [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord] fortunatam [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] iudico [aci:believe:iudic-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (381).

C Et vos [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj] esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] istius modi et nos [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] haud mirabilest [ecm:deontic:mirabil-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (387).

C Nam expedit [ctrl:impers:exped-] [ctrl:impers:::3rd:subj:null] bonas esse [ctrl:impers::inf:pres:cop] vobis [\_\_Terence:Hea] (388).

C Vobis [ctrl:deontic:::2nd:subj:dative] cum uno semel ubi aetatem [ctrl:deontic:::3rd:obj] agere [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] decretumst [ctrl:deontic:decret-] viro [\_\_Terence:Hea] (392).

C Ut numquam ulla amoris vestro incidere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] calamitas [\_\_Terence:Hea] (395).

C Me [aci::bound:1st:subj] quidem semper scio [aci:know:sc-] fecisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] sedulo [\_\_Terence:Hea] (397).

C Hocin me miserum [ecm:impers:::1st:subj] non licere [interject::inf:pres] [ecm:impers:lic-] meo modo ingenium [ecm:impers:::3rd:subj] frui [ecm:impers::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (401)!

C Immo ut patrem tuom [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] vidi [aci:see:vid-] esse habitum [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop], diu etiam duras dabit [\_\_Terence:Hea] (402).

C Salvom [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null] venisse [aci::inf:perf] gaudeo [aci:emotion:gaud-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (407).

C Cesso [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-] pultare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ostium [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] vicini, primum e me ut sciat [aci:know:sc-] sibi [aci::bound:se:goal:distant] filium [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] redisse [aci::inf:perf] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (410 412)?

C Etsi adulescentem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] nolle [aci::inf:pres] intellego [aci:know:intelleg-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (412).

C Verum quom videam [aci:see:vid-] miserum hunc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] tam excruciarier [aci::inf:pres:pass] eius habitu [\_\_Terence:Hea] (413 414).

C Item ut filium meum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] amico atque aequali suo video [aci:see:vid-] inservire [aci::inf:pres] et [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] socium esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] in negotiis, nos quoque senes [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] est aequom [ecm:deontic:aequ-] senibus obsequi [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (417 419).



C Aut illud falsumst quod [aci:::trace] volgo audio [aci:hear:aud-] dici  
[aci::inf:pres:pass], diem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] adimere [aci::inf:pres]  
[\_pun] aegritudinem [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] hominibus  
[\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (421 422).

C Sed ipsum [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] foras [\_linear] egressum  
[aci::inf:perf:depon:no:cop] video [aci:see:vid-] [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (426).

C Nuntium adporto tibi quous maxume te [ecm:want:::bound:2nd:subj] fieri  
[ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] paticipem cupis [ecm:want:cup-] [\_\_\_Terence:Hea]  
(427 428).

C Non volt [ecm:want:velle] te [ecm:want:::unbound:2nd:subj] scire  
[ecm:want::inf:pres] [aci:know:sc-] se [aci:::bound:se:subj:distant] redisse  
[aci::inf:perf] etiam et tuom conspectum fugitat [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (433 434).

C Si te [aci:::bound:2nd:subj] tam leni et victo esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
animo ostenderis [aci:show:ostend-] [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (438).

C Primum olim potius quam paterere [ctrl:obj:allow:pat-] filium  
[ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj] commetare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] ad mulierculam  
[\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (443 444).

C Ea coacta ingratiis postilla coepit [ctrl:subj:begin:coep-] victum  
[ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] volgo quaerere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (447).

C Nunc quom sine magno intertrimento non potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] haberi  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass], quidvis [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] dare  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] cupis [ctrl:subj:want:cup-] [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (448 449).

C Numquam sufferre [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] eius sumptus  
[ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] queat [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] [\_\_\_Terence:Hea]  
(453).

C Quid te [aci:::bound:2nd:subj] futurum [aci::inf:fut:cop] censes  
[aci:believe:cens-] quem adsidue exedent [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (462)?

C Decretumst [ctrl:deontic:decret-] [ctrl:deontic:::3rd:subj:null] pati  
[ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] [ctrl:deontic:::unbound:3rd:obj:null]  
[\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (465).

C Si certumst [ctrl:deontic:cert-] tibi [ctrl:deontic:::2nd:subj:dative] sic  
facere [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] [ctrl:deontic:::unbound:3rd:obj:null], illud  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] permagni referre [aci::inf:pres] arbitror  
[aci:think:arbitr-] ut ne scientem sentiat [aci:sense:sent-] te  
[aci:::unbound:2nd:subj] id [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:is:2nd] sibi  
[aci:::bound:se:goal:distant] dare [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (466 468).

C Falli [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] te [ctrl:obj:::bound:2nd:subj] sinas  
[ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] techinis per servolum [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (470 471).

C Et subsensi [aci:sense:sent-] id [aci:::trace] quoque, illos  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] ibi esse [aci::inf:pres:cop], id  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] agere  
[aci::inf:pres] inter se [aci:::bound:se:oblique:local] clanculum  
[\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (471 472).

C Et tibi [ctrl:deontic:::2nd:subj:dative] perdere [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres]  
talentum [ctrl:deontic:::3rd:obj] hoc pacto satius [ctrl:deontic:sat-] est  
quam illo [ctrl:deontic:::3rd:subj:dative] [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres:dup] minam  
[ctrl:deontic:::3rd:obj] [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (474 475).

C Nam si semel tuom aimum [aci:::trace] ille intellexerit  
[aci:know:intelleg-], prius proditurum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] te  
[aci:::unbound:2nd:subj] tuam vitam [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] et  
prius pecuniam omnem [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] quam abs te amittas filium, hui  
quantam fenestram ad nequitiam patefeceris, tibi [ctrl:deontic:::2nd:dative]  
autem porro ut non sit suave [ctrl:deontic:suav-] vivere  
[ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (478 482)!

C Tu rem [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] perire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] et ipsum  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] non poteris [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] pati  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj:allow:pat-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (485).  
 C Dare [aci::inf:pres] [aci::bound:2nd:subj:null]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] denegar[is] [aci:say:neg-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (487).  
 C Ibit ad illud ilico qui maxime apud te se [aci::bound:se:subj:local]  
 valere [aci::inf:pres] sentiet [aci:sense:sent-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (487 488).  
 C Abiturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:with:cop] se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] abs te  
 esse ilico minitabitur [aci:say:minit-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (487 489).  
 C Videre [aci:see:vid-] [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:raise:null] vera  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] atque ita uti res est dicere [aci::inf:pres]  
 [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (490).  
 C Scin quid [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] nunc facere [ecm:want::inf:pres] te  
 [ecm:want::unbound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear:interrog] volo [ecm:want:velle]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (494)?  
 C Quod sensisti [aci:sense:sent-] illos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] me  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:1st:obj] [\_linear] incipere [aci::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj:begin:incip-] fallere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], id  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] uti maturent [ctrl:subj:hurry:matur-] facere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], cupio [ctrl:subj:want:cup-] illi dare  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel] quod volt, cupio  
 [ctrl:subj:want:cup-] ipsum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] iam videre  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (495 497).  
 C Ut dixeram [aci:say:dic-] operam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] daturum  
 [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] me [aci::bound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear], hodie  
 [aci::bound:1st:subj:null:coord] non posse [aci::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] is dare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (500  
 502).  
 C Di vostram fidem [aci:believe:fid-], ita comparatam esse  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] hominum naturam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] omnium  
 aliena ut melius videant et diiudicent quam sua [\_\_Terence:Hea] (502 505).  
 C Concede hinc domum ne nos [aci::unbound:1st:subj] inter nos congruere  
 [aci::inf:pres] sentiant [aci:sense:sent-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (510 511).  
 C Num me fefellit [aci:know:fall-] hosce [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] id  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:is:2nd] struere [aci::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (514)?  
 C Quod dici [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] solet [ctrl:subj:used:sol-]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (520).  
 C Sane itidem visast [aci:see:vid-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null]  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] mihi [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (522).  
 C Scis [aci:know:sc-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] esse factum  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] ut dico [\_\_Terence:Hea] (529)?  
 C Qui passus [ctrl:obj:allow:pat-] est id [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] fieri  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (532).  
 C Haec [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] facta [ecm:deontic::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] ab  
 illo [\_abl:agent] oportebat [ecm:deontic:oport-], Syre [\_\_Terence:Hea] (536).  
 C Quom tolerare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] illius sumptus  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] non queat [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] [\_\_Terence:Hea]  
 (544)?  
 C At te [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj] adiutare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportuit  
 [ecm:deontic:oport-] adolescentuli causa [\_\_Terence:Hea] (546 547).  
 C Facile equidem facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] si iubes  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (547).  
 C Etenim quo pacto id fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] soleat  
 [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] calleo [\_\_Terence:Hea] (548).

C Non est [ctrl:sent] [ctrl:sent::unbound:1st:subj:null] mentiri  
 [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] meum [\_\_Terence:Hea] (549).  
 C Tractare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] possim  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (557).  
 C Numquam commodum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] umquam erum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_non:linear] audiui [aci:hear:aud-] loqui  
 [aci::inf:pres], nec quom male facerem crederem [aci:believe:cred-] mi  
 [ctrl:impers::1st:subj:dative] [ctrl:impers::inf:pres:no:cop] inpunius  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] licere [aci::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:impers:lic-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (559 561).  
 C Itane [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] fieri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass]  
 oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (562)?  
 C Vidin [aci:see:vid-] ego te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] modo manum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] in sinum huic meretrici inserere  
 [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (563 564)?  
 C Nam istaec quidem contumeliast [ecm:deontic:contumel-], hominem amicum  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] recipere  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] ad te atque eius amicam [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj]  
 [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null:coord] subigitare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (565 566).  
 C At mihi fides [aci:believe:fid-] apud hunc est nil [aci::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear] istius facturum  
 [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop], pater [\_\_Terence:Hea] (571).  
 C Ea [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] facere  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] prohibet [ctrl:obj:prohibit:prohib-] tua praesentia  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (573).  
 C Apud quem expromere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] omnia mea occulta  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], Clitipho, audeam [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (575).  
 C Quod [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] illum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 [\_non:linear:rel] facere [aci::inf:pres] credito [aci:believe:cred-]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (577).  
 C Sed nostrum [ctrl:sent] est [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] intellegere  
 [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] [aci:know:intelleg-] utquomque atque ubi quomcum opus  
 [ecm:deontic:opus] sit [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir]  
 [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] obsequi [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea]  
 (578).  
 C Chreme, vin [ctrl:subj:want:velle] tu homini stulto mi auscultare  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (585)?  
 C Iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] hunc [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] abire  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] hinc aliquo [\_\_Terence:Hea] (585 586).  
 C Quid [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] illum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 [\_non:linear:indef] porro credas [aci:believe:cred-] facturum  
 [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop], Chreme [\_\_Terence:Hea] (591 592).  
 C Pessuma haec est meretrix, ita videtur [aci:see:vid-]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null:coord] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop]  
 [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (599).  
 C Cliniam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] orat [ctrl:obj:beg:or-] sibi  
 [ctrl:obj::bound:se:goal:distant] uti id [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 [\_linear] nunc det [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct], [aci::bound:se:subj:local:null]  
 illam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] illi tamen post daturam  
 [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (605 606).  
 C Quid [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] nunc facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 cogitas [ctrl:subj:think:cogit-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (607)?  
 C Dicam [aci:say:dic-] hanc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse captam  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] ex Caria ditem et nobilem [\_\_Terence:Hea] (608  
 609).

C Isne [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] tibi videtur [aci:see:vid-]  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (616)?  
 C Dixi [aci:say:dic-] equidem, ubi mi ostendisti, ilico eum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (616  
 617).  
 C Nequid [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] credas [aci:believe:cred-] me  
 [aci::unbound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear:indef] advorsum edictum tuom facere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] esse ausam [aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop]  
 [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (623 624).  
 C Vin [ecm:want:velle] me [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj] istuc  
 [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] tibi, etsi incredibilest,  
 credere [ecm:want::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (624)?  
 C Meministin [aci:remember:meminisc-] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] gravidam et mihi te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] maxumo opere  
 edicere [aci::inf:pres], si puellam parerem,  
 [aci::bound:2nd:subj:null:coord] nolle [aci::inf:pres] [ecm:want:nolle]  
 tolli [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (626 627)?  
 C O Iuppiter, tantam esse [interject::inf:pres] in animo inscitiam  
 [interject::3rd:subj] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (630)!  
 C Id [aci::trace] equidem ego, si tu neges, certo scio [aci:know:sc-], te  
 [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] inscientem atque imprudentem dicere [aci::inf:pres]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] ac [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord]  
 facere [aci::inf:pres] omnia [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (632 633).  
 C Si meum imperium [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] exsequi  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voluisses [ctrl:subj:want:velle],  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] interemptam [ecm:deontic::inf:perf:pass:no:cop]  
 oportuit [ecm:deontic:oport-], non [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] simulare  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] mortem [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [\_linear] verbis, re  
 ipsa spem [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] vitae [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null:coord]  
 dare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (635 636).  
 C Si potis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] est reperiri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (659).  
 C Quid renuntiavit [aci:say:nunti-] olim, [aci::bound:se:subj:local:null]  
 fecisse [aci::inf:perf] id [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:rel] quod iusseram  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (661).  
 C Non licet [ecm:impers:lic-] hominem [ecm:impers::3rd:subj] esse  
 [ecm:impers::inf:pres:cop] saepe ita ut volt, si res non sinit  
 [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord]  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:cop:dup] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (666).  
 C Nisi aliquid video ne [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] amicam gnati resciscat [aci:know:sc-] senex  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (670).  
 C Nam quod [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] de argento sperem aut posse  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] postulem [ctrl:obj:order:postul-]  
 me [ctrl:obj::bound:1st:subj] fallere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] nil est  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (671 672).  
 C Triumpho si licet [ecm:impers:lic-] me [ecm:impers::1st:subj] latere tecto  
 abscedere [ecm:impers::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (673).  
 C Crucior [aci:emotion:cruc-] bolum tantum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] mi  
 ereptum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] tam desubito e faucibus [\_\_Terence:Hea]  
 (673).  
 C Nil tam difficilest quin quaerendo [\_gerund] investigari  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] possiet [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Terence:Hea]  
 (675).

C Res nulla mihi posthac potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] iam intervenire  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] tanta quae mi aegritudinem adferat [\_\_Terence:Hea] (679  
680).

C Istuc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] tibi ex sententia tua obtigisse  
[aci::inf:perf] laetor [aci:emotion:laet-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (683).

C Quoi aequae audisti [aci:hear:aud-] commodo quicquam  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:indef] evenisse [aci::inf:perf] [\_\_Terence:Hea]  
(685)?

C Quam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ego scio [aci:know:sc-] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] honore quovis dignam [\_\_Terence:Hea] (688).

C Senex resciscet [aci:know:sc-] ilico esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] amicam hanc  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] Clitiphonis [\_\_Terence:Hea] (697).

C Quid ais [aci:say:ai-], iubeo, illam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] te  
[aci::unbound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear:demon] amare [aci::inf:pres] et  
[aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord] velle [aci::inf:pres]  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] uxorem, hanc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] Clitiphonis [\_\_Terence:Hea] (702 703).

C Et scilicet iam me [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj] hoc  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] voles [ecm:want:velle] patrem  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_non:linear:demon] exorare  
[ecm:want::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj:begin:or-] ut celet [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct]  
senem vostrum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (705)?

C Nam qui ille poterit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:cop]  
in tuto, dic mihi [\_\_Terence:Hea] (708)?

C Ut quom narrat [aci:say:narr-] senex voster nostro istam  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] amicam gnati, non credat  
tamen [\_\_Terence:Hea] (711 712).

C Nam dum amicam hanc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] meam esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
credet [aci:believe:cred-], non committet filiam [\_\_Terence:Hea] (714).

C Quid, malum, me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] aetatem censes [aci:believe:cens-]  
velle [aci::inf:pres] [ecm:want:velle] id [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj]  
[\_linear] adsimularier [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (716)?

C Decem minas quas [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] mihi dare  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] pollicitust [ctrl:subj:promise:pollic-] [\_\_Terence:Hea]  
(724).

C Aut quom [aci::bound:1st:subj:null] venturam [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop]  
dixero [aci:say:dic-] et constituero [\_\_Terence:Hea] (726).

C Atque tu hanc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] iocari [aci::inf:pres:pass] credis  
[aci:believe:cred-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (729)?

C Audivi [aci:hear:aud-], proxumam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] huic fundo ad dextram [\_\_Terence:Hea] (732).

C Dic [aci:say:dic-] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] hic oppido esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] invitam atque [aci::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord]  
adservari [aci::inf:pres:pass], verum aliquo pacto verba  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj:coord] [\_non:linear] his  
daturam esse [aci::inf:fut:peri:with:cop] et  
[aci::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord] venturam [aci::inf:fut:peri:with:cop]  
[\_\_Terence:Hea] (734 735).

C Iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] maneat [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [\_\_Terence:Hea]  
(737).

C Dignam me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] putas  
[aci:think:put-] quam inludas [\_\_Terence:Hea] (741)?

C Sperabit [ecm:hope:sper-] sumptum [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:subj] sibi  
[ecm:hope::bound:se:goal:distant] senex levatum esse  
[ecm:hope::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] harunc abitu [\_\_Terence:Hea] (746).

C Ut nunc Menedemi vicem miseret [aci:emotion:miser-] me tantum  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] devenisse [aci::inf:perf] ad eum mali  
[\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (749 750).

C Illancin mulierem [interject:::3rd:obj] [interject:::3rd:subj:null] alere  
[interject::inf:pres] cum illa familia [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (751)!

C Verum ubi videbit [aci:see:vid-] tantos sibi [aci:::bound:se:goal:distant]  
sumptus [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] domi cotidianos fieri [aci::inf:pres:pass]  
nec fieri [aci::inf:pres:pass] modum [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj], optabit  
[ecm:want:opt-] rursum ut abeat [ecm:want::inf\_subjunct] ab se  
[ecm:want:::bound:se:oblique:distant] filius [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (754 756).

C Cesso [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-] hunc [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] adoriri  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (757)?

C Te [ecm:want:::unbound:2nd:subj] mihi ipsum iamdudum optabam  
[ecm:want:opt-] dari [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (758).

C Videre [aci:see:vid-] [aci:::unbound:2nd:subj:raise:null] egisse  
[aci::inf:perf] iam nescioquid [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] cum sene  
[\_personal:passive] [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (759).

C Non possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] pati [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] quin tibi caput  
demulceam [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (761 762).

C Vah gloriare [aci:say:glori-] [aci:::bound:2nd:subj:null] evenisse  
[aci::inf:perf] ex sententia [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (765)?

C Tui Clitiphonis esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] amicam hanc Bacchidem  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] Menedemo dixit [aci:say:dic-] Clinia, et ea gratia  
secum [aci:::bound:se:oblique:local] [aci:::bound:se:subj:local:null]  
adduxisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] ne tu id  
persentisceres [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (767 769).

C Sese [aci:::bound:se:subj:local] ipse dicit [aci:say:dic-] tuam [\_linear]  
vidisse [aci::inf:perf] filiam [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj], eius sibi  
[aci:::bound:se:goal:distant] complacitam [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] formam  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:subj], hanc [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[aci:::bound:se:subj:local:null:coord] cupere [aci::inf:pres] uxorem  
[\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (772 774).

C Et quidem iubebit [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj:null]  
posci [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (775).

C Scite poterat [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass]  
[\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (785).

C Atque quam maxume volo [ecm:want:velle] te [ecm:want:::unbound:2nd:subj]  
dare [ecm:want::inf:pres] operam [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] ut  
fiat [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (789).

C Num illa oppignerare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] filiam meam  
[ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] me invito potuit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
[\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (794 795)?

C Omnes te [aci:::unbound:2nd:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] in lauta et bene  
acta parte putant [aci:think:put-] [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (797 798).

C Quia videbitur [aci:see:vid-] magis veri simile id  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_personal:passive],  
quom hic illi dabit [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (801 802).

C Nec me [aci:::bound:1st:subj] istuc [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[\_linear:demon:2nd] ex te prius audisse [aci::inf:perf] gaudeo  
[aci:emotion:gaud-] [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (817).

C Quam [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj] non licitumst [ctrl:impers:lic-]  
[ctrl:impers:::3rd:subj:null] tangere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Terence:Hea]  
(819).

C Quas [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] hortamentis esse nunc duco [aci:believe:duc-]  
datas [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] [\_\_\_Terence:Hea] (836).

C Multo omnium nunc me [aci:::bound:1st:subj] fortunatissimum factum puto  
[aci:think:put-] esse [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] quam te

[aci::unbound:2nd:subj], gnate, intellego [aci:know:intelleg-] resipisse  
[aci::inf:perf] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (842 844).

C Hanc uxorem [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] sibi  
[ecm:want::bound:se:goal:distant] dari [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] volt  
[ecm:want:velle] Clinia [\_\_Terence:Hea] (847).

C Et illum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] aiunt [aci:say:ai-] velle [aci::inf:pres]  
uxorem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:1st] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (854).

C Scilicet [aci:know:sc-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] daturum  
[aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (856  
857).

C Quidvis [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] tamen iam malo  
[ctrl:subj:want:malle] quam hunc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] amittere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (858).

C Quid [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] nunc renuntiem [aci:say:nunti-] abs te  
[\_abl:agent] responsum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop], Chreme, ne sentiat  
[aci:sense:sent-] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] sensisse [aci::inf:perf]  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] atque aegre ferat [\_\_Terence:Hea] (859 860)?

C Dic [aci:say:dic-] [aci::bound:2nd:subj:null:coord] convenisse  
[aci::inf:perf], egisse [aci::inf:perf] te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] de nuptiis  
[\_\_Terence:Hea] (863).

C Me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] facturum esse [aci::inf:fut:peri:with:cop]  
omnia [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear], generum  
[aci::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord] placere [aci::inf:pres], postremo etiam,  
si voles, [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] desponsam quoque esse  
[aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] dicito [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (865  
866).

C Ego me [aci::bound:1st:subj] non tam astutum neque ita perspicacem esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] id [aci::trace] scio [aci:know:sc-] [\_\_Terence:Hea]  
(874).

C Ohe iam desine [ctrl:subj:stop:desin-] deos [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj],  
uxor, gratulando [\_gerund] [aci:emotion:gratul-] obtundere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] tuam esse inventam [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] gnatam  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj], nisi illos ex tuo ingenio iudicas ut nil  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] credas [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord]  
intellegere [aci::inf:pres] nisi idem dictumst centiens [\_\_Terence:Hea] (879  
881).

C Quos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ais [aci:say:ai-] homines, Chreme, cessare  
[aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (883)?

C Gaudere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] adeo coepit [ctrl:subj:begin:coop-] quasi qui  
cupiunt nuptias [\_\_Terence:Hea] (885).

C Gnatus quod se [ecm:pretend::bound:se:subj:local] adsimulat  
[ecm:pretend:simul-] [ecm:pretend::inf:pres:no:cop] laetum [\_\_Terence:Hea]  
(888).

C Mage, si mage noris, putes [aci:think:put-] ita rem  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (889 890).

C Hoc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] prius scire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] expeto  
[ctrl:subj:want:expet-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (891).

C Nam ubi [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] desponsam [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop]  
nuntiasti [aci:say:nunti-] filio, continuo iniecisce [aci::inf:perf] verba  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] tibi Dromonem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_non:linear]  
scilicet [aci:know:sc-], sponsae vestem [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], aurum  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] atque ancillas [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] opus  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [ecm:deontic:opus] [\_non:linear] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:dup] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (891 893).

C Magis unum etiam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] instare [aci::inf:pres] ut  
hodie conficiantur nuptiae [\_\_Terence:Hea] (895).

C Ut ne paullulum quidem subolat [aci:sense:ol-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
 amicam hanc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] Cliniae [\_\_Terence:Hea] (899).  
 C Mitto [aci:say:mitt-] iam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] osculari  
 [aci::inf:pres] atque amplexari [aci::inf:pres], id [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] nil puto [aci:think:put-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (900 901).  
 C Quid est quod [ecm:pretend::unbound:3rd:subj:raise]  
 [ecm:pretend::inf:pres:no:cop] amplius simuletur [ecm:pretend:simul-]  
 [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (901)?  
 C Hem Clinia haec [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] fieri [aci::inf:pres:pass] videbat  
 [aci:see:vid-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (907)?  
 C Quemquamne [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:indef] animo tam communi esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] aut leni putas [aci:think:put-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (912)?  
 C Quot res dedere ubi possem [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] persentiscere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Terence:Hea]  
 (916).  
 C Tene [interject::2nd:subj] istuc [interject::3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd]  
 loqui [interject::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (921)!  
 C Nonne id flagitiumst [ecm:deontic:flagiti-] te [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj]  
 aliis consilium [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [\_linear] dare  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres], foris [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null:coord] sapere  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres], tibi non posse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] te [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:coord] auxiliarier  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (922 923)?  
 C Id quod [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj]  
 [\_non:linear:rel] fecisse [aci::inf:perf] aiebas [aci:say:ai-] parum  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (924).  
 C Fac [ctrl:obj:make:fac-] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] patrem esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] sentiat [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [aci:sense:sent-], fac  
 [ctrl:obj:make:fac-] ut audeat [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-]  
 tibi credere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] omnia [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], abs  
 te petere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] et  
 poscere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (925 926).  
 C Nam si illi pergo [ctrl:subj:continue:perg-] suppeditare  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] sumptibus [\_\_Terence:Hea] (930).  
 C Difficilem te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] ostendes  
 [aci:show:ostend-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (933).  
 C Quid [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] doti dicam [aci:say:dic-] te  
 [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear:interrog] dixisse [aci::inf:perf] filio  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (937)?  
 C Duo talenta [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] pro re nostra ego esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] decrevi [aci:believe:cern-] satis [\_\_Terence:Hea] (940).  
 C Sed ita dictu [aci:say:dic-] opus est, si me [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj]  
 vis [ecm:want:velle] salvom esse [ecm:want::inf:pres:cop] et rem  
 [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] et filium [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj], me  
 [aci::unbound:1st:subj] mea omnia bona [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear]  
 doti dixisse [aci::inf:perf] illi [\_\_Terence:Hea] (941 942).  
 C Id [ecm:pretend::unbound:3rd:obj] mirari [ecm:pretend::inf:pres] te  
 [ecm:pretend::bound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear:is] simulato [ecm:pretend:simul-]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (943).  
 C Sine [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] in hac re  
 gerere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] mihi morem [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (947).  
 C Qui sibi [aci::bound:se:goal:distant] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj]  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] pro deridiculo ac delectamento putat [aci:think:put-]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (953).



C Non, ita me di ament, auderet [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] facere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] haec [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:rel] viduae mulieri  
 quae in me fecit [\_\_Terence:Hea] (953 954).  
 C Scio [aci:know:sc-] tibi esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] hoc  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] gravius multo ac durius [\_\_Terence:Hea] (957).  
 C Hic patrem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] astare [aci::inf:pres] aibas  
 [aci:say:ai-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (960).  
 C Ubi te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] vidi [aci:see:vid-] animo esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] omisso et suavia [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] in praesentia  
 quae essent prima [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord] habere [aci::inf:pres]  
 neque [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord] consulere [aci::inf:pres] in  
 longitudinem, cepi rationem ut neque egeres neque ut haec  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] posses [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] perdere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (962 964).  
 C Tibi [ctrl:impers::2nd:subj:dative] non licuit [ctrl:impers:lic-] per te  
 mihi dare [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj:null]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (965).  
 C Satiis [ecm:deontic:sat-] est quam te ipso herede [\_abl:compar] haec  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] possidere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] Bacchidem  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] [\_non:linear:demon] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (969).  
 C Emori [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] cupio [ctrl:subj:want:cup-] [\_\_Terence:Hea]  
 (971).  
 C Prius quaeso disce [aci:show:disc-] quid sit [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir]  
 [ctrl:sent] [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] vivere [ctrl:sent::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (971).  
 C Quod peccavi [ecm:deontic:pecc-] ego, id [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] obesse  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] huic [\_\_Terence:Hea] (974)?  
 C Vah, rogasse [ctrl:subj::inf:perf] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null]  
 vellem [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (978).  
 C Tibi iam esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] ad sororem  
 intellego [aci:know:intelleg-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (979).  
 C Adeon rem [interject::3rd:subj] rediisse [interject::inf:perf] ut periculum  
 etiam a fame mihi sit, Syre [\_\_Terence:Hea] (980)!  
 C Modo liceat [ctrl:impers:lic-] [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null] vivere  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (981).  
 C Est spes [ecm:hope:sper-] nos [ecm:hope::unbound:1st:subj] esurituros  
 [ecm:hope::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] satis [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (981).  
 C Et quantum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] ego intellegere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (984).  
 C Non esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] horum te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] arbitror  
 [aci:think:arbitr-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (985).  
 C An tu ob peccatum hoc esse illum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] iratum  
 [aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop] putas [aci:think:put-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (990)?  
 C Auxilio in paterna iniuria solent [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] esse  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (993).  
 C Miror [aci:wonder:mir-] non continuo [ctrl:obj::bound:1st:subj:null]  
 adripi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] iusse  
 [aci::inf:perf] [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (1001).  
 C Quo modo tam ineptum quicquam tibi venire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] in mentem,  
 mi vir, potuerit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (1005).  
 C Oh pergin [ctrl:subj:continue:perg-] mulier esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:cop]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (1006)?  
 C Oh iniquos es qui me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] tacere  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] de re tanta postules [ctrl:obj:order:postul-]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (1011).

C Egon confitear [aci:say:confit-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] meum non  
 esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] filium, qui sit meus [\_\_Terence:Hea] (1016)?  
 C Convincas [aci:believe:convinc-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] illum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] tuom [\_\_Terence:Hea] (1017)?  
 C Ne istuc [aci::trace] in animum inducas [aci:believe:duc-] tuom alienum  
 esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (1028  
 1029).  
 C At ego, si me metuis, mores [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] cave in te esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] istos sentiam [aci:sense:sent-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (1032).  
 C Si scire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] vis  
 [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (1033).  
 C Crede, et nostrum te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
 credito [aci:believe:cred-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (1034).  
 C Ut aiunt [aci:say:ai-] Minervam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] ex Iove, ea causa magis patiar [ctrl:obj:allow:pat-],  
 Clitipho, flagitiis tuis me [ctrl:obj::bound:1st:subj] infamem fieri  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (1036 1037).  
 C Non mihi [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj:null] per fallacias adducere  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] ante oculos pudet  
 [ctrl:obj:impers:pud-] [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord] dicere  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] hac praesente verbum turpe [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (1041 1042).  
 C Quor non accersi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] iubes [ctrl:obj:order:iub-]  
 filiam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] et quod doti dixi firmas [\_\_Terence:Hea]  
 (1047 1048)?  
 C Si me [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj] [ecm:want::inf:pres:no:cop] vivom vis  
 [ecm:want:velle], pater, ignosce [\_\_Terence:Hea] (1051 1052).  
 C Video [aci:see:vid-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] non licere  
 [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:impers:lic-] ut coeperam [ctrl:impers::inf\_subjunct]  
 hoc [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] pertendere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Terence:Hea] (1053).  
 C Si facit quod [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ego hunc [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj]  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:null] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] aequom  
 [ecm:deontic:aequ-] censeo [aci:believe:cens-] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (1055).  
 C Credas [aci:believe:cred-] animum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ibi esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Terence:Hea] (1063).  
 C Postquam poeta veterem poetam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] non potest  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] retrahere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] a studio et transdere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] hominem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] in otium,  
 maledictis detertere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ne scribat parat  
 [ctrl:subj:prepare:par-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (1 3).  
 C Qui ita dictitat [aci:say:dic-], quas ante hic fecit fabulas  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] tenui esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] oratione et scriptura  
 levi [\_\_Terence:Phor] (4 5).  
 C Quia nusquam insanum scripsit [aci:say:scrib-] adolescentulum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] cervam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_linear] videre  
 [aci::inf:pres] [aci:see:vid-] fugere [aci::inf:pres] et  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] sectari [aci::inf:pres] canes  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] et eam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] plorare  
 [aci::inf:pres], [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] orare [aci::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:obj:beg:or-] ut subveniat [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] sibi  
 [ctrl:obj::bound:se:goal:distant] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (6 8).  
 C Quod si intellegeret [aci:know:intelleg-], quom stetit olim nova, actoris  
 opera magis [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] stetisse [aci::inf:perf] quam sua, minus  
 multo audacter quam nunc laedit laederet [\_\_Terence:Phor] (9 11).

C Nullum invenire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] prologum  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] potuisset [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] novos quem  
 diceret [\_\_Terence:Phor] (14 15).  
 C Is sibi responsum [aci:say:respond-] hoc habeat, in medio omnibus palmam  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse positam [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] qui artem  
 tractent musicam [\_\_Terence:Phor] (16 17).  
 C Ille ad famem hunc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] a studio studuit  
 [ctrl:subj:want:stud-] reicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (18).  
 C Hic respondere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] voluit [ctrl:subj:want:velle], non  
 lacessere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (19).  
 C Quod ab illo [\_abl:agent] adlatumst, sibi [aci::bound:se:goal:distant]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:rel] esse rellatum [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop]  
 putet [aci:think:put-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (21).  
 C Nam erilem filium [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] eius duxisse [aci::inf:perf]  
 audio [aci:hear:aud-] uxorem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (39 40).  
 C Amo te, et non [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null] neclexisse [aci::inf:perf]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] habeo gratiam [aci:emotion:grat-]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (54).  
 C Scies, modo ut tacere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (59).  
 C Verere [ctrl:subj:fear:ver-] verba [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] ei credere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], ubi quid mihi [ctrl:impers::1st:subj:dative] lucrist  
 [ctrl:impers:lucr-] te [ctrl:impers::2nd:obj] fallere  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (61 62)?  
 C Oh, regem me [ecm:deontic::1st:subj] esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop]  
 oportuit [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (71).  
 C Memini [aci:remember:meminisc-] relinqui [aci::inf:pres:pass] me  
 [aci::bound:1st:subj] deo irato meo [\_\_Terence:Phor] (75).  
 C Coepi [ctrl:subj:begin:coep-] advorsari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] primo  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (75).  
 C Coepi [ctrl:subj:begin:coep-] is omnia [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] facere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], obsequi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel] quae vellent [\_\_Terence:Phor] (78 79).  
 C Hanc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] amare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] coepit  
 [ctrl:subj:begin:coep-] perdit [\_\_Terence:Phor] (82).  
 C Restabat aliud nil [ctrl:sent] nisi oculos [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] pascere [ctrl:sent::inf:pres],  
 [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord]  
 sectari [ctrl:sent::inf:pres], in ludum  
 [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord]  
 [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] ducere [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] et  
 [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord]  
 [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] reducere [ctrl:sent::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (85 86).  
 C Hic solebamus [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] fere plerumque eam  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] opperiri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] dum inde iret  
 domum [\_\_Terence:Phor] (89 90).  
 C Nos [interject::1st:subj] mirarier [interject::inf:pres]  
 [interject::3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (92).  
 C Modo quandam vidi [aci:see:vid-] virginem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] hic  
 viciniaie miseram suam matrem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] lamentari  
 [aci::inf:pres] mortuam [\_\_Terence:Phor] (95 96).

C Voltisne [ecm:want:velle] eamus [ecm:want::inf\_subjunct] [ctrl:subj:go:ir-]  
visere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null]  
[\_\_Terence:Phor] (102)?

C Amare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] coepit  
[ctrl:subj:begin:coop-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (111).

C Illa enim se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] negat  
[aci:say:neg-] neque eum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] aequom  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] facere [aci::inf:pres] ait [aci:say:ai-],  
illam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] civem esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] Atticam, bonam  
bonis prognatam, si uxorem velit, lege id [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj]  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] licere [aci::inf:pres]  
[ecm:deontic:lic-] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] facere  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres], noster quid ageret [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] nescire  
[historical::inf:pres] [aci:know:sc-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (113 117).

C Et illam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] ducere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
cupiebat [ctrl:subj:want:cup-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (117 118).

C Lex est ut orbae, qui sint genere proxumi, eis nubant, et illos  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] ducere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] eadem haec lex iubet  
[ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (125 126).

C Ego te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] cognatum dicam  
[aci:say:dic-] et tibi scribam dicam (dike), paternum amicum  
[ecm:pretend::inf:pres:no:cop] me [ecm:pretend::bound:1st:subj] adsimulabo  
[ecm:pretend:simul-] virginis [\_\_Terence:Phor] (127 128).

C Non certum scio, sed epistulam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ab eo [\_abl:agent]  
adlatam esse [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] audivi [aci:hear:aud-] modo et ad  
portitores [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] esse delatam  
[aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (148 150).

C Adeone rem [interject::3rd:subj] redisse [interject::inf:perf] ut qui mi  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] consultum  
[ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] optume velit [ecm:want:velle] esse,  
Phaedria, patrem ut extimescam [\_\_Terence:Phor] (153 154).

C Quod utinam ne Phormioni id [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] suadere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] in mentem incidisset [ctrl:subj:begin:incid-]  
[\_\_Terence:Phor] (157).

C Ita me di bene ament ut mihi [ctrl:impers::1st:subj:dative] liceat  
[ctrl:impers:lic-] tam diu quod amo frui [ctrl:impers::inf:pres], iam  
depecisci [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] morte cupio [ctrl:subj:want:cup-]  
[\_\_Terence:Phor] (165 166).

C At tu [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:raise] mihi contra nunc videre [aci:see:vid-]  
[aci::inf:pres:no:cop] fortunatus, Phaedria [\_personal:passive]  
[\_\_Terence:Phor] (173).

C Est potestas etiam consulendi [\_gerund] quid velis [ctrl:subj:want:velle],  
retinere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null], amare  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord], amittere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord]  
[\_\_Terence:Phor] (174 175).

C Videon [aci:see:vid-] ego Getam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] currentem huc  
advenire [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (177).

C Nam not potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] celari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass]  
nostra diutius iam audacia [\_\_Terence:Phor] (182).

C Sed ubi Antiphonem reperiam, aut qua quaerere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
insistam [ctrl:subj:go:insist-] via [\_\_Terence:Phor] (192)?

C Domum ire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] pergam [ctrl:subj:continue:perg-]  
[\_\_Terence:Phor] (194).

C Quid ais [aci:say:ai-], huius patrem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] vidisse [aci::inf:perf] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear], patruom tuom [\_\_Terence:Phor] (199).

C Ergo istaec quom ita sint, Antipho, tanto magis te [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj] advigilare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] aequomst [ecm:deontic:aequ-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (203).

C Nam si senserit [aci:sense:sent-] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] timidum pater esse [aci::inf:perf], arbitrabitur [aci:think:arbitr-] [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord] commeruisse [aci::inf:perf] culpam [\_linear] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (205 206).

C Non possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] inmutarier [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (206).

C Et verbum verbo, par pari, ut respondeas, ne te iratus suis saevidics dictis protelet, scio [aci:know:sc-], vi coactum te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] invitum [\_\_Terence:Phor] (212 214).

C Non possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] adesse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (216).

C Id [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] nosmet ipsos [ecm:deontic::1st:subj] [\_non:linear:is] facere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], Phaedria [\_\_Terence:Phor] (222).

C Meministin [aci:remember:meminisc-], olim ut fuerit vostra oratio in re incipiunda [\_gerundive] ad defendendam noxiam [\_gerundive], iustam [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] illam causam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], facilem, vincibilem, optumam [\_\_Terence:Phor] (224 226)?

C Ut nequeam [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] ad cogitandum [\_gerundive] instituere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (240).

C Tum maxume [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:impers] meditari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] secum [ecm:deontic::bound:se:oblique:local] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (243).

C Peregre rediens semper cogitet [aci:think:cogit-] aut fili peccatum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] aut uxoris mortem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] aut morbum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] filiae, communia esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] haec [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (243 245).

C Quidquid praeter spem eveniet, omne id [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] deputabo [aci:think:put-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] in lucro [\_\_Terence:Phor] (246).

C Molendum [\_gerundive] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] in pistrino, vapulandum [\_gerundive] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (249).

C Quidquid praeter spem eveniet, omne id [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] deputabo [aci:think:put-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] in lucro [\_\_Terence:Phor] (251).

C Sed quid cessas [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-] hominem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] adire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] et blande in principio adloqui [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (252)?

C Phaedriam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] mei fratris video [aci:see:vid-] filium mi ire [aci::inf:pres] obviam [\_\_Terence:Phor] (253).

C Salvom [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] venire [aci::inf:pres] credo [aci:believe:cred-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (255).

C Ipsum [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] gestio [ecm:want:gest-] dari [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] mi in conspectum, nunc sua culpa ut sciat [aci:know:sc-] lenem patrem illum factum me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] esse [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] acerrumum [\_\_Terence:Phor] (260 262).

C Ni nossem causam, crederem [aci:believe:cred-] vera [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] hunc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_non:linear:demon:2nd] loqui [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (278).

C Non potuit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] cogitata [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 proloqui [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (283).  
 C Sed cesso [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-] adire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] quam primum  
 senem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (285)?  
 C Ere, salve, salvom te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] advenisse [aci::inf:perf]  
 gaudeo [aci:emotion:gaud-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (286).  
 C Iam dudum te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] omnis nos [aci::bound:1st:obj]  
 [\_linear] accusare [aci::inf:pres] audio [aci:hear:aud-] inmerito et me  
 [aci::bound:1st:obj] horunc omnium inmeritissimo [\_\_Terence:Phor] (289 290).  
 C Namquid [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj:interrog] me  
 [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear:interrog] in hac re facere  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres] voluisti [ecm:want:velle] tibi [\_\_Terence:Phor] (291)?  
 C Servom hominem [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] causam [\_linear] orare  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] leges non sinunt [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] neque testimoni  
 dictiost [\_\_Terence:Phor] (292 293).  
 C Non fuit necessum [ecm:deontic:necess-] [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null]  
 habere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
 (296).  
 C Hominem [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] commonstrarier  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] mi istum volo [ecm:want:velle] aut ubi habitat  
 [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers]  
 demonstrarier [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [aci:show:demonstr-] [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
 (305 306).  
 C Itane patris ais [aci:say:ai-] conspectum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] veritum [\_non:linear] hinc abiisse  
 [aci::inf:perf] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (315)?  
 C Tibi omnest exedendum [\_gerundive], accingere [historical::inf:pres]  
 [historical::3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (318).  
 C Quot me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] censes [aci:believe:cens-] homines  
 [\_linear] iam deverberasse [aci::inf:perf] usque ad necem [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
 (327)?  
 C Cedo dum, enumquam iniuriarum audisti [aci:hear:aud-] mihi scriptam  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] dicam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] (dike)  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (329)?  
 C Periculum unde aliquid abradi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] potest  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (334).  
 C Alere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] nolunt [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] hominem edacem  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] et sapiunt mea sententia, pro maleficio si  
 beneficium summum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] nolunt [ctrl:subj:want:nolle]  
 reddere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (335 336).  
 C Non potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] satis pro merito ab illo [\_abl:agent] tibi  
 referri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] gratia [\_\_Terence:Phor] (337).  
 C Ten [interject::2nd:subj] asymbolum venire [interject::inf:pres] unctum  
 atque lautum e balineis [\_\_Terence:Phor] (339).  
 C Pro deum immortalum, negat [aci:say:neg-] Phanium [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] hanc sibi [aci::bound:se:goal:distant] cognatam  
 Demipho [\_\_Terence:Phor] (352)?  
 C Hanc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] Demipho negat [aci:say:neg-] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] cognatam, negat, neque eius patrem  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] [\_non:linear] scire  
 [aci::inf:pres] [aci:know:sc-] qui fuerit [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (353 354)?  
 C Ipsum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] opinor  
 [aci:think:opin-] de quo agebam [\_\_Terence:Phor] (355).  
 C Saepe interea mihi senex narrabat [aci:say:narr-] se  
 [aci::bound:se:obj:distant] hunc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]

[\_non:linear:demon:2nd] neclegere [aci::inf:pres] cognatum suum  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (366 367).  
 C Pergin [ctrl:subj:continue:perg-] ero absenti male loqui  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], impurissime [\_\_Terence:Phor] (372)?  
 C Numquam cessavit [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-] dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] hodie [\_\_Terence:Phor] (377).  
 C Si tibi [ctrl:impers::2nd:subj:dative] placere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:impers:plac-] potis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] est, mi ut respondeas  
 [ctrl:impers::inf\_subjunct] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (379).  
 C Quem amicum tuum ais [aci:say:ai-] fuisse [aci::inf:perf:cop] istum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], explana [aci:say:explan-] mihi, et qui cognatum me  
 [aci::unbound:1st:subj] sibi [aci::bound:se:goal:distant] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] diceret [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] [aci:say:dic-]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (380 381).  
 C Quoius de stultitia dici [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] ut dignumst non potest  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (402).  
 C Et soli licet [ctrl:impers:lic-] hic de eadem causa bis iudicium  
 [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null] adipiscier  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (405 406).  
 C Id quod [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] lex iubet [ctrl:obj:order:iub-]  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj:null] dotis dare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (409 410).  
 C Itan tandem, quaeso, item ut meretricem ubi abusus sis, mercedem  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj:null] dare  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] lex iubet [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] ei atque  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord] amittere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (413 414)?  
 C Ut nequid turpe civis in se admitteret propter egestatem, proximo iussast  
 [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] dari  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres], ut cum uno aetatem degeret [\_\_Terence:Phor] (415 416)?  
 C Omnia haec [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:rel] illum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 [\_non:linear:hic] putato quae ego nunc dico dicere [aci::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (424).  
 C Itane es paratus [ctrl:subj:prepare:par-] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] me  
 advorsum omnia [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], infelix [\_\_Terence:Phor] (427  
 428)?  
 C Egon tuam expetam amicitiam, aut te [ecm:want::unbound:2nd:subj] visum  
 [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] aut [ecm:want::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord]  
 auditum [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] velim [ecm:want:velle]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (431 432)?  
 C Nisi tu properas [ctrl:subj:hurry:proper-] mulierem  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] abducere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], ego illam  
 eiciam [\_\_Terence:Phor] (436 437).  
 C Cratinum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] censeo  
 [aci:believe:cens-], si tibi [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null]  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] videtur [aci:see:vid-] [\_personal:passive]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (446 447).  
 C Si hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] videtur  
 [aci:see:vid-] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (450).  
 C Ego sedulo hunc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] dixisse [aci::inf:perf]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] credo [aci:believe:cred-] [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
 (453).  
 C Mihi non videtur [aci:see:vid-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null:rel]  
 quod sit factum legibus rescindi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] posse  
 [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
 (455 456).

C Ego [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] amplius deliberandum [\_gerundive]  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] censeo [aci:believe:cens-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (457).  
 C Negant [aci:say:neg-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] redisse [aci::inf:perf]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (459 460).  
 C Sed eccum ipsum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] video [aci:see:vid-] in tempore  
 huc se [aci::bound:se:obj:local] [\_linear] recipere [aci::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (464).  
 C Enim vero, Antipho, multimodis cum istoc animo es vituperandus  
 [\_gerundive], itane te [interject::2nd:subj] hinc abisse  
 [interject::inf:perf] et vitam tuam tutandam [\_gerundive] [\_linear] aliis  
 [interject::2nd:subj:null:coord] dedisse [interject::inf:perf]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (465 466)!  
 C Alios [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] tuam rem [\_linear] credidisti  
 [aci:believe:cred-] magis quam tete [aci::bound:2nd:subj] animum vorsuros  
 [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (467)?  
 C Nisi Phaedria haud cessavit [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-] pro te eniti  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (475).  
 C Tum Phormio itidem in hac re ut in aliis [aci::bound:se:subj:local:null]  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] strenuom hominem praebuit [aci:show:praeb-]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (476).  
 C Ut aibat [aci:say:ai-] de eius consilio sese [aci::bound:se:subj:local]  
 velle [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:want:velle] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel] quod [\_linear:rel:2nd] ad hanc rem  
 attinet [\_\_Terence:Phor] (480 481).  
 C Quantum metuist [ctrl:deontic:metu-] est mihi  
 [ctrl:deontic::1st:subj:dative] videre [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres]  
 [aci:see:vid-] huc [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] salvom nunc patruom  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], Geta [\_\_Terence:Phor] (482)!  
 C At enim taedet [ctrl:obj:impers:taed-] iam [ctrl:obj::3rd:subj:null]  
 audire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] eadem [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] miliens  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (487).  
 C Non queo [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] te [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj] exorare  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj:beg:or-] ut maneat [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct]  
 triduom hoc [\_\_Terence:Phor] (488)?  
 C Faeneratum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] istuc beneficium  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] pulchre tibi dices [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
 (493).  
 C Experire [historical::inf:pres], non est longum [\_\_Terence:Phor] (495).  
 C Adeon ingenio esse [interject::inf:pres:cop] duro te [interject::2nd:subj]  
 atque inexorabili, ut neque misericordia neque precibus molliri  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] queas [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (497  
 498)!  
 C Adeon te [interject::2nd:subj] esse [interject::inf:pres:cop] incogitantem  
 atque inpuidentem sine modo, ut phaleratis ducas dictis me et meam ductes  
 gratiis [\_\_Terence:Phor] (499 500)!  
 C Neque Antipho alia quom occupatus esset sollicitudine, tum hoc  
 [interject::3rd:subj] esse mihi obiectum [interject::inf:perf:pass:with:cop]  
 malum [\_\_Terence:Phor] (502 503).  
 C Quam indignum facinus [interject::trace], ancillam [interject::3rd:subj]  
 aere emptam [interject::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] suo [\_\_Terence:Phor] (511)!  
 C Nequeo [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] exorare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (512).  
 C Dorio, exoret [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null]  
 sine [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (515).  
 C Pamphilamne [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] hac urbe privari  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] sines [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (517)?



C Tum praetera horunc amorem [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] distrahi  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] poterin [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] pati  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj:allow:pat-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (518)?  
 C Dorio, tandem [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] facere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
 (527)?  
 C Nam hic me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] scibat [aci:know:sc-] huius modi esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop], ego hunc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] aliter credidi [aci:believe:cred-] [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
 (529).  
 C Cras mane argentum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] mihi miles dare [aci::inf:pres]  
 se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] [\_non:linear] dixit [aci:say:dic-]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (531 532).  
 C Quod, hic si pote [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] fuisset exorari  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass], triduum hoc, promissum fuerat [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
 (535 536).  
 C Quin, quom opust, beneficium [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] rursum ei  
 experiemur [ctrl:subj:try:exper-] reddere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (537)?  
 C Scio [aci:know:sc-] equidem hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] aequom [\_\_Terence:Phor] (538).  
 C Age ergo, solus servare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] hunc  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] potes [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
 (539).  
 C Non triumpho, ex nuptiis tuis si nil naciscor mali, ni etiam nunc me  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] huius causa quaerere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] in  
 malo iubeas [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] crucem [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 [\_linear] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (543 544)?  
 C Certumst [ecm:deontic:cert-] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] persequi  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null] aut  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] perire [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (551 552).  
 C Vide siquid opis [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] potes  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] adferre [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] huic [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
 (553).  
 C Noli [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] metuere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (556).  
 C Sed opus [ecm:deontic:opus] est mihi Phormionem [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] ad  
 hanc rem adiutorem dari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (560).  
 C Verum abi [ctrl:subj:go:ir-] domum et illam miseram  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], quam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ego nunc intus  
 scio [aci:know:sc-] esse exanimatam [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] metu,  
 consolare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (563 565).  
 C Postquam videt [aci:see:vid-] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] eius mater esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] hic diutius, simul autem non manebat aetas virginis meam  
 neglegentiam, ipsam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] cum omni familia ad me profectam  
 esse [aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop] aibant [aci:say:ai-] [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
 (569 572).  
 C Sed venisse [aci::inf:perf] eas [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] salvas audiui  
 [aci:hear:aud-] ex nauta qui illas vexerat [\_\_Terence:Phor] (575 576).  
 C Te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] mihi fidelem esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] aequo  
 atque egomet sum mihi scibam [aci:know:sc-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (581 582).  
 C Si me [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj] alienus [ecm:want::inf:pres:no:cop]  
 adfinem volet [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (582).  
 C Scio [aci:know:sc-] ita [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] et istaec mihi res sollicitudinist [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
 (589).

C Venio ad hominem ut dicerem [aci:say:dic-] argentum  
[ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] opus [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] [ecm:deontic:opus]  
esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop:dup], et id quo pacto  
fieret [\_\_Terence:Phor] (592 593).

C Dis gratias agebat [aci:emotion:grat-] tempus [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] sibi  
[aci:::bound:se:goal:distant] dari [aci::inf:pres:pass], ubi Phaedriae esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] ostenderet [aci:show:ostend-] nilo minus amicum sese  
[aci:::bound:se:subj:local] quam Antiphoni [\_\_Terence:Phor] (596 598).

C Hominem [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj] ad forum iussi [ctrl:obj:order:iub-]  
operiri [ctrl:obj::inf:pres], eo me [aci:::bound:1st:subj] esse adducturum  
[aci::inf:fut:peri:with:cop] senem [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear]  
[\_\_Terence:Phor] (597 599).

C Commodius [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] [ecm:deontic:commod-] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] opinor [aci:think:opin-] duplici spe  
[ecm:deontic:::1st:subj:null] utier [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
(603).

C Sed patruom [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] video [aci:see:vid-] cum patre  
astantem [aci::inf:pres:participle] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (607).

C Venire [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] salvom [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null] volup  
[ecm:deontic:volup] est [\_\_Terence:Phor] (610).

C Facinum indignum [ecm:deontic:dign-], Chreme, sic  
[ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] circumiri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass]  
[\_\_Terence:Phor] (613 614)!

C Visumst [aci:see:vid-] [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null] mihi ut eius  
temptarem [aci::inf\_subjunct] sententiam [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
(619).

C An legibus [aci:::bound:2nd:subj:null] daturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop]  
poenas [\_linear] dices [aci:say:dic-] si illam eiecerit [\_\_Terence:Phor] (626  
627)?

C Verum pone [aci:think:pon-] esse victum [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] eum  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (630).

C Postquam hominem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] his verbis sentio  
[aci:sense:sent-] mollirier [aci::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (632).

C Eho dic quid [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj] vis [ecm:want:velle] dari  
[ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] tibi in manum [\_\_Terence:Phor] (633 634).

C Quis te [ctrl:obj:::unbound:2nd:subj] istaec [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[\_linear:demon:2nd] iussit [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] loqui [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
[\_\_Terence:Phor] (639)?

C Immo non potuit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] melius pervenirier  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] eo quo nos volumus [\_\_Terence:Phor] (640 641).

C Perge [ctrl:subj:continue:perg-] eloqui [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (641).

C Parvi retulit [ecm:impers:refer-] [ecm:impers:::3rd:subj:null] non  
suscepisse [ecm:impers::inf:perf] [ecm:impers:::3rd:obj:null]  
[\_\_Terence:Phor] (646 647).

C Volui [ctrl:subj:want:velle] uxorem [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] ducere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (651).

C Nam mihi venibat in mentem eius incommodum [ecm:deontic:commod-], in  
servitum pauperem [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] ad ditem dari  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (652 653).

C Et etiam nunc si volt [ctrl:subj:want:velle] Demipho dare  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] quantum [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] ab hac accipio  
quae sponsast mihi, nullam [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj] mihi malim  
[ecm:want:malle] quam istanc uxorem [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj] dari  
[ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (656 658).

C Utrum stultitia facere [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] ego hunc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] an malitia dicam [aci:say:dic-], scientem an imprudentem, incertus sum [\_\_Terence:Phor] (659 660).

C Me [ecm:deontic::1st:subj] hoc [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] est aequom [ecm:deontic:aequ-] amittere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (673).

C Nam illi mihi dotem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] iam constituerunt [ctrl:subj:decide:constitu-] dare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (676).

C Uxori tibi opus [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] dixero [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (681).

C Quod [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] quidem recte curatum [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] velis [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (689).

C Quid minus utibile [ecm:deontic:utibil-] fuit, quam hoc ulcus [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] tangere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] aut [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] nominare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] uxorem [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (690 691)?

C Iniectast spes [ecm:hope:sper-] patri posse [ecm:hope::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] illam [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:subj] extrudi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (691 692).

C Nil est, Antipho, quin male narrando [\_gerund] possit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] depravarier [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (696 697).

C Haruspex vetuit [ctrl:obj:prohibit:veto-] [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:obj:null] ante brumam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] autem novi negoti incipere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (709 710).

C Dic [aci:say:dic-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] argentum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] Phaedriae [\_\_Terence:Phor] (712).

C Dicat [aci:say:dic-] eam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] dare [aci::inf:pres] nos [aci::unbound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear:is] Phormini nuptum [\_supine], ne suscenseat, et magis esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] illum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] idoneum qui ipsi sit familiarior, nos [aci::unbound:1st:subj:coord] nostro officio non digressos esse [aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop], quantum is voluterit, [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] datum esse [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] dotis [\_\_Terence:Phor] (720 723).

C Non satis [ecm:deontic:sat-] est tuom te [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj] officium [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [\_linear] fecisse [ecm:deontic::inf:perf], id si non fama adprobat [\_\_Terence:Phor] (724).

C Volo [ecm:want:velle] ipsius haec [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] voluntate fieri [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass], ne se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] eiectam [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] praedicet [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (725).

C Idem ego istuc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (726).

C Ubi illas [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] nunc ego reperire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possim [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] cogito [\_\_Terence:Phor] (727).

C Ita patrem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] adolescentis facta haec [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] tolerare [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj:allow:toler-] audio [aci:hear:aud-] violenter [\_\_Terence:Phor] (731).

C Quod ut facerem egestas me inpulit, quom scirem [aci:know:sc-] infirmas nuptias hasce [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop], ut id consulerem, interea vita ut in tuto foret [\_\_Terence:Phor] (733 734).

C Quodsi eum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] nunc reperire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], nil est quod verear [\_\_Terence:Phor] (738).

C Non, obsecro, es quem semper te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] dictitasti [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (743 744)?  
 C Em istoc pol nos te [ctrl:subj::unbound:2nd:obj] hic invenire  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] miserae numquam potuimus [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (747).  
 C Quid illam alteram quae [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] dicitur  
 [aci:say:dic-] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] cognata [\_personal:passive]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (755)?  
 C Composito factumst quo modo hanc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] amans habere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] posset [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] sine dote [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
 (756 757).  
 C Di vostram fidem, quam saepe forte temere eveniunt quae  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] non audeas [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] optare  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (757 758).  
 C Offendi [aci:learn:offend-] adveniens quicum volebam et ut volebam  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] locatam [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
 (758 759).  
 C Pater adolescentis venit eumque [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] animo iniquo hoc  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:is:1st] oppido ferre [aci::inf:pres] aiunt  
 [aci:say:ai-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (762 763).  
 C Nil periclist sed per deos atque homines meam esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] hanc  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] cave resciscat [aci:know:sc-] quisquam  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (763 764).  
 C Nostrapte culpa facimus [ctrl:obj:make:fac-] ut malis  
 [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:dative] expediat [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct]  
 [ctrl:impers:exped-] esse [ctrl:impers::inf:pres:cop], dum nimium  
 [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] dici [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass]  
 [aci:say:dic-] [\_impersonal:passive] nos [aci::unbound:1st:subj]  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] bonos studemus [ecm:want:stud-] et benignos  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (767 768).  
 C Nonne id sat [ecm:deontic:sat-] erat, [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null]  
 accipere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] ab illo iniuriam [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (768 769)?  
 C Modo ut hoc consilio possiet [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] discedi  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass], ut istam ducat [\_\_Terence:Phor] (773).  
 C Tu, Geta, abi prae, nuntia [aci:say:nunti-] hanc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 venturam [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (777).  
 C Factum [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null] [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:no:cop]  
 volo [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (787).  
 C Sed meum virum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] abs te exire [aci::inf:pres] video  
 [aci:see:vid-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (795).  
 C Nollem [ecm:want:nolle] [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null] datum  
 [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (796).  
 C Abduci [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] non potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (799).  
 C Praeterhac [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] cognatam comperi  
 [aci:find:comper-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] nobis [\_\_Terence:Phor] (801).  
 C Vin [ctrl:subj:want:velle] scire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (807)?  
 C Una omnis nos [ecm:want::bound:1st:subj] aut scire [ecm:want::inf:pres]  
 [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] aut  
 [ecm:want::bound:1st:subj:null:coord] nescire [ecm:want::inf:pres] hoc  
 [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] volo [ecm:want:velle]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (809).  
 C Itana parvam mihi fidem [interject::3rd:subj] esse  
 [interject::inf:pres:cop] apud te [\_\_Terence:Phor] (810)!

C Vin [ecm:want:velle] me [ecm:want:::unbound:1st:subj] credere  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres] [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
 (810)?  
 C Vin [ecm:want:velle] satis quaesitum [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] mi  
 istuc [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [\_\_Terence:Phor] (811)?  
 C Ire [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] igitur tibi [ctrl:impers::2nd:subj:dative]  
 licet [ctrl:impers:lic-], Nausistrata [\_\_Terence:Phor] (813).  
 C Sic pol [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] commodius  
 [ecm:deontic:commod-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] in omnis arbitror  
 [aci:think:arbitr-] quam ut coeperas, [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] manere  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] hic [\_\_Terence:Phor] (814 815).  
 C Nam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] perliberalis  
 visast [aci:see:vid-], quom vidi, mihi [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
 (815).  
 C Gnatam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] inveni [aci:know:inven-] nuptam  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] cum tuo filio [\_\_Terence:Phor] (816).  
 C Heus ne filii quid hoc [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:obj] nostri resciscant  
 [ecm:want::inf\_subjunct] volo [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (819).  
 C Laetus [aci:emotion:laet-] sum, ut meae res sese habent, fratri  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:rel] obtigisse [aci::inf:perf] quod volt  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (820).  
 C Quam scitumst [ctrl:deontic:scit-] eius modi in animo  
 [ctrl:deontic::2nd:subj:null] parare [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] cupiditates  
 [ctrl:deontic::3rd:obj] quas [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj], quom res  
 advorsae sient, paulo mederi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possis  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (821 822)!  
 C Ego nullo possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] remedio me  
 [ctrl:subj::bound:1st:obj] evolvere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ex his turbis  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (825).  
 C Sed ubinam Getam [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] invenire  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possim [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (827)?  
 C Quo pacto satietatem [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] amoris ait [aci:say:ai-]  
 se [aci:::bound:se:subj:local] [\_non:linear] velle [aci::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj:want:velle] absumere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (834)?  
 C Ego me [aci:::bound:1st:subj] ire [aci::inf:pres] senibus Sunium dicam  
 [aci:say:dic-] ad mercatum, ancillulam [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear]  
 emptum [\_supine] dudum quam dixit Geta [\_\_Terence:Phor] (837 838).  
 C Ne quom hic non videant me [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] conficere  
 [aci::inf:pres] credant [aci:believe:cred-] argentum suom  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (839).  
 C Sed ego nunc mihi cesso qui non umerum hunc onero (verb) pallio atque  
 hominem [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] propero [ctrl:subj:hurry:proper-]  
 invenire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (844 845).  
 C Ad lenonem hinc ire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] pergam [ctrl:subj:continue:perg-]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (847).  
 C Num mirum [ecm:deontic:mir-] aut novomst [ecm:deontic:nov-]  
 [ecm:deontic::1st:subj:null] revocari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], cursum  
 quom institeris [\_\_Terence:Phor] (848)?  
 C Sed qui istuc [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] credam [aci:believe:cred-] ita esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] mihi dici  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] velim [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (855).  
 C Omitto [ctrl:subj:stop:mitt-] proloqui [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (861).  
 C Ubi in gynaeceum ire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] occipio [ctrl:subj:begin:occip-]  
 [\_\_Terence:Phor] (862).  
 C Ait [aci:say:ai-] [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] esse vetitum  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] [ctrl:obj:prohibit:veto-] intro ad eram

[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] accedere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (864).

C Sophrona huc fratrem modo inquit [aci:say:inquam] senis introduxit Chremem eumque [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] nunc esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] intus cum illis [\_\_Terence:Phor] (865 866).

C Ad fores suspenso gradu placide ire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] perrexi [ctrl:subj:stand:perrig-], accessi, astiti [\_\_Terence:Phor] (867).

C Ita animum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] coepi [ctrl:subj:begin:coop-] attendere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], hoc modo sermonem captans [\_\_Terence:Phor] (868 869).

C Aliquid [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:indef] credito [aci:believe:cred-], Phormio, esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] causae [\_\_Terence:Phor] (874 875).

C Sed me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] censen [aci:believe:cens-] potuisse [aci::inf:perf] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] omnia [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] intellegere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] extra ostium, intus quae inter sese ipsi egerint [\_\_Terence:Phor] (875 876)?

C Ait [aci:say:ai-] uterque tibi potestatem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] eius adhibendae [\_gerundive] dari [aci::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (880).

C Tantam fortunam [interject::3rd:subj] de inproviso esse his datam [interject::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (884)!

C Summa eludendi [\_gerund] occasiost [ctrl:impers:occas-] mihi [ctrl:impers::1st:subj:dative] nunc senes et Phaedriae curam [ctrl:impers::1st:subj:null:coord] adimere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] argentariam [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (885 886).

C Quo me [ecm:pretend::bound:1st:subj] adsimularam [ecm:pretend:simul-] ire [ecm:pretend::inf:pres] ad mercatum, non eo [\_\_Terence:Phor] (893).

C Idque adeo venio nuntiatum [\_supine] [aci:say:nunti-], Demipho, paratum me [aci::bound:1st:subj] esse [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (906 907).

C Nam omnis posthabui mihi res, ita uti par fuit, postquam id tanto opere vos [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] velle [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] animum advorteram [aci:see:animadvert-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (908 909).

C Eam [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] nunc extrudi [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] turpest [ecm:deontic:turp-] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (913).

C Quia ne alteram quidem illam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] potero [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] ducere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (916).

C Tum autem Antiphonem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] video [aci:see:vid-] ab sese [aci::bound:se:oblique:local] amittere [aci::inf:pres] invitum eam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:is:2nd] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (920 921).

C Tum autem video [aci:see:vid-] filium [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] invitum sane mulierem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] ab se [aci::bound:se:oblique:local] amittere [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Terence:Phor] (921 922).

C Sed transi sodes ad forum atque illud mihi argentum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] rursum iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] rescribi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass], Phormio [\_\_Terence:Phor] (923 924).

C Si vis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] mi uxorem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] dare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] quam despondisti, ducam [\_\_Terence:Phor] (924 925).

C Sin est ut velis [ecm:want:velle] manere [ecm:want::inf:pres] illam [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] apud te, dos hic maneat, Demipho [\_\_Terence:Phor] (925 926).

C Nam non est aequom [ecm:deontic:aequ-] me [ecm:deontic::1st:subj] propter vos decipi [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], quom ego vostri honoris causa repudium alterae remiserim, quae dotis tantundem dabat [\_\_Terence:Phor] (927 929).

C Etiam nunc credis [aci:believe:cred-] te [aci:::bound:2nd:subj] ignorarier  
[aci::inf:pres:pass] aut tua facta [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] adeo  
[\_\_\_Terence:Phor] (931 932)?

C Enim vero si porro esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] odiosi pergitis  
[ctrl:subj:continue:perg-] [\_\_\_Terence:Phor] (937).

C Vos me [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] indotatis modo patrocinari [aci::inf:pres]  
fortasse arbitramini [aci:think:arbitr-] [\_\_\_Terence:Phor] (938 939).

C Nescio, nisi me [aci:::bound:1st:subj] dixisse [aci::inf:perf]  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] nemini certo scio [aci:know:sc-]  
[\_\_\_Terence:Phor] (952 953).

C Vides [aci:see:vid-] tuom peccatum [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] esse elatum  
[aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] foras neque iam id  
[ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] celare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] posse  
[aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] te [aci:::bound:2nd:subj]  
[\_non:linear:is] uxorem tuam [\_linear:is:1st] [\_\_\_Terence:Phor] (958 959).

C Nunc quod ipsa ex aliis auditura sit, Chremes, id [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj]  
nosmet [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] [\_non:linear:is:1st] indicare  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] placabilius [ecm:deontic:plac-] est [\_\_\_Terence:Phor]  
(960 961).

C Tum hunc impuratum [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] poterimus  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-] nostro modo ulcisci [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[\_\_\_Terence:Phor] (961 962).

C At vereor ut placari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] possit  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_\_Terence:Phor] (965).

C Tantane adfectum quemquam esse [interject::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] hominem  
[interject:::3rd:subj] audacia [\_\_\_Terence:Phor] (977)!

C Non hoc publicitus scelus [interject:::3rd:subj] hinc asportarier  
[interject::inf:pres:pass] in solas terras [\_\_\_Terence:Phor] (977 978)!

C Pergin [ctrl:subj:continue:perg-] credere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_\_Terence:Phor] (996)?

C Nam cum hoc ipso distaedet [ctrl:obj:impers:taed-]  
[ctrl:obj:::unbound:1st:subj:null] loqui [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] [\_\_\_Terence:Phor] (1011).

C Ego, Nausistrata, [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] esse in hac re culpam  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] meritum [aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop] [\_non:linear]  
non nego [aci:say:neg-] [\_\_\_Terence:Phor] (1014).

C Cupio [ctrl:subj:want:cup-] misera in hac re iam defungier  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Terence:Phor] (1021).

C Aetate pro minus [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null]  
peccaturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [\_non:linear] putem [aci:think:put-]  
[\_\_\_Terence:Phor] (1022)?

C Quid mi hic adfers qua ob rem exspectem [ecm:hope:exspect-] aut sperem  
[ecm:hope:sper-] porro [ecm:hope:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] non fore  
[ecm:hope::inf:fut:cop] [\_\_\_Terence:Phor] (1025)?

C Exsequias [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj] Chremeti quibus  
[ctrl:impers:::3rd:subj:dative] est commodum [ctrl:impers:commod-] ire  
[ctrl:impers::inf:pres], em tempus est [\_\_\_Terence:Phor] (1026).

C Meritone hoc [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] meo videtur [aci:see:vid-]  
[aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] factum [\_personal:passive] [\_\_\_Terence:Phor]  
(1033)?

C Verum iam, quando accusando [\_gerund] fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass]  
infectum non potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], ignosce [\_\_\_Terence:Phor] (1034  
1035).

C Adeo hoc [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] indignum  
tibi videtur [aci:see:vid-] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_\_Terence:Phor] (1040).

C Nil [interject:::3rd:subj] pudere [interject::inf:pres]  
[interject:::2nd:obj:null] [\_\_\_Terence:Phor] (1042)!

C Vin [ctrl:subj:want:velle] primum hodie facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel] quod ego gaudeam [\_\_Terence:Phor]  
 (1052)?  
 = Ennius  
 C Visus [aci:see:vid-] Homerus [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] adesse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] poeta [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Ennius:Ann] (5).  
 C Ova [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] parere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] solet  
 [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] genus pennis condecoratum non animam  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Ennius:ann] (7 8).  
 C Memini [aci:remember:meminisc-] me [aci::bound:1st:subj] fieri  
 [aci::inf:pres:pass] pavum [\_\_Ennius:Ann] (13).  
 C Doctusque Anchisa, Venus quem [ecm:impers::3rd:subj] pulcherruma dium fari  
 [ecm:impers::inf:pres] donavit [ecm:impers:don-],  
 [ecm:impers::3rd:subj:null:coord] divinum pectus [ecm:impers::3rd:obj]  
 [\_linear] habere [ecm:impers::inf:pres] [\_\_Ennius:Ann] (18 19).  
 C Nam me [aci::unbound:1st:obj] visus [aci:see:vid-] homo pulcher  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] per amoena salicta et ripas raptare  
 [aci::inf:pres] locosque novos [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Ennius:Ann] (36 37).  
 C Ita sola postilla, germana soror, [aci::unbound:1st:subj:raise:null]  
 errare [aci::inf:pres] videbar [aci:see:vid-] [\_personal:passive], tardaue  
 [aci::unbound:1st:subj:raise:null:coord] vestigare [aci::inf:pres] et  
 [aci::unbound:1st:subj:raise:null:coord] quaerere [aci::inf:pres] te  
 [aci::unbound:2nd:obj], neque [aci::unbound:1st:subj:raise:null:coord]  
 posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] corde capessere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:2nd:obj:null:coord] [\_\_Ennius:Ann]  
 (37 40).  
 C Exin conpellare [aci::inf:pres] pater [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] me  
 [aci::unbound:1st:obj] voce videtur [aci:see:vid-] his verbis  
 [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Ennius:Ann] (41 42).  
 C Veluti consul quom mittere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] signum  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] volt [ctrl:subj:want:velle], omnes avidi  
 spectant ad carceris oras quam mox emittat pictis e faucibus currus  
 [\_\_Ennius:Ann] (88 90).  
 C Conspicit [aci:see:spect-] inde sibi [aci::bound:se:goal:distant] data  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] Romulus esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] propritim  
 auspicio regni stabilita scamna [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] solumque  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Ennius:Ann] (99 100).  
 C Astu non vi sum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] (eum) summam  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [\_linear] servare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] decet  
 [ecm:deontic:dec-] rem [\_\_Ennius:Ann] (105).  
 C Nam vi depugnare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] sues stolidi soliti sunt  
 [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] [\_pun] [\_\_Ennius:Ann] (106).  
 C Et qui se [ecm:hope::bound:se:subj:local] sperat [ecm:hope:sper-] Romae  
 regnare [ecm:hope::inf:pres] Quadratae [\_\_Ennius:Ann] (123)?  
 C Ingens cura [ctrl:deontic:cur-t] mis cum concordibus  
 [ctrl:deontic::1st:subj:null] aequiperare [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:deontic::3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Ennius:Ann] (131).  
 C Adnuit [ecm:want:adnu-] sese [ecm:want::bound:se:subj:local] mecum  
 decernere [ecm:want::inf:pres] ferro [\_\_Ennius:Ann] (133).  
 C Ferro se [ctrl:obj::bound:1st:subj] caedi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] quam  
 dictis his toleraret [ctrl:obj:allow:toler-] [\_\_Ennius:Ann] (134).  
 C Postquam defessi [ctrl:subj:tire:defes-] sunt stare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 atque spargere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] sese [ctrl:subj::bound:se:obj:local]  
 hastis ansatis, concurrunt undique telis [\_\_Ennius:Ann] (160 161).  
 C Inde sibi [aci::bound:se:goal:local] memorat [aci:say:memor-] unum  
 superesse [aci::inf:pres] laborem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Ennius:Ann]  
 (163).



C Quis potis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] ingentis oras  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] evolvere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] belli  
[\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (173)?

C Aio [aci:say:ai-] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj], Aiacida, Romanos  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:ambig] vincere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (174).

C Vosne [ecm:want::unbound:2nd:subj] velit [ecm:want:velle] an me  
[ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj] regnare [ecm:want::inf:pres]  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj:null] era, quidve ferat Fors, virtute experiamur  
[\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (189 190).

C Quorum virtuti belli fortuna pepercit, eorundem libertati me  
[ecm:deontic::1st:subj] parcere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] certum  
[ecm:deontic:cert-] est [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (191 192).

C Quo vobis mentes rectae quae stare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] solebant  
[ctrl:subj:used:sol-] ante hac, dementes sese flexere viai [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann]  
(194 195)?

C Quem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] nemo ferro potuit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
superare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] nec auro [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (209).

C Prudenter qui dicta [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] loquive  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] tacereve [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] posset  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (226).

C Nec quisquam sophiam sapientia quae [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise]  
perhibetur [aci:believe:hab-] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] in somnis vidit prius  
quam sam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] discere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] coepit  
[ctrl:subj:begin:coep-] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (229 230).

C Nos ausi [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] reserare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (235).

C Poeni suos soliti [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] dis sacrificare  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] puellios [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann]  
(237).

C Legio aggreditur Romana ruinas, mox auferre [historical::inf:pres] domos  
[historical::unbound:3rd:obj], populi rumore secundo [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (242  
243).

C Dum censet [aci:believe:cens-] [aci::bound:se:subj:local:null] terrere  
[aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] minis, hortantur ibi sos  
[\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (244).

C Alter nare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] cupit [ctrl:subj:want:cup-], alter pugnare  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] paratust  
[ctrl:subj:prepare:par-] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (247).

C Amplius [partial::3rd:obj] exaugere [partial::inf:pres] obstipo lumine  
solis [\_\_\_Ennius:Acc] (278).

C Ob Romam noctu legiones [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] ducere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] coepit [ctrl:subj:begin:coep-] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (288).

C Romanis Iuno coepit [ctrl:subj:begin:coep-] placata  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann]  
(293).

C Ast occasus ubi tempusve [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] audere  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] repressit  
[ctrl:obj:prohibit:reprend-] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (295).

C Tonsam ante tenentes parerent, observarent, portisculus signum  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] quom dare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] coepisset  
[ctrl:subj:begin:coep-] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (297 299).

C Sollicitari [aci::inf:pres:pass] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] Tite sic  
noctesque diesque [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (331).

C Insignita fere tum milia militum octo duxit delectos, bellum  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] tolerare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] potentes  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (337 338).

C Contendunt Graecos, Graios [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] memorare  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] solent [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] sos lingua longos  
[\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (347 348).

C Quae neque Dardaniis campis potuere [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] perire  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] nec cum capta capi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] nec cum  
combusta cremari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (349 350).

C Hispanae non Romanae memoretis [aci:say:memor-] loqui [aci::inf:pres] me  
[aci::unbound:1st:subj] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (358).

C Hannibal audaci dum pectore de me hortatur [ctrl:obj:urge:hort-] ne bellum  
faciam [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct], quem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] credidit  
[aci:believe:cred-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] meum cor suasorem summum et  
studiosum robore belli [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (366 368).

C Matronae moeros complent spectare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] faventes [ctrl:subj:want:fav-]  
[\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (371).

C Quom procul aspiciunt [aci:see:spect-] hostes [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
accedere [aci::inf:pres] ventis navibus velivolis [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (375 376).

C Quippe vetusta virum non est satis [ecm:deontic:sat-] bella  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] moveri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann]  
(390)?

C Post aetate pigret [ctrl:obj:impers:pigr-] [ctrl:obj::3rd:subj:null]  
subferre [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] laborem [ctrl:obj::3rd:obj] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann]  
(391).

C Navorum imperium [ctrl:sent] [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] servare  
[ctrl:sent::inf:pres] [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj:null] est induperantum  
[\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (405).

C Spero, si speres quicquam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] prodesse  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] potis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] sunt [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (407).

C Non in sperando [\_gerund] cupide rem [partial::3rd:obj] prodere  
[partial::inf:pres] summam [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (408).

C Sed nec pote [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] quisquam undique nitendo [\_gerund]  
corpus [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] discernere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ferro  
[\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (411 412).

C Prandere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] iubet  
[ctrl:obj:order:iub-] horiturque [ctrl:obj:urge:hort-] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (418).

C Concurrunt veluti venti quom spiritus Austri imbricator Aquiloque suo cum  
flamine contra indu mari magno fluctus [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
extollere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] certant [ctrl:subj:try:cert-] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann]  
(430 432).

C Noenu decet [ecm:deontic:dec-] mussare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] bonos  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] qui facta labore nixi militiae peperere  
[\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (434 435).

C Neque corpora firma longiscunt quicquam, quom soles eadem facient  
[ctrl:obj:make:fac-] eadem [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] longiscere  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres] longe [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (436 438).

C Degrumare [partial::inf:pres] forum [partial::3rd:obj] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann]  
(439).

C Quom a carcere fusi currus cum sonitu magno permittere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] certant [ctrl:subj:try:cert-] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (443 444).

C Quis pater aut cognatus volet [ctrl:subj:want:velle] vos  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:2nd:obj] contra tueri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (462)?

C Audire [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] [ctrl:deontic::3rd:subj:null] est operae  
pretium [ctrl:deontic:pret-] procedere [ecm:want::inf:pres] recte qui rem  
Romanam [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] Latiumque [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj]  
augescere [ecm:want::inf:pres] vultis [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_\_Ennius:Ann] (471  
472).

C Fortunisque suas [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] coepere  
 [ctrl:subj:begin:coop-] latrones inter se  
 [ctrl:subj::bound:se:oblique:local] memorare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Ennius:Ann] (481 482).  
 C Unus Surus surum [partial:::3rd:obj] [\_pun] ferre [partial::inf:pres] tamen  
 defendere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] posset [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Ennius:Ann]  
 (484).  
 C Iam cata signa fere sonitum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] dare  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voca parabant [ctrl:subj:prepare:par-] [\_\_Ennius:Ann]  
 (487).  
 C Decretum [ctrl:deontic:decret-] est [ctrl:deontic:::3rd:subj:null] stare  
 [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] et fossari [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres:pass] corpora  
 [ctrl:deontic:::3rd:subj] telis [\_\_Ennius:Ann] (511).  
 C Non si, lingua loqui [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] saperet [ctrl:subj:know:sap-]  
 quibus, ora decem sint, innumerum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], ferro cor  
 sit pectusque revinctum [\_\_Ennius:Ann] (547 548).  
 C Omnes mortales sese [ecm:want:::bound:se:subj:local] laudarier  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] optant [ecm:want:opt-] [\_\_Ennius:Ann] (549).  
 C Vix solum complere [partial::inf:pres] cohui [partial:::3rd:obj] terroribus  
 caeli [\_\_Ennius:Ann] (557).  
 C Audire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] iubet  
 [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] vos [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear]  
 imperator [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (4).  
 C Quo nunc incerta re atque inorata gradum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 regredere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] conare [ctrl:subj:try:con-] [\_\_Ennius:Trag]  
 (14 15)?  
 C Mater [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] gravida parere [aci::inf:pres] se  
 [aci::bound:se:subj:local] ardentem facem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear]  
 visa est [aci:see:vid-] in somnis Hecuba [\_impersonal:passive]  
 [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (38 39).  
 C Ibi ex oraculo voce divina edidit [aci:say:ed-] Apollo puerum  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] primus Priamo qui foret postilla natus  
 temperaret [ctrl:subj:try:temperar-] tollere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], eum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] exitium Troiae, pestem  
 Pergamo [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (46 49).  
 C Sed quid [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:interrog] oculis rapere [aci::inf:pres]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null] visa [aci:see:vid-] est derepente  
 ardentibus [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (57 58)?  
 C Hoc [ecm:impers:::expletive] dolet [ecm:impers:dol-], med  
 [ecm:impers:::1st:subj] obesse [ecm:impers::inf:pres:cop], illos  
 [ecm:impers:::3rd:subj] prodesse [ecm:impers::inf:pres:cop], me  
 [ecm:impers:::1st:subj] obstare [ecm:impers::inf:pres], illos  
 [ecm:impers:::3rd:subj] obsequi [ecm:impers::inf:pres] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (64  
 65).  
 C Vidi [aci:see:vid-] videre [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] quod  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] me [ctrl:obj::bound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear]  
 passa [ctrl:obj:allow:pat-] aegerrime Hectorem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] curru  
 quadriiugo raptarier [aci::inf:pres:pass], Hectoris natum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] de moero iactarier [aci::inf:pres:pass]  
 [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (91 93).  
 C Vidi [aci:see:vid-] ego te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj], adstante ope  
 barbarica, tectis caelatis laequeatis auro ebore instructam  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] regifice [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (101 105).  
 C Haec omnia [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] vidi [aci:see:vid-] inflammari  
 [aci::inf:pres:pass], Priamo vi vitam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] evitari  
 [aci::inf:pres:pass], Iovis aram [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] sanguine turpari  
 [aci::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (106 108).

C Neque terram [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj] [ctrl:impers:::1st:subj:null:coord]  
 iniicere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres], neque cruenta convestire  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] corpora [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj] mihi  
 [ctrl:impers:::1st:subj:dative] licuit [ctrl:impers:lic-], neque miserae  
 [ctrl:impers:::1st:subj:null:coord] lavere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] lacrimae  
 salsum sanguinem [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (134 135).  
 C Tacere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] opino [aci:think:opin-] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] optumum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:impers]  
 [ecm:deontic:bon-] [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null] et pro viribus sapere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] atque fabulari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] tute noveris  
 [ctrl:subj:know:nov-] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (147 148).  
 C Id ego [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] aecum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] ac ius  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] fecisse [aci::inf:perf] expedibo [aci:say:exped-]  
 atque eloquar [aci:say:loqu-] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (154).  
 C Edico [aci:say:dic-] vicisse [aci::inf:perf] Oresten  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (155).  
 C Caelum nitescere [historical::inf:pres], arbores frondescere  
 [historical::inf:pres], vites laetificae pampinis pubescere  
 [historical::inf:pres], rami bacarum ubertate incurvescere  
 [historical::inf:pres], segetes largiri [historical::inf:pres] fruges,  
 florere [historical::inf:pres] omnia, fontes scatere [historical::inf:pres],  
 herbis prata convestirier [historical::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (157  
 161).  
 C Hector vei summa armatos educit foras castrisque castra  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] ultro iam conferre [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 occupat [ctrl:subj:try:occup-] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (164 165).  
 C Nos [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] quiescere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] aequum  
 [ecm:deontic:aequ-] est [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (166)?  
 C Neque sanguis ullo potis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] est pacto profluens  
 consistere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], si qui sapientia magis vestra mors devitari  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], namque Aesculapi  
 liberorum saucii opplent porticus, non potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] accedi  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (170 171).  
 C Qui alteri exitium parat eum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] scire  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [aci:know:sc-] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] sibi  
 [aci::bound:se:goal:distant] paratum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] pestem  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ut participet parem [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (176 177).  
 C Non potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] ecfari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] tantum  
 dictis quantum factis suppetit [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (178).  
 C Hector qui haud cessat [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-] obsidionem  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] obducere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Ennius:Trag]  
 (182).  
 C Quorum tenacis [partial:::3rd:obj] infrenari [partial::inf:pres:pass] minis  
 [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (186).  
 C Qui cupiant [ctrl:subj:want:cup-] dare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] arma  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] Achilli ut ipsei cunctent [\_\_Ennius:Trag]  
 (191).  
 C Pergunt [ctrl:subj:continue:perg-] lavere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] sanguen  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] sanguine [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (209)!  
 C Quid [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] noctis videtur [aci:see:vid-]  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] in altisono caeli clipeo [\_personal:passive]  
 [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (222 223)?  
 C Licet [ctrl:impers:lic-] lacrumare [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] plebi  
 [ctrl:impers:::3rd:subj:dative], regi [ctrl:impers:::3rd:subj:dative] honeste  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres:dup] non licet [ctrl:impers:lic-] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (235  
 236).

C Otio qui nescit [ctrl:subj:know:sc-] uti [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] quom otium est, in otio plus negoti habet quam quom est negotium in negotio [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (241 242).

C Quom illuc ventum est, [ctrl:impers:::3rd:subj:null] ire [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] illinc lubet [ctrl:impers:lub-] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (247).

C Cupido cepit [ctrl:obj:force:cap-] miseram nunc me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] proloqui [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] caelo atque terrae Medelai miserias [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (264 265).

C Nam ter sub armis malim [ctrl:subj:want:malle] vitam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] cernere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] quam semel modo parere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (269 270).

C Qui ipse si sapiens prodesse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] non quit [ctrl:subj:able:qu-], nequiquam sapit [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (271).

C Qui volt [ecm:want:velle] [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null:rel] esse [ecm:want::inf:pres:cop] quod volt, ita dat se res ut operam dabit [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (277).

C Quod iter [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] incipiam [ctrl:subj:begin:incip-] ingredi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (284)?

C Mi ausculta, nate, pueros [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] cremitari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (298).

C Pecudi dare [partial::inf:pres] vivam [partial:::3rd:obj] marito [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (304).

C Sed virum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] vera virtute vivere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] animatum addecet [ecm:deontic:dec-] fortiterque innoxium [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null:coord] stare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] adversum adversarios [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (308 309).

C Plus miser sim si scelestum faxim quod [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] dicam [aci:say:dic-] fore [aci::inf:fut:cop] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (314).

C Saeviter suspicionem [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] ferre [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] falsam futtilum [ecm:deontic:futtil-] est [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (315).

C Liberos ego cum genui tum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] morituros [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] scivi [aci:know:sc-] et ei rei sustuli [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (319 320).

C Praeterea ad Troiam cum misi ob defendendam Graeciam [\_gerundive], scibam [aci:know:sc-] me [aci::bound:1st:subj] in mortiferum bellum non in epulas [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] mittere [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (321 322).

C Strata terrae lavere [historical::inf:pres] lacrumis vestem squalam et sordidam [historical::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (323).

C Scibas [aci:know:sc-] natum [aci::inf:perf:depon:no:cop] ingenuum Aiace[m] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] cui tu obsidionem paras [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (327).

C Ego deum genus [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] semper dixi [aci:say:dic-] et dicam [aci:say:dic-] caelitum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop], sed eos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] non curare [aci::inf:pres] opinor [aci:think:opin-] quid agat humanum genus [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (328 329).

C Deum me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] sancit [ctrl:obj:order:sanc-] facere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] pietas, civium [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord] [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:dup] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] porcet [ctrl:obj:prohibit:porc-] pudor [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:dup] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (338).

C Palam muttire [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] plebeio  
 [ctrl:deontic::3rd:subj:dative] piaculum [ctrl:deontic:piacul-] est  
 [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (340).  
 C Et [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] civitatem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] video  
 [aci:see:vid-] Argivum incendere [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (343).  
 C Deumque de consilio hoc itiner [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] credo  
 [aci:believe:cred-] [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null] conatum  
 [aci::inf:perf:depon:no:cop] modo [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (344).  
 C Te ipsum [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj] hoc [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj]  
 [\_linear:demon:2nd] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] profiteri  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] et [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null:coord]  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null:coord] proloqui [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] advorsum  
 illam mihi [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (345 346).  
 C Verum quorum liberi leto dati sunt in bello, non lubenter haec  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] enodari [aci::inf:pres:pass] audiunt [aci:hear:aud-]  
 [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (347 348).  
 C Quemnam te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] dicam  
 [aci:say:dic-] qui tarda in senectute [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (355).  
 C Nolite [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] hospites ad me adire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres],  
 ilico istic [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (358).  
 C Quidnam est obsecro quod te [ctrl:obj::bound:2nd:subj] adiri  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] abnutas [ctrl:obj:prohibit:abnut-] [\_\_Ennius:Trag]  
 (361)?  
 C Esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] per gentes cluebat [aci:call:clu-] omnium  
 miserrimus [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] [\_\_Ennius:Fab] (376).  
 C Eos [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] reduci [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] quam  
 [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] relinqui [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass],  
 [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] devehi [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass]  
 quam [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] deserui  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] malui [ecm:want:malle] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (392 393).  
 C Philosophari [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] mihi [ctrl:deontic::1st:subj:dative]  
 necesse [ctrl:deontic:necess-], paucis, nam omnino haud placet  
 [\_\_Ennius:Frag] (400).  
 C Flammam [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] a sapienti [\_abl:agent] facilius  
 [ecm:deontic:facil-] ore in ardente opprimi [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] quam  
 bona dicta teneat [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (405 406).  
 C Flagiti principium est [ctrl:sent] [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null]  
 nudare [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] inter cives corpora  
 [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (407).  
 C Animus aeger semper errat, neque pati [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] neque perpeti [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] potis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] est, cupere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] numquam desinit  
 [ctrl:subj:stop:desin-] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (408 409).  
 C Quem metuunt oderunt, quem quisque odit  
 [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] periisse [ecm:want::inf:perf]  
 expetit [ecm:want:expet-] [\_\_Ennius:Frag] (410).  
 C Si voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle] advortere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] animum  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] comiter monstrabitur [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (415).  
 C Benefacta [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] male locata [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop]  
 malefacta arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] [\_\_Ennius:Frag] (416).  
 C Ille meae tam potis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] pacis potiri  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Ennius:Trag] (420).  
 C Mox cum tu alterius abligurias bona quid [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] censes  
 [aci:believe:cens-] domino esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] animi [\_\_Ennius:Sat]  
 (18)?

C Quaerunt in scirpo soliti [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] quod  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] nodum  
[\_\_\_Ennius:Sat] (27).

C Nam qui lepide postulat [ctrl:subj:want:postul-] alterum  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] frustrari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] quem frustratur  
frustra eum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] dicit [aci:say:dic-] frustra esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop], nam qui sese [aci::bound:se:subj:local] frustrari  
[aci::inf:pres] quem frustra sentit [aci:sense:sent-], qui frustratur frustra  
est si non ille est frustra [\_pun] [\_\_\_Ennius:Sat] (28 31).

C A sole exoriente supra Maeotis paludes nemo est qui factis aequiperare  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] queat  
[ctrl:subj:able:qu-] [\_\_\_Ennius:Epi] (1 2).

C Si fas [ctrl:deontic:fas] endo plagas [ctrl:deontic:::3rd:obj] caelestum  
ascendere [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] cuiquam [ctrl:deontic:::3rd:subj:dative]  
est, mi soli caeli maxima porta patet [\_\_\_Ennius:Epi] (3 4).

C Hic est ille situs cui nemo civis neque hostis quibit [ctrl:subj:able:qu-]  
pro factis reddere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] opis pretium  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_\_Ennius:Epi] (5 6).

C Ibant [ctrl:subj:go:ir-] malaci viere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] Veneriam  
corollam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_\_Ennius:Sot] (2)!

C Alius in mari vult [ctrl:subj:want:velle] magno tenere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] tonsam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_\_Ennius:Sot]  
(3).

C Apriculum piscem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] scito [aci:know:sc-] primum esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] Tarenti [\_\_\_Ennius:Hety] (5).

C Nam videbar [aci:see:vid-] somniare [aci::inf:pres] [aci:dream:somni-] med  
[aci::bound:1st:subj] ego [aci::unbound:1st:subj:raise] esse mortuum  
[aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_\_Ennius:Epich] (1).

C Neque me [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj] decet [ecm:deontic:dec-] hanc  
[ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] carinantibus edere  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] chartis [\_\_\_Ennius:Var] (13).

C Neque ut aiunt mu [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] facere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] audent [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] [\_\_\_Ennius:Var] (17).

C Adgretus [ctrl:subj:go:adgredi-] fari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_\_Ennius:Var] (19).

C Nec retrahi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] potestur [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
[\_attraction] imperiis [\_\_\_Ennius:Var] (20).

C Adsectari [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null] se  
[ecm:want::bound:se:obj:distant] cupiunt [ecm:want:cup-] [\_\_\_Ennius:Var]  
(31).

C Dico [aci:say:dic-] vi circum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] metulas  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] hunc dicare [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Ennius:Var]  
(35).

C Ubi videt [aci:see:vid-] avenam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], lolium  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] crescere [aci::inf:pres] inter triticum, selegit  
secernit aufert [\_\_\_Ennius:Praec] (1 2).

= Caecilius Statius

C Oram [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] reperire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] nullam  
qua expediar queo [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] [\_\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (1).

C Nihilne [ecm:deontic:nihil] nihil [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] tibi esse  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] quod edim [\_\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (14)?

C Nil [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] fore [aci::inf:fut:cop] opino  
[aci:think:opin-] inter me atque illum [\_\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (15).

C Ait [aci:say:ai-] hic vicinus se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] eas  
[\_linear:is:2nd] peperisse [aci::inf:perf] et vobis  
[aci::bound:se:subj:local:null:coord] datum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop]  
[\_\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (17).

C Quamquam ego mercede huc conductus tua advenio, ne tibi me  
 [aci::unbound:1st:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] ob eam rem obnoxium reare  
 [aci:think:rer-] [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (19 20).  
 C Tum in senectute hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] deputo [aci:think:put-]  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] miserrimum [ecm:deontic:miser-],  
 [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] sentire [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
 [aci:sense:sent-] ea aetate eumpse [aci::bound:3rd:subj] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] odiosum alteri [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (25 26).  
 C Nullus sum nisi meam rem iam omnem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] propero  
 [ctrl:subj:hurry:proper-] incursim perdere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (42).  
 C Facile aerumnam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] ferre [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 possunt [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] si inde abest iniuria [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (43).  
 C Velim [ecm:want:velle] paulisper te [ecm:want::unbound:2nd:subj] opperiri  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres] [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (45).  
 C Nisi quidem qui sese [ecm:want::bound:se:subj:local] malit  
 [ecm:want:malle] pugnitus pessum dari [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass]  
 [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (48).  
 C Hunc collum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] Ludo praecidi  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [\_\_Caecilius:Plays]  
 (51)!  
 C Prodigere [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] [ctrl:sent::unbound:2nd:subj:null] est  
 [ctrl:sent] cum nihil habeas te [ctrl:sent::unbound:2nd:subj] inriderier  
 [ctrl:sent::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (67).  
 C Quae [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj] [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null]  
 narrare [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] inepti est [ctrl:sent] ad scutras ferventis  
 [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (68 69).  
 C Quin machaera [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] licitari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 adversum ahenum coepisti [ctrl:subj:begin:coop-] sciens [\_\_Caecilius:Plays]  
 (69 70).  
 C Rabere [aci::inf:pres] se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] ait [aci:say:ai-]  
 [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (77).  
 C Hos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] singulatim sapere [aci::inf:pres], nos  
 [aci::unbound:1st:subj] minus opinor [aci:think:opin-] [\_\_Caecilius:Plays]  
 (83).  
 C Resupina obstipo capitulo sibi [historical::bound:se:goal:local] ventum  
 [historical::unbound:3rd:obj] facere [historical::inf:pres] tunicula  
 [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (90).  
 C Nunc uter crescit, non potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] celari  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (91 92).  
 C Memini [aci:remember:meminisc-] ibi candelabrum ligneum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ardentem [aci::inf:pres:participle]  
 [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (107).  
 C Credidi [aci:believe:cred-] silicernium [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] eius me  
 [aci::bound:1st:subj] [non:linear] esse esurum [aci::inf:fut:peri:with:cop]  
 [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (120).  
 C Is demum miser est qui aerumnam suam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] nesciat  
 [ctrl:subj:know:sc-] occultare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] foris  
 [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (136).  
 C Quae mihi quidquid placet eo privatum [supine] it me  
 [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null] servatam [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:no:cop]  
 velim [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (140)?  
 C Ea me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] clam se [aci::bound:se:oblique:distant] cum  
 mea ancilla ait [aci:say:ai-] consuetum [aci::inf:perf:depon:no:cop]  
 [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (142).  
 C Placere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] occepit [ctrl:subj:begin:occip-] graviter,  
 postquam emortuast [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (156).



C Soletne [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] mulier decimo mense parere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Caecilius:Plays]  
(157)?

C Tu nurum [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] non vis [ecm:want:velle] odiosam  
tibi esse [ecm:want::inf:pres:cop] quam rarerer videas [\_\_Caecilius:Plays]  
(174)?

C Tum inter laudandum [\_gerundive] hunc timidum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
tremulis palpebris percutere [historical::inf:pres] nictus, hic gaudere  
[historical::inf:pres] [historical::unbound:3rd:obj:null] et mirarier  
[historical::inf:pres] [historical::unbound:3rd:obj:null]  
[\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (183 184).

C Audire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ignoti quom imperant soleo  
[ctrl:subj:used:sol-] non auscultare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (186).

C Heri vero prospexisse [aci::inf:perf] eum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] se  
[aci::bound:se:3rd:subj:local] [\_non:linear:is] ex tegulis, haec  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [aci::bound:se:3rd:subj:local:null:coord] nuntiasse  
[aci::inf:perf] et flammeum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] expassum  
[aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] domi [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (187 188).

C In amore suave [ctrl:sent] est summo summaque inopia parentem  
[ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj] [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] habere  
[ctrl:sent::inf:pres] avarum inlepidum, in liberos difficilem, qui te nec  
amet nec studeat tui [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (189 191).

C In civitate fiunt facinora capitalia, nam ab amico amante argentum  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] accipere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] meretrix noenu  
volt [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (203 204).

C Atque hercle utrasque te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] ad nos venis  
subfarcinatam [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] vidi [aci:see:vid-]  
[\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (212 213).

C Deum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] qui non [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] summum  
putet [aci:think:put-] aut [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:rel] stultum aut  
rerum esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] inperitum existumem [aci:believe:existim-]  
[\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (238 239).

C Cui in manu sit, quem [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] esse  
[ecm:want::inf:pres:cop] dementem velit [ecm:want:velle], quem  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] sapere [ecm:want::inf:pres], quem  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] insanire [ecm:want::inf:pres], quem  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] in morbum inici [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass], quem  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] contra amari [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass], quem  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] expeti [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass], quem  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] arcessier [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass]  
[\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (240 242).

C Tantam rem [partial::3rd:subj] debalare [partial::inf:pres] ut  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] pro nilo habuerit  
[aci:believe:hab-] [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (259).

C Si non sarciri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] quitur [ctrl:subj:able:qu-]  
[\_attraction] [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (273).

C Tantum bellum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] suscitare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
conari [interject::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:try:con-] adversarios  
[interject::3rd:subj] contra bellosum genus [\_\_Caecilius:Plays] (277 278)!

= Livius Andronicus

C Mirum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null:rel] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop]  
videtur [aci:see:vid-] quod sit factum iam diu [\_personal:passive]  
[\_\_Livius:Trag] (15)?

C Tumque remos [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] iussit [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] religare  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres] struppis [\_\_Livius:Ody] (12).

C Partim errant, nequiont [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] Graeciam reddire  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Livius:Ody] (15).  
 C Ibi manens sedeto donicum videbis [aci:see:vid-] me  
 [aci::unbound:1st:subj] carpento vehentem en domum venisse [aci::inf:perf]  
 [\_\_Livius:Ody] (20 21).  
 = Naevius  
 C Censet [aci:believe:cens-] eo venturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] obviam  
 Poenum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Naevius:Bell] (40).  
 C Seseque [ecm:want::bound:se:subj:local] i perire [ecm:want::inf:pres]  
 mavolunt [ecm:want:malle] ibidem quam cum stupro  
 [ecm:want::bound:se:subj:local:null:coord] redire [ecm:want::inf:pres] ad  
 suos popularis [\_\_Naevius:Bell] (59 60).  
 C Sin illos deserant fortissimos virorum magnum stuprum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] populo fieri [aci::inf:pres:pass] per gentes  
 [\_\_Naevius:Bell] (61 62).  
 C Huius autem gnatus [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] dicitur [aci:say:dic-]  
 geminum alterum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] falso occidisse [aci::inf:perf]  
 [\_\_personal:passive] [\_\_Naevius:Fab] (2 3).  
 C Demea, meos equos [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] sinam [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-]  
 ego illos esse [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Naevius:Fab] (11)?  
 C Nam in scena vos nocturnos [ctrl:subj::unbound:2nd:obj] coepit  
 [ctrl:subj:begin:coop-] praemiatore tollere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Naevius:Fab] (15).  
 C Si quidem vis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] loqui [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null], non perdocere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] multa  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] longe promicando [\_gerund], oratio est  
 [\_\_Naevius:Fab] (16 17).  
 C Suapte utrosque [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] decuit [ecm:deontic:dec-] acceptos  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] cibo, alteris inanem vovulam madidam  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] dari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], alteris nuces  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] in proclivi profundier [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass]  
 [\_\_Naevius:Fab] (24 26).  
 C Nolo [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] ego hanc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] adeo  
 efflictim amare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], diu vivat volo [ecm:want:velle] ut  
 mihi prodesse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possit [ecm:want::inf\_subjunct]  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Naevius:Fab] (37 39).  
 C In alto navem [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] destitui  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] iubet [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] ancoris [\_\_Naevius:Fab]  
 (54).  
 C Utrum est melius [ecm:deontic:bon-], virginemne [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] an  
 viduam [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] uxorem [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] ducere  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Naevius:Fab] (58)?  
 C Quae ego in theatro hic meis probavi [aci:believe:prob-] plausibus, ea  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] non audere [aci::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] quemquem regem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 [\_non:linear:is] rumpere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], quanto libertatem hanc hic  
 superat servitus [\_\_Naevius:Fab] (69 71).  
 C Etiamne audent [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] mecum una apparere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Naevius:Fab] (83)?  
 C Confidentia ausus [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] verbum  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] cum eo fuerim facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 rursus [\_\_Naevius:Fab] (86 87)?  
 C Umquam si quicquam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] filium [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 [\_non:linear:indef] rescivero [aci:know:sc-] argentum amoris causa sumpse  
 [aci::inf:perf] mutuum, extemplo te illo ducam ubi non despuas  
 [\_\_Naevius:Fab] (94 96).

C Eius noctem [partial::3rd:subj] [partial::inf:pres:no:cop] nauco ducere  
 [partial::inf:pres] [\_\_Naevius:Fab] (102).  
 C Eam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] nunc esse inventam  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] probris conpotem scis [aci:know:sc-]  
 [\_\_Naevius:Trag] (10 11).  
 C Amnis iugi eo fonte lavere [aci::inf:pres] me [aci::bound:1st:subj] memini  
 [aci:remember:memisc-] manum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear]  
 [\_\_Naevius:Trag] (15).  
 C Laetus sum [aci:emotion:laet-] laudari [aci::inf:pres:pass] me  
 [aci::bound:1st:subj] abs te [\_abl:agent], pater, a laudato viro  
 [\_abl:agent] [\_\_Naevius:Trag] (17).  
 C Ne mihi [aci::bound:1st:subj:raise:null] gerere [aci::inf:pres] morem  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] videar [aci:see:vid-] lingua verum lingua  
 [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Naevius:Trag] (19).  
 C Nam ut ludere [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] laetantes inter  
 se [aci::bound:se:oblique:local] vidimus [aci:see:vid-] praeter amnem  
 creterris sumere [aci::inf:pres] aquam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] ex fonte  
 [\_\_Naevius:Trag] (41 42).  
 C Ut videam [aci:see:vid-] Volcani opera haec [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 flammis fieri [aci::inf:pres:pass] flora [\_\_Naevius:Trag] (52 53).  
 C Late longeque transtros nostros [partial::3rd:subj] fervere  
 [partial::inf:pres] [\_\_Naevius:Trag] (54).  
 C Vel quae sperat [ecm:hope:sper-] se [ecm:hope::bound:se:subj:local]  
 nupturam [ecm:hope::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] viridulo adolescentulo ea licet  
 [ctrl:impers:lic-] senile tracet [ctrl:impers::inf\_subjunct] retritum  
 rutabulum [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] [\_\_Naevius:Incert] (7 8)?  
 C Sonticam esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-]  
 causam [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] quam ob rem perdas mulierem  
 [\_\_Naevius:Incert] (10).  
 C Risi [aci:emotion:rid-] egomet mecum cassabundum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 ire [aci::inf:pres] ebrium [\_\_Naevius:Incert] (22).  
 C Circumvenire [aci::inf:pres] video [aci:see:vid-]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] ferme iniuria [\_\_Naevius:Incert] (35).  
 C Pati [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] necesse [ecm:deontic:necess-] est multa  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] mortales [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] [\_non:linear] mala  
 [\_\_Naevius:Incert] (37).  
 C Mare [partial::3rd:obj] interbibere [partial::inf:pres] [\_\_Naevius:Incert]  
 (39).  
 C Immortales [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] mortales [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj]  
 [\_linear] si foret fas [ecm:deontic:fas] flere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres],  
 flerent divae Camenae Naevium poetam [\_\_Naevius:Epig] (3 4).  
 C Itaque postquamst Orchi traditus thesauro, obliti sunt  
 [ctrl:subj:forget:obli-] Romae loquier [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] lingua latina  
 [\_\_Naevius:Epig] (5 6).  
 = Pacuvius  
 C Tu cornifrontes pascere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] armentas  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] soles [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag]  
 (2).  
 C Minitabiliterque increpare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] dictis saevis incipit  
 [ctrl:subj:begin:incip-] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (12).  
 C Frendere [partial::inf:pres] noctes misera quas perpessa sum  
 [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (23).  
 C An quis est qui te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] dignum  
 quicum certetur putet [aci:think:put-] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (32)?  
 C Tuque te [ecm:want::bound:2nd:subj] desiderare [ecm:want:desider-] residem  
 nos hic esse [ecm:want::inf:pres] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (34 35).

C Qui sese [ecm:want::bound:se:subj:local] adfines esse  
[ecm:want::inf:pres:cop] ad causandum [\_gerundive] volunt [ecm:want:velle] de  
virtute, is ego cernundi [\_gerund] do potestatem omnibus [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag]  
(39 40).

C Men [interject::1st:subj] servasse [interject::inf:perf]  
[interject::3rd:obj] ut essent qui me perderent [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (45)?

C Dolet [ctrl:obj:impers:dol-] pigetque [ctrl:obj:impers:pig-] magis magisque  
me [ctrl:obj::1st:subj] conatum [ctrl:obj::inf:perf:depon:no:cop] hoc  
nequiquam itiner [ctrl:obj::3rd:obj] [\_linear] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (54).

C Mi gnat, ut verear [ctrl:subj:fear:ver-] [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:dup]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] [ctrl:obj::bound:1st:subj:null]  
eloqui [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] porcet  
[ctrl:obj:prohibit:porc-] pudor [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (61).

C Nam quod conabar, cum interventum est, dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel] nunc expedibo [ctrl:subj:try:exped-]  
[\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (62 63).

C Ubi ego me [aci::bound:1st:subj] gravidam sentio [aci:sense:sent-]  
adgravescere [aci::inf:pres] propinquitate parti [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (64 65).

C Mortem ostentant, regno expellunt, [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] consanguineam  
esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] abdicant [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (70).

C Omnes, qui tamquam nos serviunt sub regno, callent [ctrl:subj:used:call-]  
domiti imperia [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] metuere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (72 73).

C Concertare [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null]  
[ctrl:impers::3rd:obj:null] ac dissentire [ctrl:impers::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null:coord] [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj:null:coord] partim  
da [ctrl:impers:dar-] rursum aequiter [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (76).

C Semper satis [partial::3rd:obj] agere [partial::inf:pres] ut ne in amore  
animum occupes [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (77).

C Quid cessatis [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-], socii, eicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
spiras sparteas [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (79)?

C Incipio [ctrl:subj:begin:incip-] saxum temptans scandere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] vorticem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] in summum inde  
in omnes partes prospectum aucupo [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (85 86).

C Sed cesso [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-] inimicitiam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
integrare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (93)?

C Promerenda [\_gerundive] gratia simul cum videam [aci:see:vid-] Graios  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] nihil [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] mediocriter  
redamptruare [aci::inf:pres] opibusque summis  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] persequi [aci::inf:pres]  
[\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (94 96).

C Si potestur [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_attraction] investigari  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] via [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (98).

C Id [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] quod [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] nostri  
[aci::inf:pres:no:cop] caelum memorant [aci:say:memor-], Grai perhibent  
[aci:believe:hab-] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] aethera [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (110  
111).

C Non decet [ecm:deontic:dec-] animum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] aegritudine in  
re crepera confici [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (125).

C Utinam nunc matrescam ingenio, ut meum patrem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
ulcisci [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] queam [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag]  
(136).

C Nec grandiri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] frugum fetum  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] nec  
mitiscere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (137).

C Quid quod iam, ei mihi, [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj:null] piget  
[ctrl:obj:impers:pig-] paternum nomen [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj], maternum

[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] pudet [ctrl:obj:impers:pud-]  
 [ctrl:obj::1st:subj:null:coord] profari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (138 140)?  
 C Vel cum illum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] videas [aci:see:vid-] sollicitum  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] orbitudine [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (141).  
 C Hoc est illud quod [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] fore [aci::inf:fut:cop] occulte  
 Oeax praedixit [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (148 149).  
 C Nihil [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] coniectura quivi [ctrl:subj:able:qu-]  
 interpretarier [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [aci:know:interpretar-] quorsum flexivia  
 dictio contenderet [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (151 152).  
 C Aut hic est aut hic [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] adfore [aci::inf:fut:cop]  
 actutum autumo [aci:say:autum-] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (159).  
 C At si tanta sunt promerita vestra, aequiperare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] ut queam [ctrl:subj:able:qu-]  
 vereor, nisi numquam fatiscar [ctrl:subj:tire:fatisc-] facere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel] quod  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] quibo [ctrl:subj:able:qu-]  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:dup] boni [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (160 161).  
 C Ambo ergo una [ctrl:obj::bound:1st:subj:null] necarier  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] precamur [ctrl:obj:beg:precar-] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag]  
 (165 166).  
 C Cum neque me [ctrl:subj::unbound:1st:obj] aspicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 aequales dignarent [ctrl:subj:dign-] meae [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (172).  
 C Lamentas fletus [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null]  
 facere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] compendi licet [ctrl:impers:lic-]  
 [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (173).  
 C Et [aci::unbound:1st:subj:null] obnoxium esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] aut  
 brutum aut elinguem putes [aci:think:put-] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (177).  
 C Habet hoc senectus in sese ipsa cum pigra est spisse ut videantur  
 [aci:see:vid-] omnia [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] ei confieri  
 [aci::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_personal:passive] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (179 180).  
 C Tyndareo fieri [interject::inf:pres:pass] contumeliam  
 [interject::3rd:subj], cuius a te veretur maxime [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (181  
 182)!  
 C Quid benefacta mei patris, cuius opera te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] esse  
 ultum [aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] autumant  
 [aci:say:autum-] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (186)?  
 C Neque reliquias [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] quaeso meas sieris  
 [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] denudatis ossibus per terram sanie delibutas foede  
 divexarier [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (209 210).  
 C Di me etsi perdunt, tamen [ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord] esse  
 adiutam [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] expetunt [ecm:want:expet-] quom  
 prius quam intereo spatium ulciscendi [\_\_gerund] danunt [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (218  
 219).  
 C Usi honore, credo, Achivi hunc [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] sceptrum  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_linear] patientur [ctrl:obj:allow:pat-] poti  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (226).  
 C Quis deos infernos [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], quibus caelestis  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] dignet [ctrl:subj:dign-] decorare  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] hostiis [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (227)?  
 C Si resto, pergit [ctrl:obj:prohibit:perg-] ut eam [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct],  
 si ire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] conor [ctrl:subj:try:con-], prohibet  
 [ctrl:obj:prohibit:prohib-] [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj:null] baetere  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (240)!  
 C Cedo quorsum itiner [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] tetinisse [aci::inf:perf]  
 aiunt [aci:say:ai-] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (246)?

C Possum [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] ego istam capite cladem  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] avertuncassere [ctrl:subj::inf:fut]  
 [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (248).  
 C Qua super re interfectum [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] esse dixisti  
 [aci:say:dic-] Hippotem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (250)?  
 C Sentio [aci:sense:sent-], pater, te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] vocis calvi  
 [aci::inf:pres:pass] similitudine [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (258).  
 C Pariter te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] erge illum  
 video [aci:see:vid-] ut illum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ted erge  
 [\_linear:demon:1st] scio [aci:know:sc-] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (270).  
 C Spartam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] reportare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 instat [ctrl:subj:want:instar-], id si perperat [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (271).  
 C Tu quoque, Ulixes, quamquam graviter cernimus [aci:see:cern-]  
 [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null] ictum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop], nimis paene  
 animo es molli, qui consuetus [ctrl:subj:used:consu-] in armis aevom  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] agere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag]  
 (283 286).  
 C Conqueri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] fortunam  
 advorsam [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj], non [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null:coord]  
 lamentari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null:coord] decet  
 [ecm:deontic:dec-], id viri est officium, fletus muliebri ingenio additust  
 [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (294 295).  
 C Consternare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], anime, ex pectore aude  
 [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] evolvere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] consilium  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] subito [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (305 306).  
 C Nam me [ecm:want::bound:1st:subj] perbitere [ecm:want::inf:pres], illis  
 [ecm:want::bound:1st:subj:null:coord] opitularier [ecm:want::inf:pres]  
 quovis exitio cupio [ecm:want:cup-], dum prosim [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (308 309).  
 C Non potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], Melanippe, hic sine tua opera exanclari  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] labos [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (321).  
 C Flexa [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] non falsa [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 autumare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] dictio Delphis solet [ctrl:subj:used:sol-]  
 [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (334).  
 C Segregare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] abs te  
 ausus [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] aut sine illo Salamina  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] ingredi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], neque paternum  
 aspectum es veritus [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (345 346).  
 C Mihi [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:dative] classem [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 imperat [ctrl:obj:order:imper-] Thessalum nostramque  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] in altum ut properiter deducere[m]  
 [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (350 351).  
 C Profectione laeti piscium lasciviam intuemur nec tuendi [\_gerund] capere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:1st:obj:null] satietas potest  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (353 354).  
 C Rapide retro citroque percito aestus praecipitem ratem  
 [historical::unbound:3rd:obj] reciprocare [historical::inf:pres], undaeque e  
 gremiis subiectare [historical::inf:pres], adfligere [historical::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (361 362).  
 C Haud sinam [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj:null]  
 quidquam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] profari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
 prius quam accepso quod peto [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (368).  
 C Nos [aci::bound:1st:subj] illum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 [\_linear:demon:2nd] interea praeficiendo [\_gerund] propitiaturos  
 [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] facul remur [aci:think:rer-] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag]  
 (370 371).

C Neque perpetrare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] precibus imperiove quit  
 [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] [\_\_Pacuvius:Trag] (375).  
 C Eundem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] filios [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear]  
 sibi [aci::bound:se:goal:local] procreasse [aci::inf:perf] per Calypsonem  
 autumant [aci:say:autum-] [\_\_Pacuvius:Frag] (11 12).  
 C Nulla res nec cicurare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] neque mederi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] potis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] est  
 neque refingere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] [\_\_Pacuvius:Frag] (25 26).  
 C Sed cum contendi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] nequitum [ctrl:subj:able:qu-]  
 vi, clam tendenda [\_gerundive] est plaga [\_\_Pacuvius:Frag] (30).  
 C Haut facul femina [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] una invenietur  
 [aci:find:inven-] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] bona [\_personal:passive]  
 [\_\_Pacuvius:Frag] (35).  
 C Fortunam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] insanam esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] et  
 caecam et brutam perhibent [aci:believe:hab-] philosophi, saxoque  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] instare [aci::inf:pres] in globoso  
 praedicant [aci:say:dic-] volubilei, quia quo id saxum inpulerit fors, eo  
 cadere [aci::inf:pres] Fortunam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:coord] autumant  
 [aci:say:autum-] [\_\_Pacuvius:Frag] (37 39).  
 C Insanam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] autem esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
 aiunt [aci:say:ai-] quia atrox incerta instabilisque sit [\_\_Pacuvius:Frag]  
 (40).  
 C Caecam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] ob eam rem esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] iterant [aci:say:iter-] quia nil cernat quo sese  
 adplicet, brutam quia dignum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] atque indignum  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] nequeat [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] internoscere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Pacuvius:Frag] (41 42).  
 C Sunt autem alii philosophi qui contra Fortunam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 negant [aci:say:neg-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] ullam sed temeritate res  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] regi [aci::inf:pres:pass] omnes autumant  
 [aci:say:autum-] [\_\_Pacuvius:Frag] (44).  
 C Id [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] magis verisimile esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] usus  
 reapse experiundo [\_gerund] edocet [aci:say:doc-] [\_\_Pacuvius:Frag] (45).  
 = Accius  
 C Qua re alia ex crimine inimicorum effugere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possis  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir], delica [aci:say:delic-]  
 [\_\_Accius:Trag] (2).  
 C Cuiatis stirpem [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] funditus fligi  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] studet [ecm:want:stud-] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (5)?  
 C Celebri gradu gressume [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] adcelerasse  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:perf] decet [ecm:deontic:dec-] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (6 7).  
 C Inimicitias [partial::3rd:obj] Pelopidum extinctas iam atque oblitteratas  
 memoria renovare [partial::inf:pres] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (13 15).  
 C Qui ducat [aci:believe:duc-], cum te socerum viderit, generibus tantam esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] inpietatem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (28  
 29)?  
 C At vereor cum te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
 Alcmeonis fratrem factis dedicat [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (43).  
 C An mala aetate mavis [ctrl:subj:want:malle] male mulcari  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] exemplis omnibus [\_\_Accius:Trag] (49)?  
 C Hocinest quo tam temeriter tu meam benevolentiam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 interisse [aci::inf:perf] es ratus [aci:think:rer-] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (58 59)?  
 C Nec quei te adiutem invenio, hortari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:obj::1st:subj:null] piget [ctrl:obj:impers:pig-], non

[ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord] prodesse [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] id  
[ctrl:obj::expletive] pudet [ctrl:obj:impers:pud-] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (65).  
C Namque, ut dicam [aci:say:dic-] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] metu aut  
segnitate adiuvere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] addubitare [aci::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj:hesitate:dubit-], haut meum est [\_\_Accius:Trag] (66 67).  
C Quod beneficium [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] haut sterili in segete, rex, te  
[aci::bound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear:rel] obsesse [aci::inf:perf] intelleges  
[aci:know:intelleg-] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (73).  
C Ad populum intellego [aci:know:intelleg-]  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] referundum [\_gerundive]  
[aci::inf:pres:no:cop], quoniam horum aequiter sententiae fuere  
[\_\_Accius:Trag] (83 85).  
C Quanto magis te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] isti modi esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
intellego [aci:know:intelleg-], tanto, Antigona, magis me  
[ecm:deontic::1st:subj] par [ecm:deontic:par] est tibi consulere  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] et [ecm:deontic::1st:subj:null:coord] parcere  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (88 89).  
C Sed ita Achilli armis inclutis vesci [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] student  
[ctrl:subj:want:stud-] ut cuncta opima [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
[aci::inf:pres:no:cop] leviam iam prae illis putet [aci:think:put-]  
[\_\_Accius:Trag] (96 97).  
C Quid est cur componere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ausis [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-]  
mihi te [ctrl:subj::bound:2nd:obj] aut me [ctrl:subj::unbound:1st:obj] tibi  
[\_\_Accius:Trag] (98)?  
C Nam tropaeum [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] ferre [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] me  
[ecm:deontic::1st:subj] [\_non:linear] a forti viro pulchrum  
[ecm:deontic:pulchr-] est [\_\_Accius:Trag] (99 100).  
C Huius me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] dividia cogit [ctrl:obj:force:cog-]  
plus [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] quam [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] est  
par [ecm:deontic:par] [ecm:deontic::1st:subj:null:coord] loqui  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:dup] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (101).  
C Tali dari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] arma [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj],  
qualis qui gessit fuit, iubet [ctrl:obj:order:iub-], potiri  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] si studeamus [ctrl:subj:want:stud-] Pergamum  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (104 105).  
C Quem ego me [aci::bound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear] profiteor [aci:say:fat-]  
esse [aci::inf:pres:cop], me [ecm:deontic::1st:subj] est aecum  
[ecm:deontic:aequ-] frui [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] fraternis armis mihique  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] adiudicariet [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] vel  
quod propinquus vel quod virtuti aemulus [\_\_Accius:Trag] (106 108).  
C Furere [ecm:pretend::inf:pres] [ecm:pretend::bound:se:subj:local:null]  
adsimulare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ecm:pretend:simul-], ne coiret, institit  
[ctrl:subj:decide:instit-] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (111).  
C Vidi [aci:see:vid-] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj], Ulixes, saxo sternentem  
[aci::inf:pres:participle] Hectora [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear], vidi  
[aci:see:vid-] [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord] tegentem  
[aci::inf:pres:participle] clipeo classem Doricam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[\_\_Accius:Trag] (115 116).  
C Hem, vereor plus quam fas [ecm:deontic:fas] est captivam  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] hiscere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Accius:Trag]  
(118).  
C Maior erit luctus cum me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] damnatum  
[aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] audiet [aci:hear:aud-] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (119).  
C Nunc, Calcha, finem religionum fac, desiste [ctrl:subj:stop:desist-]  
exercitum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] morari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] nec me  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:1st:obj] ab domuitione arcere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] tuo  
obsceno omine [\_\_Accius:Trag] (136 137).



C Itera, in quibus partibus, namque audire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] volo  
[ctrl:subj:want:velle] si est quem exopto, et quo captus modo, fortunane an  
forte repertus [\_\_Accius:Trag] (139 142)?

C Hic per matutinum lumen tardo procedens gradu derepente aspicio  
[aci:see:spect-] ex nemore [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] pavidum et  
properantem egredi [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (145 146).

C Cuius sit vita indecoris mortem [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj]  
[ctrl:impers:::3rd:subj:null] fugere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] turpem haut  
convenit [ctrl:impers:conven-] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (157).

C Veritus sum arbitros, atque utinem memet [ctrl:subj::bound:1st:obj] possim  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-] obliviscier [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Accius:Trag]  
(158)!

C Qui non [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] sat  
[ecm:deontic:sat-] habuit [ecm:deontic::bound:se:subj:distant:null] coniugem  
[ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] inlexe [ecm:deontic::inf:perf] in struprum, quod  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] re in summa summum esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] arbitror  
[aci:think:arbitr-] periculum [ecm:deontic:pericul-], matres  
[ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] coinquinari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] regias,  
contaminari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] stirpem [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj],  
admisceri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] genus [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj]  
[\_\_Accius:Trag] (169 172).

C Adde huc quod mihi portento caelestum pater prodigium [aci:say:prodig-]  
misit, regni stabilimen mei, agnum inter pecudes aurea clarum coma quem  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] clam Thyestem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
[\_non:linear:rel] clepere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ausum esse  
[aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop] [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] e regia [\_\_Accius:Trag]  
(175 176).

C Id [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj:rel] quod multi invideant multique expetant  
inscitia [ctrl:sent] est [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] postulare  
[ctrl:sent::inf:pres], nisi laborem summa cum cura ecferas [\_\_Accius:Trag]  
(179 180).

C Sed quid tonitru turbida torvo concussa repente aequora  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] caeli sensimus [aci:sense:sent-] sonere  
[aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (183 185)?

C Ipsus hortatur [ctrl:obj:urge:hort-] me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj]  
frater ut meos malis miser manderem [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] natos  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (196 197).

C Nam neque sat fingi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] neque dici  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] pro magnitate  
[\_\_Accius:Trag] (211 212).

C Laetum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] in Parnaso inter pinos tripudiantem  
[aci::inf:pres:participle] in circulis in ludo atque taedis  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] fulgere [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Accius:Trag]  
(213 214).

C Melius [ecm:deontic:bon-] [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null] pigrasse  
[ecm:deontic::inf:perf] quam [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null:coord] properavisse  
[ecm:deontic::inf:perf] est nefas [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [\_\_Accius:Trag]  
(232).

C Scibam [aci:know:sc-] hanc mihi supremam lucem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] et  
serviti finem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] dari [aci::inf:pres:pass]  
[\_\_Accius:Trag] (243).

C Omnes gaudent [aci:emotion:gaud-] [aci::bound:3rd:subj:null] facere  
[aci::inf:pres] recte, mali pigrent [\_personal:pigere] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (246).

C Vel hic qui me [ctrl:subj::unbound:1st:obj] aperte effrenata inprudencia  
praesentem praesens dictis mertare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] institit  
[ctrl:subj:begin:instit-] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (254 255).

C Simul aurem adtendo ut quirem [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] exaudire  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] amplius [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Accius:Trag]  
(266).

C Si umquam praepediar, gnate puer, ne adtenderis [ctrl:subj:try:adtend-]  
petere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] a me id [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:rel] quod  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] nefas [ecm:deontic:fas] sit concedi  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] tibi [\_\_Accius:Trag] (267 268).

C Quibus oculis quisquam nostrum poterit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] illorum optui  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voltus [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], quos iam ab armis  
anni porcent [\_\_Accius:Trag] (272 273)?

C Et nonne Argivos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] fremere [aci::inf:pres] bellum  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] et velle [aci::inf:pres] vim  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] vulgum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_non:linear] vides  
[aci:see:vid-] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (275)?

C Sed iam Amphilocum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] huc vadere [aci::inf:pres]  
cerno [aci:see:cern-] et nobis [ctrl:deontic::1st:subj:dative] datur bona  
pausa loquendi [\_gerund] tempusque [ctrl:deontic:tempus] in castra revorti  
[ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (277 279).

C Fateor, sed cur proferre [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] haec  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] pigrem [ctrl:subj:hesitate:pigr-] aut huius  
dubitem [ctrl:subj:hesitate:dubit-] parcere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] capiti  
[\_personal:pigere] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (282 283)?

C Quid cesso [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-] ire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ad eam  
[\_\_Accius:Trag] (287)?

C Quod si procedit, neque te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] neque quemquam  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] tuae paenitutum  
[aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] laudis, quam ut serves vide [\_\_Accius:Trag] (299  
300).

C Probis [partial::3rd:subj:null] probatum potius quam multis fore  
[partial::inf:fut:cop] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (301).

C Nec perdolescit [aci:emotion:perdolesc-] fligi [aci::inf:pres:pass] socios  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj], morte campos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] contegi  
[aci::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (303)?

C Ab classe ad urbem tendunt, neque quisquam potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
fulgentium armum armatus ardorem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] obtui  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (305 306).

C Primores procerum provocavit nomine si esset quis qui secum  
[ctrl:subj::bound:se:oblique:distant] vellet [ctrl:subj:want:velle] cernere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (310  
311).

C Mavortes [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] armis duo congressos  
[aci::inf:perf:depon:no:cop] crederes [aci:believe:cred-] [\_\_Accius:Trag]  
(312).

C Eos mortales, Phoenix, miseror, scire [ecm:want::inf:pres] ego istud  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] vos [ecm:want::unbound:2nd:subj]  
[\_non:linear:is] volo [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (317).

C Sed ubi ad finem ventum est quo illum fors expectabat loco, atque Orestes  
gravis sacerdos ferro prompto adsistere [historical::inf:pres]  
[\_\_Accius:Trag] (321 322).

C Numquam erit tam immanis, cum non mea opera [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null]  
extinctum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] sciat [aci:know:sc-], quin fragescat  
[\_\_Accius:Trag] (331 332).

C Nam ea oblectat spes aerumnosum hospitem dum illud  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:rel] quod miser est clam esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
censet [aci:believe:cens-] alteros [\_\_Accius:Trag] (338 339).

C Re dubia haut dubitarit [ctrl:subj:hesitate:dubit-] vitam  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] offerre [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] nec capiti  
 pepercerit [\_\_Accius:Trag] (353 354).  
 C Haec omnia [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] vidi [aci:see:vid-] inflammari  
 [aci::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (355).  
 C Exulare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] sinitis  
 [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-], sistis [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-]  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] pelli [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass],  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] pulsum  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] patimini [ctrl:obj:allow:pat-]  
 [\_\_Accius:Trag] (359).  
 C Tot tropaea transdes, summam gloriam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] evorti  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] sines [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] tam desubito  
 [\_\_Accius:Trag] (361 362)?  
 C Quem ad modum inpetum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] occupemus  
 [ctrl:obj:prohibit:occup-] facere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] ultro in regem  
 [\_\_Accius:Trag] (367).  
 C Opinione factum est, quanto minus stirpem edocebant, tanto ut reremur  
 [aci:think:rer-] magis eos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
 [\_\_Accius:Trag] (370 372).  
 C Signa [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] extemplo  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] canere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] ac tela  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] ob moenia  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] offerre [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] imperat  
 [ctrl:obj:order:imper-] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (377).  
 C Quibusnam te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] aibant [aci:say:ai-] exortum  
 [aci::inf:perf:depon:no:cop] locis [\_\_Accius:Trag] (379)?  
 C Ita dum interruptum credas [aci:believe:cred-] nimbum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] volvier [aci::inf:pres:pass] dum quod sublime ventis  
 expulsum rapi [aci::inf:pres:pass] saxum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] aut  
 procellis, vel globosos turbines [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] existere  
 [aci::inf:pres] ictos undis concursantibus [\_\_Accius:Trag] (385 388).  
 C Qui potis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] est refelli [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass]  
 quisquam ubi nullust causandi [\_gerund] locus [\_\_Accius:Trag] (403)?  
 C Tete [partial::2nd:subj] esse [partial::inf:pres:cop] huic noxae obnoxium  
 [\_\_Accius:Trag] (416).  
 C Regina, erit tempus cum hic torrus quem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] amburi  
 [aci::inf:pres:pass] vides [aci:see:vid-] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (417).  
 C Est res aliqua quam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] praesente his prius  
 maturare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] institit [ctrl:subj:begin:instit-]  
 [\_\_Accius:Trag] (418).  
 C Paratus [ctrl:subj:prepare:par-] sum ubi vis petere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 pestem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] permiti [\_\_Accius:Trag] (419).  
 C Creditis [aci:believe:cred-] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] amici morte  
 inbuturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] manus [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear]  
 [\_\_Accius:Trag] (420)?  
 C Constitit, cognovit, sensit, conlocat sese in locum celsum, hinc manibus  
 rapere [historical::inf:pres] raudus saxeum grande et grave  
 [historical::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (424 425).  
 C Fruges [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] prohibet [ctrl:obj:prohibit:prohib-]  
 pergrandescere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (428).  
 C Remanet gloria apud me, exuvias [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] dignavi  
 [ctrl:subj:dign-] Atalantae dare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (438  
 439).  
 C Eumpsum vitae finem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ac fati interneccionem  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] fore [aci::inf:fut:cop] Meleagro ubi torrus esset  
 interfectus flammeus [\_\_Accius:Trag] (444 445).

C Ex taurigeno semine ortam fuisse [aci::inf:perf:cop] an humano feram  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (451)?  
 C Tu pertinaciam esse [aci::inf:pres:cop], Antiloche, hanc  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] praedicas [aci:say:dic-], ego  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] pervicaciam aio  
 [aci:say:ai-] et ea me [ecm:want::bound:1st:subj] uti [ecm:want::inf:pres]  
 volo [ecm:want:velle], nam pervicacem  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] dici [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass]  
 [aci:say:dic-] [\_impersonal:passive] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] et [aci::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord] vincere  
 [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] perfacile patior  
 [ctrl:obj:allow:pat-], pertinacem nihil moror [\_\_Accius:Trag] (452 455).  
 C Ego me [aci::bound:1st:subj] non pecasse [aci::inf:perf] plane ostendam  
 [aci:show:ostend-] aut poenas sufferam  
 [\_\_Accius:Trag] (462).  
 C Trahere [partial::inf:pres] in salum classis [partial::3rd:obj] et vela  
 [partial::3rd:obj] ventorum animae immittere [partial::inf:pres]  
 [\_\_Accius:Trag] (463 464).  
 C Quod si ut decuit stares mecum aut meus maestaret dolor iam diu inflammari  
 [aci::inf:pres:pass] Atridae naves [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] vidissent  
 [aci:see:vid-] suas [\_\_Accius:Trag] (466 467).  
 C Regnum [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] tibi permitti  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] malunt [ecm:want:malle] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (468).  
 C Atque adeo valvas [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] sonere [aci::inf:pres] sensi  
 [aci:sense:sent-] regias [\_\_Accius:Trag] (470).  
 C Decorare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null]  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null] est satius [ecm:deontic:sat-] quam verbena et  
 taeniis [\_\_Accius:Trag] (471).  
 C Haut quisquam potis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] est tolerare  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] acritudinem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 [\_\_Accius:Trag] (473).  
 C Cui, quae cum illo fuerim, dignabor [ctrl:subj:dign-] dari  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (476)?  
 C Quid si ex Graecia omni illius par nemo reperiri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass]  
 potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (477 478)?  
 C An ego Ulixem obliscar umquam aut quemquam [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 praeponi [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] velim [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Accius:Trag]  
 (488)?  
 C Iube [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] nunc [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj:null]  
 adtemptare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord], iube  
 [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] nunc animo [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord]  
 ruspari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] Phrygas [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 [\_\_Accius:Trag] (489).  
 C Exprobre quid fers, nam te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] e longo vadere  
 [aci::inf:pres] itere cerno [aci:think:cern-] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (495 496).  
 C Coniugium [partial::3rd:obj] Pisis petere [partial::inf:pres], ad te  
 itiner [partial::3rd:obj] tendere [partial::inf:pres] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (497).  
 C Nam med [aci::bound:1st:subj] ut credam [aci:believe:cred-] ex tuo esse  
 conceptum [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] satu tua argumenta redigunt animum et  
 conmovent [\_\_Accius:Trag] (516 517).  
 C Cesso [ctrl:subj:stop:cess-] hinc ire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] et capere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] lucti vestem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] in leto  
 coniugis [\_\_Accius:Trag] (518)?  
 C Nec tibi me [ecm:deontic::1st:subj] in hac re gratari  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] decet [ecm:deontic:dec-] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (519).  
 C Volcania iam templa sub ipsis collibus in quos  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null] delatus [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] locos

dicitur [aci:say:dic-] alto ab limine caeli [\_personal:passive]  
 [\_\_Accius:Trag] (533 535).  
 C Eum [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] doctus Prometheus  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] (dicitur) clepsisse [aci::inf:perf] dolo  
 poenasque [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] Iovi fato  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null:coord] expendisse [aci::inf:perf] supremo  
 [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (538 540).  
 C Quem [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] neque tueri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] contra  
 nec adfari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] queas [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] [\_\_Accius:Trag]  
 (544).  
 C Phrygiam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] miti more esse [aci::inf:pres:cop], animo  
 inmani Graeciam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop]  
 [\_\_Accius:Trag] (568).  
 C Se [aci:::bound:se:subj:local] venenis sterilem esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
 illius opera et medicina autumans [aci:say:autum-] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (581).  
 C Num pariter videor [aci:see:vid-] [aci:::unbound:1st:subj:raise:null]  
 patris vesci [aci::inf:pres] praemiis [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Accius:Trag]  
 (594)?  
 C Iussit [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [ctrl:obj:::unbound:2nd:subj:null] proficisci  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] exilium [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj] quovis gentium ne  
 scelere tuo Thebani vastescant agri [\_\_Accius:Trag] (602 603).  
 C Quae [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] ego cuncta esse  
 [aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop] fluxa in mea re crepera conperi  
 [aci:know:comper-] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (605).  
 C Corporare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] abs tergo es  
 ausus [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (610).  
 C Aere atque ferro fervere [partial::inf:pres] atque insignibus florere  
 [partial::inf:pres] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (616 617).  
 C Pro certo arbitrabor [aci:think:arbitr-] sortis [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] oracla, adytus [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] augura [\_\_Accius:Trag] (618)?  
 C Quem ego ubi aspexi, virum memorabilem [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] intui  
 [aci::inf:pres] viderer [aci:see:vid-] [aci:::unbound:1st:subj:raise:null]  
 [\_personal:passive], ni vestitus taeter, vastitas, maestitudo praedicarent  
 [aci:say:dic-] [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] hominem esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (629 632).  
 C Video [aci:see:vid-] te [aci:::unbound:2nd:subj], mulier, more multarum  
 utier [aci::inf:pres] ut vim contendas tuam ad maiestatem viri  
 [\_\_Accius:Trag] (643 644).  
 C Set nisi clam regem [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] auferre  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] ab regina occupo [ctrl:obj:prohibit:occup-] puerum  
 [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Accius:Trag] (652 653).  
 C Quoniam quieti corpus nocturno impetu dedi sopore placans artus languidos,  
 visust [aci:see:vid-] in somnis pastor [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] ad me  
 adpellere [aci::inf:pres] pecus lanigerum [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] eximia  
 pulchritudine [\_personal:passive], duos consanguineos arietes  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] inde eligi [aci::inf:pres:pass] praeclarioremque  
 alterum [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] immolare [aci::inf:pres] me  
 [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear], deinde eius germanum  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] cornibus conitier [aci::inf:pres], in me  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] arietare [aci::inf:pres], eoque ictu me  
 [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] ad casum dari [aci::inf:pres:pass], exin  
 [aci:::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord] prostratum [aci::inf:perf:depon:no:cop]  
 terra, graviter saucium, resupinum in caelo contueri [aci::inf:pres] maximum  
 ac mirificum facinus [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj], dextrorsum orbem flammeum  
 radiatum [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] solis liquier [aci::inf:pres:pass] cursu  
 novo [\_\_Accius:Fab] (17 28).

C Proin vide ne quem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] tu esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] hebetem deputes [aci:think:put-] aequae ac pecus is sapientia munitum pectus egregie gerat, teque regno expellat [\_\_Accius:Fab] (32 34).

C Nam id quod de sole ostentum est tibi, populo conmutationem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] rerum portendit [aci:say:portend-] fore [aci::inf:fut:cop] perpropinquam [\_\_Accius:Fab] (34 36).

C Nam quod ad dexteram cepit cursum ab laeva signum praepotens, pulcherrume auguratum [aci:say:augur-] est [\_impersonal:passive] rem Romanam publicam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] summam fore [aci::inf:fut:cop] [\_\_Accius:Fab] (36 38).

C Quorum genitor [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] fertur [aci:say:fer-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] ops gentibus [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Accius:frag] (5).

C Iamque Auroram [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] rutilare [aci::inf:pres] procul cerno [aci:think:cern-] [\_\_Accius:frag] (8 9).

C Nam neque pretio neque amicitia neque vi impelli [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] neque prece quitus [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] sum [\_\_Accius:Frag] (30 31).

C Recte perfectis sacris volt [ctrl:subj:want:velle] accipi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Accius:frag] (35 36).

C Placare [partial::inf:pres] ferocem hostem inimiciterque accensum [partial::3rd:obj] [\_\_Accius:Did] (4).

C Ut dum brevitatem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] velint [ctrl:subj:want:velle] consequi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] verborum aliter ac sit rellatum redhostiant responsum [\_\_Accius:Did] (9 10).

C Unde omnia perdisci [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] ac percipi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] queuntur [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] [\_\_attraction] [\_\_Accius:Did] (18).

C Et cuncta [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] fieri [aci::inf:pres:pass] cetera inbecilla ob ponderitatem gravitatemque nominis [\_\_Accius:Prag] (1 2).

C Describere [partial::inf:pres] in theatro perperos popularis [partial::3rd:obj] [\_\_Accius:Incert] (3 6).

C Maxima pars Graium Saturno et maxime Athenae conficiunt sacra quae [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] Cronia esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] iterantur [aci:say:iter-] ab illis [\_abl:agent] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Accius:Ann] (2 3).

= Lucilius

C Aetheris et terrae genitabile quaerere [partial::inf:pres] tempus [partial::3rd:obj] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1).

C Quo populum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] atque urbem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] pacto servare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] potisset [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] amplius Romanam [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (6 7).

C Munum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] tamen fungi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] et muros [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] servare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] potissint [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (9).

C Infamem turpemque odisse [partial::inf:perf] popinam [partial::3rd:obj] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (11).

C Vellem cumprimis, fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] si forte potisset [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (19).

C Ut contendere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] possem [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] Thestiadus Ledae atque Ixionies alochoeo [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (28 29).

C Si me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] nescire [aci::inf:pres] hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:rel] [\_linear:demon:2nd] nescis [aci:know:sc-] quod [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [aci::bound:1st:subj:null:coord] quaerere [aci::inf:pres] dico [aci:say:dic-], quare divinas quicquam [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (30 31)?

C Stulte saltatum [\_supine] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] inter venisse [aci::inf:perf] cinaedos [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (33).

C Nam si tu fluctus [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] undasque  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] e gurgite salso tollere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
decreris [ctrl:subj:decide:cern-], venti prius Emathii vim, ventum, inquam  
tollas [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (42 45).

C Serpere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] uti gangraena mala atque herpestica posset  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (52).

C Iniuriatum hunc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:local:null]  
in fauces invasse [aci::inf:perf] animamque [aci::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] elisisse [aci::inf:perf] illi  
[\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (54 55).

C In bulgam penetrare [partial::inf:pres] pilosam [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (61).

C Quom illi vidissent [aci:see:vid-] Hortensius Postumiusque ceteri item in  
capulo hunc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] non esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] aliumque  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] cubare [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (73 74).

C Graecum [ecm:want::inf:pres:no:cop] te [ecm:want::bound:2nd:subj], Albuci,  
quam Romanum atque Sabinum municipem Ponti, Tritani, centurionum,  
pareclarorum hominum ac primorum signiferumque, maluisti [ecm:want:malle]  
dici [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (87 90).

C Conturbare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] animam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] potis  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-] est quicumque adoritur [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (114).

C Quod si nulla potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] mulier tam corpore duro esse  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres], tamen tenero manet cui sucus lacerto, et manus  
uberibus lactanti in sumine sidat [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (167 169).

C Ne agitare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] manu tu pessulum  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] et hunc vectem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
possis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (170 171).

C Verum illud [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] credo [aci:believe:cred-] fore  
[aci::inf:fut:cop] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (177).

C Ut [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null:rel] periisse [ecm:want::inf:perf]  
velis [ecm:want:velle], quem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] visere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] nolueris [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] cum  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] debueris [ctrl:subj:ought:deb-]  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres:dup] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (189 191).

C In quo Laelius clamores [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] sophos ille solebat  
[ctrl:subj:used:sol-] edere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], compellans gumias ex  
ordine nostros [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (201 202).

C Nam si, quod satis est homini, id satis esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] potisset  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-], hoc sat erat [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (208 209).

C Nunc cum hoc non est, qui credimus [aci:believe:cred-] porro divitias ullas  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] animum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] mi explere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] potisse [aci::inf:perf] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
[\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (209 210)?

C Laevius pauperem ait [aci:say:ai-] se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] ingentia  
munera [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] fungi [aci::inf:pres]  
[\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (213).

C Verum unum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] cecidisse [aci::inf:perf] tamen senis  
Tiresiai aequalem constat [aci:obvious:const-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (230 231).

C Lascivire [aci::inf:pres] pecus [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] Nerei rostrique  
repandum [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (235).

C Da [ctrl:impers:dar-] [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null] bibere  
[ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj:null] ab summo  
[\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (237).

C Possisne [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] elabi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] an porro  
prodenda dies [\_gerundive] sit [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (238).

C Hic solus vigilavit, opinor, et cum id [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] mi visus  
[aci:see:vid-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null:coord] facere

[aci::inf:pres] est, tum retia nexit [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (241 242).

C Postquam praesidium [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] castris educere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] crevi [ctrl:subj:decide:cern-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (244).

C Dic quaenam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] cogat [ctrl:obj:force:cog-] vis ire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] minutim per commissuras rimarum noctis nigrore [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (247 248).

C Servorum est festus dies hic quem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] plane hexametro versu non dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (252 253).

C Non te [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj] porro procedere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] porcent [ctrl:obj:prohibit:porc-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (260).

C Salvere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] iubere [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] salutem [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj] est [ctrl:sent] mittere [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] amico [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (261).

C Quem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] neque Lucanis oriundi montibus tauri ducere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] protelo validis cervicibus possent [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (262 263).

C Quid [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] ipsum me [ecm:want::unbound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear:interrog] facere [ecm:want::inf:pres] optes [ecm:want:opt-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (264).

C Hortare, illorum si possim [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] pacis potiri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (265).

C Peccare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [aci::bound:se:subj:local:null] impune rati [aci:think:rer-] sunt posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] et nobilitate facul [aci::bound:se:subj:local:null:coord] propellere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] iniquos [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (270 271).

C In suam enim hos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] invadere [aci::inf:pres] rem atque [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] innubere [aci::inf:pres] censent [aci:believe:cens-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (272).

C Chauno meno inquit balba, sororem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] lanifacam dici [aci::inf:pres:pass] [\_personal:passive] siccam atque abstemiam ubi audit [aci:hear:aud-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (275 276).

C Hic tu apte credis [aci:believe:cred-] quemquam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] latrina [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:indef:1st] petisse [aci::inf:perf] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (283)?

C Qui te diligit, aetatis facieque tuae se [aci::bound:se:3rd:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] fautorem ostendat [aci:show:ostend-], [ecm:promise::bound:se:subj:local:null:coord] fore [ecm:promise::inf:fut:cop] amicum polliceatur [ecm:promise:pollic-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (292 295).

C Hunc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] molere [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord], illam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] autem ut frumentum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] vannere [aci::inf:pres] lumbis [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (302).

C Hanc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] ubi vult [ctrl:subj:want:velle] male habere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], ulcisci [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] pro scelere eius, testam sumit homo Samiam sibi [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (303 304).

C Solem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], auram adversam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] segetem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] immutasse [aci::inf:perf] satumque [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (317).

C Esuriante leoni ex ore exculpere [partial::inf:pres] praedam [partial::3rd:obj] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (319).



C Leae iratae ad catulos accedere [aci::inf:pres] inultum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (320).  
 C Iactari [aci::inf:pres:pass] caput [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] atque comas  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] fluitare [aci::inf:pres] capronas altas frontibus  
 immissas ut mos fuit illis [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (321 322).  
 C Sallere [partial::inf:pres] murenas [partial::3rd:obj], mercem  
 [partial::3rd:obj] in frigidaria ferre [partial::inf:pres] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat]  
 (340).  
 C Velle [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] tolutim hic [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise]  
 semper iter [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] coepturus videtur [aci:see:vid-]  
 [\_\_personal:passive] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (344).  
 C Quid ergo si ostrea [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] Cerco cognorit  
 [aci:know:cognosc-] fluvium limum ac caenum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_linear]  
 sapere [aci::inf:pres] ipsum [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (357 358)?  
 C Tu milli nummum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] potes [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
 uno quaerere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] centum [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (365).  
 C Labora [ctrl:subj:try:labor-] discere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ne te res ipsa  
 ac ratio ipsa refellat [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (366 367).  
 C Mendaci fruique addes e, cum dare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] furei [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null]  
 iusseris [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (380 381).  
 C Abbibere [nominal::inf:pres], hic non multum est [nominal:sent] d siet an b  
 [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (393).  
 C Atque adcurrere [nominal::inf:pres] scribas [nominal:sent] d ne an c non  
 est quod quaeras atque labores [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (394 395).  
 C Nam veluti intro aliud [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] longe esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] atque intus videmus [aci:see:vid-], sic item apud te  
 aliud longe est, neque idem valet ad te [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (398 399).  
 C Primum hoc quod [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] dicimus [aci:say:dic-] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] poema [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (402).  
 C Improbus [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop]  
 confidens nequam malus ut videatur [aci:see:vid-] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop]  
 [\_\_personal:passive] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (418).  
 C Quamvis desubito trinis deducere [partial::inf:pres] scalis  
 [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (421).  
 C Scipiadae magno improbus obiciebat [aci:say:obic-] Asellus lustrum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] illo censore malum infelixque fuisse  
 [aci::inf:perf:cop] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (424 425).  
 C Lucius Cotta senex, crassi pater huius, Paceni, magnus fuit trico  
 nummarius, solvere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] nulli lentus [ctrl:subj:slow:lent-]  
 [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (440 442).  
 C Conicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] in versus dictum  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] praeconis volebam [ctrl:subj:want:velle] Grani  
 [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (448 449).  
 C Non laudare [partial::inf:pres] hominem quemquam [partial::3rd:obj] neque  
 mu [partial::3rd:obj] facere [partial::inf:pres] umquam [\_\_Lucilius:Sat]  
 (454).  
 C Huic homini quaestore aliquo esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] opus  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] atque corago, publicitus qui mi atque e fisco  
 praebeat aurum [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (456 457).  
 C Hunc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] iuga mulorum protelo ducere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] centum non possunt [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
 [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (461 462).  
 C Acribus inter se [ctrl:subj::bound:se:oblique:local] cum armis conflagere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] crerint [ctrl:subj:decide:cern-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat]  
 (476).

C Aut forte omnino ac fortuna vincere [partial::inf:pres] bello  
[\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (477).

C Dilectum [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] video [aci:see:vid-] studiose vulgus  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_non:linear] habere [aci::inf:pres]  
[\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (483).

C Idne aegre est magis an quod pane et [ctrl:obj:::unbound:2nd:subj:null]  
viscere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] privo [ctrl:obj:prohibit:priv-] [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat]  
(485)?

C Num vetus ille Cato lacecessisse [ctrl:subj::inf:perf]  
[ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] conscius [ctrl:subj:know:sc-] non erat  
ipse sibi [ctrl:subj:::bound:se:goal:local] [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (487 488)?

C Naumachiam [ctrl:impers:::3rd:subj:null] licet [ctrl:impers:lic-] haec  
[ctrl:impers:::3rd:subj:null] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] inquam alveolumque  
putare [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [aci:think:put-] et calces [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat]  
(489).

C Non paucis [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] malle [aci::inf:pres]  
[ecm:want:velle] ac sapientibus [ecm:want:::bound:se:subj:local:null:coord]  
esse probatum [ecm:want::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (491 492).

C Quanto antiquius [ecm:deontic:bon-] quam [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null]  
facere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] hoc [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj]  
[ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null:coord] fecisse [aci::inf:perf]  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] videri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass]  
[aci:see:vid-] [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (494)!

C Hunc milli passum qui vicerit atque duobus Campanus sonipes succussor  
nullus sequetur maiore in spatio ac diversus [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:raise]  
videbitur [aci:see:vid-] ire [aci::inf:pres] [\_personal:passive]  
[\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (511 513).

C Multa [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] homines protenta in Homeri versibus ficta  
[aci::inf:pres:no:cop] monstra putant [aci:think:put-] [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (520  
521).

C Ut pueri infantes credunt [aci:believe:cred-] signa omnia aena  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] vivere [aci::inf:pres] et  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] homines, sic  
isti somnia ficta [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] vera  
putant [aci:think:put-], credunt [aci:believe:cred-] signis cor  
[aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] inesse [aci::inf:pres:cop] in aenis [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat]  
(526 528).

C Quae [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] gallam [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj]  
bibere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] ac rugas [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj] conducere  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres] ventris [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_non:linear]  
farre aceroso oleis decumano pane coegit [ctrl:obj:force:cog-]  
[\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (536 537).

C Ac de isto sacer ille tocoglyphos ac Syrophoenix quid  
[ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] est solitus  
[ctrl:subj:used:sol-] [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (540 541)?

C Scit [aci:know:sc-] [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] poietikon esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop], videt [aci:see:vid-] tunica et toga quid sit  
[aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (542).

C Rex Cotus ille duo hos ventos [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj], austrum atque  
aquilonem novisse [aci::inf:perf] aiebat [aci:say:ai-] se  
[aci:::bound:se:subj:local] [\_non:linear:demon] solos demagis, istos ex nimbo  
austellos [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] nec [aci:::bound:se:subj:local:null:coord]  
nosse [aci::inf:perf] nec [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] putare [aci::inf:pres] [aci:think:put-] [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat]  
(544 546).

C Vix uno filo hosce [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] haerere [aci::inf:pres] putares  
[aci:think:put-], pellicula extrema exaptum pendere [aci::inf:pres] onus  
ingens [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (560 561).

C Nupturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] te  
[aci::bound:2nd:subj] nupta negas [aci:say:neg-], quod vivere  
[ecm:hope::inf:pres] Ulixen [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:subj] speras  
[ecm:hope:sper-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (565 566).

C Num censes [aci:believe:cens-] calliplocamon [ecm:impers::3rd:subj]  
callisphyron ullam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] non licitum esse  
[aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop] [ecm:impers:lic-] uterum  
[ecm:impers::3rd:obj] [\_linear] atque etiam inguine tangere  
[ecm:impers::inf:pres] mammis, conpernem aut varam fuisse [aci::inf:perf:cop]  
Amphitryonis acoetin Alcmenam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] atque alias, Helenam  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ipsam [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] denique nolo  
[ctrl:subj:want:nolle] dicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null], tute vide atque disyllabon elige quodvis,  
kouren eupatereiam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] aliquam rem insignem  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] habuisse [aci::inf:perf] verrucam  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj], naevum punctus [aci::unbound:3rd:obj], dentem  
eminulum unum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (567 573)?

C Cetera contemnit [aci:say:contemn-] et in usura omnia ponit non magna,  
proprium vero nil [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] neminem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
[\_non:linear] habere [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (577 578).

C Sic tu illos fructus quaeras, adversa hieme olim quis uti  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] ac delectare  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] domi te [ctrl:subj::bound:2nd:obj] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat]  
(586 587).

C Peniculamento vero reprehendere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] noli  
[ctrl:subj:want:nolle], ut pueri infantes faciunt, mulierculam honestam  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (592 593).

C Fingere [partial::inf:pres] [partial::3rd:obj:null:rel] praeterea, adferri  
[partial::inf:pres:pass] [partial::3rd:obj:null:coord] quod quisque volebat  
[\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (601).

C Granius autem non contemnere [aci::inf:pres] se [aci::bound:se:subj:local]  
[aci::bound:se:obj:local:null:coord] et reges [aci::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[\_linear] odisse [aci::inf:perf] superbos [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (609 610).

C Manium Manilium [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] Persiumve  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] haec [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[\_linear:demon:2nd] legere [ecm:want::inf:pres] nolo [ecm:want:nolle], Iunium  
Congum [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] [ecm:want::inf:pres:dup]  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] volo [ecm:want:velle]  
[\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (633 634).

C Persium [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] non curo [ecm:want:cur-] legere  
[ecm:want::inf:pres] [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj:null], Laelium Decumum  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] [ecm:want::inf:pres:dup]  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] volo [ecm:want:velle]  
[\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (635).

C Rediisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] ac  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] repedasse [aci::inf:perf], ut Romam  
vitet, gladiatoribus [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (636).

C Depoclassere [ecm:hope::inf:fut] [ecm:hope::bound:se:subj:null] aliqua  
sperans [ecm:hope:sper-] me ac deargentassere [ecm:hope::inf:fut]  
[ecm:hope::unbound:1st:obj:null:coord], decalauticare [ecm:hope::inf:pres]  
[ecm:hope::bound:se:subj:null:coord], eburno speculo despeculassere  
[ecm:hope::inf:fut] [ecm:hope::bound:se:subj:null:coord] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat]  
(640 641).

C Munifici [aci::unbound:1st:subj:raise:null] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] comesque amicis nostris videamur [aci:see:vid-] viri [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (657).

C Mordicus [ctrl:impers:::3rd:subj:null] petere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] aurum [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj] e flamma expediat [ctrl:impers:exped-], e caeno cibum [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (662).

C Malisne [ctrl:subj:want:malle] esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] (eat) [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (663)?

C Facile deridemur, scimus [aci:know:sc-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] capital [ecm:deontic:capital] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [ecm:deontic:::1st:subj:null] irascier [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (664).

C Ego enim contemnificus fieri [historical::inf:pres:pass] et fastidire [historical::inf:pres] Agamenonis [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (666).

C Et tu idem inlitteratum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] atque [aci::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] idiotam diceris [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (674).

C Principio physici omnes constare [aci::inf:pres] hominem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] ex anima et corpore dicunt [aci:say:dic-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (676 677).

C Animo qui aegrotat videmus [aci:see:vid-] corpore hunc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] signum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:1st] dare [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (678).

C Tum doloribus confectum corpus [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] animo obsistere [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (679).

C Ut si eluviem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] per ventrem velis [ctrl:subj:want:velle], cura ne omnibus distento corpore expiret viis [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (684 685).

C Vestimentis frigus [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] atque horrorem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [aci::bound:se:subj:local:null] exacturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [\_non:linear] putet [aci:think:put-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (686).

C Idcirco omnes [aci::bound:se:subj:local:null] evasuros [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] censent [aci:believe:cens-] aegritudinem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (687).

C Haec [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] tu si voles [ecm:want:velle] per auris pectus [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:1st] inrigarier [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (690).

C Porro amici est [ctrl:sent] bene [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] praecipere [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef], Tusci bene [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] praedicere [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (694).

C Homini amico et familiari non est [ctrl:sent::unbound:1st:subj:null] mentiri [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] meum [ctrl:sent] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (695).

C Mihi [ctrl:deontic:::1st:subj:dative] necesse [ctrl:deontic:necess-] est eloqui [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] [ctrl:deontic:::3rd:obj:null:indef], nam scio [aci:know:sc-] Amyclas [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] tacendo [\_gerund] periise [aci::inf:perf] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (696 697).

C Ut ego effugiam quod [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] in primis cupere [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:want:cup-] apisci [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] intellego [aci:know:intelleg-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (702).

C Sin autem hoc vident, bona [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] semper petere [aci::inf:pres] sapientem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_non:linear] et putant [aci:think:put-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (706).

C Tibi porro istaec res idcirco est cordi quod rere [aci:think:rere-]  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] utilem  
[\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (707).

C Contra flagitium [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [aci::unbound:1st:subj:null]  
nescire [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:know:sc-] bello vinci  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] a barbaro Viriato [\_abl:agent], Annibale  
[\_abl:agent] [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (710 711).

C Quare hoc [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] colere  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] est satius [ecm:deontic:sat-] quam illa  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:obj], studium omne [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] hic  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] consumere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
[\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (718).

C Nunc itidem populo, his cum scriptoribus, voluimus [ctrl:subj:want:velle]  
capere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] animum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] illorum  
[\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (720 721).

C Quam fastidiosum ac vescum [partial::3rd:subj] vivere [partial::inf:pres]  
[\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (722).

C Quod is [aci::unbound:1st:subj:raise] intellegebar [aci:know:intelleg-]  
posse [aci::inf:pres] haud ac paucos rettuli [\_personal:passive]  
[\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (735).

C Quam non solum devorare [aci::inf:pres] se [aci::bound:se:subj:local]  
omnia [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] ac  
[aci::bound:se:subj:local:null:coord] devorrere [aci::inf:pres]  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (740).

C Ego enim an perficiam [ctrl:obj:make:fac-] ut me [ctrl:impers::1st:obj]  
[ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null] amare [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] expediat  
[ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [ctrl:impers:exped-] [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (741)?

C Insanum vocant quem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] maltam  
ac feminam dici [aci::inf:pres:pass] [\_personal:passive] vident  
[aci:see:vid-] [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (744).

C Parcat illi magis cui possit, cui fidem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse  
[aci::inf:pres:cop] existiment [aci:believe:existim-] [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (750).

C Cocus non curat [aci:emotion:cur-] cauda insignem esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
illam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], dum pinguis siet [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (761).

C Tu Lucilium [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] credis [aci:believe:cred-] contenturum  
[aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef], cum me  
ruperim, summa omnia fecerim [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (763 765)?

C Nulli me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] invidere [aci::inf:pres], non strabonem  
fieri [aci::inf:pres:pass] saepius deliciis me [aci::unbound:1st:subj:coord]  
istorum [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (766 767).

C Quod si paulisper captare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] atque observare  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] haec [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] volueris  
[ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (769).

C Rem [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] cognoscas [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] simul,  
et dictis animum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] attendas  
[ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] postulo [ctrl:obj:order:postul-] [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat]  
(771).

C Aut quod animum induxit semel et [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord]  
[aci::inf:pres:no:cop] utile omnino putat [aci:think:put-] [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat]  
(775).

C Cum sciam [aci:know:sc-] nihil [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse in vita  
proprium mortali datum [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] [\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (777).

C Re in secunda tollere [partial::inf:pres] animos [partial::3rd:obj], in  
mala [partial::3rd:obj:null:coord] demittere [partial::inf:pres]  
[\_\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (779).

C Certum [ecm:deontic:cert-] est quidquid sit, quasi non sit  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] ferre [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null:coord] aequo animo ac fortiter [\_\_Lucilius:Sat]  
(781).

C Id [partial::3rd:obj] concedere [partial::inf:pres] unum atque in eo dare  
[partial::inf:pres] quo superatur manus [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (782).

C Fuimus pernices, aeternum id [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:subj] nobis sperantes  
[ecm:hope:sper-] fore [ecm:want::inf:fut:cop] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (783).

C Metuo ut fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] possit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
[\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (786).

C Orationem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
compendi potes [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (796).

C Fulmentas [partial::3rd:obj] aeneis atque aeneis subducere  
[partial::inf:pres] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (801).

C Pueri praeterea nostris qui subeant [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] iubet  
[ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (802).

C Minitari [aci::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] aperte capitis  
[aci::bound:se:subj:local:null] dicturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] diem  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (804).

C Eidola [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] atque atomus  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] vincere [ecm:want::inf:pres] Epicuri volam  
[ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (820).

C Aquam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear] in  
animo habere [aci::inf:pres] intercutem [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (827).

C Vel si alio opus sit, [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] fore  
[aci::inf:fut:cop], si hinc aliquo cesseris [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (834).

C Socraticum quidem tyranno misse [aci::inf:perf]  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] Aristippum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] autumant  
[aci:say:autum-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (835).

C Siquidem non vis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] te [ctrl:subj::bound:2nd:obj]  
inprobis committere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (836).

C Sarcinatore[m] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] esse [aci::inf:pres] summum,  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] suere [aci::inf:pres] centonem  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] optume [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (841).

C Apollonem numen, qui te [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj] antiquis non sinet  
[ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] deliciis maculam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear]  
atque [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj:null:coord] ignominiam  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] inponere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat]  
(852 853).

C Tu qui iram indulges nimis manus [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] a muliere  
[ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] abstinere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] melius  
[ecm:deontic:bon-] est [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (855 856).

C Colligere [partial::inf:pres] auxilium [partial::3rd:obj], tam etsi est  
indigna ut feram [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (857).

C Subplantare [nominal::inf:pres] aiunt [nominal] Graeci [\_\_Lucilius:Sat]  
(859).

C Quapropter certum [ecm:deontic:cert-] est [ecm:deontic::1st:subj:null]  
facere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null] contra ac  
[ecm:deontic::1st:subj:null:coord] persequi [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null] et nomen [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj]  
[ecm:deontic::1st:subj:null:coord] deferre [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] hominis  
[\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (863 864).

C Et si retinere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] hunc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle], si longius te [aci::bound:2nd:subj]  
producturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] et  
diutius [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (867 868).

C Favitorem tibi me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] amicum,  
amatores putes [aci:think:put-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (874).

C Habeasque in animo [aci:remember:habere:in:animo] mi admodum causam  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] gravem fore [aci::inf:fut:cop] quae me ab ullo  
commodo abducatur tuo [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (875 876).

C Primum Crysi cum negat [aci:say:neg-] [aci::bound:se:subj:local:null]  
signatam gnatam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] reddere [aci::inf:pres]  
[\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (880).

C Hymnis, velim [ecm:want:velle] te [ecm:want::unbound:2nd:subj] id  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj:rel] [\_linear:is:2nd] quod verum est credere  
[ecm:want::inf:pres] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (887 888).

C Deierat [aci:say:iur-] se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] non scripsisse  
[aci::inf:perf] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] et post non  
[aci::bound:se:subj:local:null:coord] scripturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop]  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (890).

C Perge, amabo, ac si pote face [ctrl:obj:make:fac-] dignam me  
[aci::bound:1st:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] ut vobis putem  
[ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [aci:think:put-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (892).

C Mihi commodum statuerat [ctrl:subj:decide:statu-] dare  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::bound:se:obj:local:null], vestimenta et in  
toro reposueram [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (898 899).

C Certum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] scio [aci:know:sc-] esse  
[aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] ita ut dicis [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (901 902).

C In me illis spem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] omnem,  
quovis posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] me  
[aci::unbound:1st:subj] emungi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] bolo  
[\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (903).

C Praetera ut nostris animos [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] adtendere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] dictis atque adhibere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] velis [ctrl:subj:want:velle]  
[\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (910 911).

C Nunc tu contra venis, vel quid [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] in nuptis voluisse  
[aci::inf:perf] negas [aci:say:neg-] te [aci::bound:2nd:subj]  
[\_non:linear:indef] nec sine permitte [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (913 915)?

C Ubi erat copia, eicere [partial::inf:pres] [partial::3rd:obj:null:coord]  
istum abs te quamprimum et perdere [partial::inf:pres] amorem  
[partial::3rd:obj] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (919 920).

C Quid si dare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null]  
vellent [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (921)?

C Hic corpus [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] solidum invenies  
[aci:find:inven-], hic stare [aci::inf:pres] papillas  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] pectore marmoreo [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (923 924).

C Amicos [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] hodie cum inprobo illo  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] audivimus [aci:hear:aud-] Lucilio advocasse  
[aci::inf:perf] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (929 930).

C Sic inquam [aci:say:inquam] veteratorem illum vetulum lupum Annibalem  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] acceptum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop]  
[\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (952 953).

C Hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] invenisse  
[aci::inf:perf] unum ad morbum illum, homini vel bellissimum [\_\_Lucilius:Sat]  
(969).

C Aetatem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] istuc [aci::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[\_linear:demon:2nd] tibi laturam [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop], et bellum, si  
hoc [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] bellum putas  
[aci:think:put-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (971).

C Quin amplexetur qui velit, ego non sinam [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-]  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] me [ctrl:obj::bound:1st:obj] amplectier  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (974 975).

C Vini inquam cyathus unus potuit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] tollere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat]  
(977).

C Nasum [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] [ecm:want::inf:pres:no:cop] deductius  
quam pandius si paulo vellem [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (979 980).

C Quo [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:raise:null] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] facetior  
videare [aci:see:vid-] et scire [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:know:sc-] plus  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] quam ceteri, pertisum hominem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj]  
non pertaesum dicere [aci::inf:pres] ferum nam genus [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
[personal:passive] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (983 984).

C Neque prodire [partial::inf:pres] in altum, proeliari [partial::inf:pres]  
sub vitem procul [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (994).

C Nos [interject::1st:subj] esse arquatos  
[interject::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1007)!

C Ut semel in Caeli pugnas te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] invadere  
[aci::inf:pres] vidi [aci:see:vid-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1008).

C Et virtute tua, et claris conducere [partial::inf:pres] cartis  
[\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1013).

C Quanti vos faciant socii quom parcere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possint  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1018).

C Scito [aci:know:sc-] etenim bene longincum mortalibus morbum  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] in vino esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] ubi qui invitavit  
dapsilius se [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1022 1023).

C Omnia [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] tum endo mucro videas [aci:see:vid-] fervente  
micare [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1024).

C Quis totum scis [aci:know:sc-] iam corpus [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
perolesse [aci::inf:perf] bisulcis [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1030).

C Contra haec [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] invitasse [aci::inf:perf]  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null] aut instigasse [aci::inf:perf]  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] videntur [aci:see:vid-]  
[personal:passive] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1031).

C Hoc [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] missum [ctrl:obj::inf:perf:pass:no:cop]  
facies [ctrl:obj:make:fac-], illo me utere libente [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1038).

C Tune iugo iungas me autem et [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord]  
succedere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] aratro invitam et glebas  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] subigas [ctrl:obj:force:subig-]  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj:null:coord] proscindere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
ferro [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1043 1044)?

C Quid [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] dare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] quid  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] sumti facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ac  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] praebere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
potisset [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1052).

C Curare [partial::inf:pres] domi sint gerdus ancillae pueri zonarius textor  
[\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1053 1054).

C Neu qui te ignaro famuli subducere [historical::inf:pres]  
[historical::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1057).

C Sperans [ecm:hope:sper-] aetatem eadem me [ecm:hope::bound:1st:subj] haec  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [non:linear:demon:2nd] proferre  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] potesse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] et mansum  
[ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:obj] ex ore [ecm:hope::bound:1st:subj:null:coord]  
daturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1059 1060).

C Quantum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] haurire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] animus  
Musarum e fontibus gestit [ctrl:subj:want:gest-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1061).



C Nemini ingenio tantum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj]  
 [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null] confidere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet  
 [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1062).  
 C Summatim [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] tamen experiar  
 [ctrl:subj:try:exper-] rescribere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] paucis  
 [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1063).  
 C Producunt me ad te, tibi me [ctrl:obj:::unbound:1st:subj] haec  
 [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] ostendere  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] cogunt [ctrl:obj:force:cog-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1065).  
 C Si liceat [ctrl:impers:lic-] [ctrl:impers:::3rd:subj:null] facere  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj:null:rel] et iam hoc  
 [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj] versibus reddere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] quod do  
 [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1066).  
 C Et Musconis manum [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] perscribere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] posse [partial::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] tagacem  
 [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1067).  
 C Nolito [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] tibi me [aci:::unbound:1st:subj] male dicere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] putare  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [aci:think:put-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1069).  
 C Quem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] scis [aci:know:sc-] scire [aci::inf:pres]  
 tuas omnes maculasque [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] notasque  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1070).  
 C Sicuti te quem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] aequae speciem vitae esse  
 [acI::inf:pres:cop] putamus [aci:think:put-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1074).  
 C Et sua perciperet [aci:see:percip-] retro relicta [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 iacere [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1090).  
 C Et sola ex multi nunc nostra poemata [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] ferri  
 [aci::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1091).  
 C Quam [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:obj] me [ecm:want:::unbound:1st:subj]  
 [\_non:linear:rel] hoc tempore, nugator, cognoscere [ecm:want::inf:pres] non  
 vis [ecm:want:velle] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1094).  
 C Iuratam [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] se [aci:::bound:se:subj:local] uni cui  
 sit data deque dicata [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1099).  
 C Non datur, admittit nemo, nec [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] vivere  
 [aci::inf:pres] ducunt [aci:believe:duc-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1105).  
 C Inluvies, scabies oculos [historical:::unbound:3rd:obj] huic deque petigo  
 conscendere [historical::inf:pres] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1113 1114).  
 C Deducta tunc voce leo (direct quote), cur tu ipse venire  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] non vis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] huc [\_\_Lucilius:Sat]  
 (1116 1117)?  
 C Uti pecudem te [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj] asinumque ut denique nasci  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] praestiterit [ecm:deontic:praestit-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat]  
 (1129 1130).  
 C Gai pes vocem [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] mittere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 coepit [ctrl:subj:begin:coep-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1134).  
 C Quid Decius, [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] nuculam an confixum  
 vis [ctrl:subj:want:velle] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] inquit  
 [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1135).  
 C Tubulus si Lucius umquam si Lupus aut Carbo aut Neptuni filius putasset  
 [aci:think:put-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] deos [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj], tam  
 periurus, tam impurus fuisset [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1138 1141)?  
 C Sit [ecm:want::inf\_subjunct] me [aci:::bound:1st:subj] scire  
 [aci::inf:pres] [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:null] volo [ecm:want:velle] Decimus  
 mihi conscius [aci:know:consc-] Sura ne damnum faciam [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1142  
 1143).  
 C Nunc vero a mani ad noctem festo atque profesto totus item pariterque die  
 populusque patresque iactare [historical::inf:pres] indu foro se

[historical::bound:se:obj:local] omnes, decedere [historical::inf:pres] nusquam, uni se [historical::bound:se:obj:local] atque eidem studio omnes dedere [historical::inf:pres] et arti, verba [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] dare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ut caute possint [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], pugnare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] dolose, blanditia [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] certare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], [ecm:pretend::inf:pres:no:cop] bonum simulare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ecm:pretend:simul-] virum se [ecm:pretend::bound:se:subj:local], insidias [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ut si hostes sint omnibus omnes [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1145 1151).

C Hymnis cantando [\_gerund] quae me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] adservisse [aci::inf:perf] ait [aci:say:ai-] ad se [aci::bound:se:oblique:distant] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1168).

C Nam in quibus mendae omnibus in rebus fiunt fierique [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] potissunt [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1185 1886).

C Quid tibi ego ambages [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] ambiu scribere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] coner [ctrl:subj:try:con-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1192)?

C Virtus [ctrl:deontic:virtus], Albine, est pretium [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] persolvere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] verum quis in versamur quis vivimus rebus [ctrl:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] potesse [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], virtus [ctrl:deontic:virtus] est homini [ctrl:deontic::3rd:subj:dative] scire [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] [aci:know:sc-] id [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] quod quaeque habeat [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] res, virtus [ctrl:deontic:virtus] scire [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] [aci:know:sc-] homini [ctrl:deontic::3rd:subj:dative:coord] rectum utile quid sit [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] honestum, quae bona quae mala item, quid inutile turpe inhonestum, his bene velle [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:want:velle], his vivere [ecm:want::inf:pres] amicum [ecm:want::bound:se:subj:null], commoda [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] praeterea patriai [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] prima putare [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] [aci:think:put-], deinde parentum, tertia iam postremaque nostra [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1196 1208).

C Ergo praetorum est [ctrl:sent] ante et [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] praeire [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1215).

C Vidimus [aci:see:vid-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] vinctum [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] thomice canabina [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1218 1219).

C Sumere [aci::inf:pres] te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] atque amian [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1221).

C Purpureamque uvam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] fecit [ctrl:obj:make:fac-] albam pampinum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] habere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1224).

C Pedetemptim huc ire [aci::inf:pres] salutem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1247).

C Quis hunc currere [aci::inf:pres] ecum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] nos atque [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] equitare [aci::inf:pres] videmus [aci:see:vid-], his equitat curritque, oculis [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] equitare [aci::inf:pres] videmus [aci:see:vid-], ergo oculis equitat [\_pun] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1250 1252).

C Vis est vita vides, vis nos [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] facere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] omnia [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] cogit [ctrl:obj:force:cog-] [\_\_Lucilius:Sat] (1271).

= Cato

C Est [ctrl:sent] interdum [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] praestare [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] mercaturis rem [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj] [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] quaerere [ctrl:sent::inf:pres],

nisi tam periculosum sit, et item [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] fenerari [ctrl:sent::inf:pres], si tam honestum sit [\_\_Cato:Agri] (Intro).  
C Maiores nostri sic habuerunt [aci:believe:hab-] et ita in legibus posiverunt, furem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] dupli condemnari [aci::inf:pres:pass], feneratorem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] quadrupli [\_\_Cato:Agri] (Intro).  
C Quanto [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] peiorem civem existimarint [aci:believe:existim-] feneratorem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] quam furem [aci::unbound:3rd:obj], hinc licet [ctrl:impers:lic-] [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null] existimare [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (Intro).  
C Amplissime [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null:rel] laudari [aci::inf:pres:pass] existimabatur [aci:believe:existim-] qui ita laudabatur [personal:passive] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (Intro).  
C Mercatorem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] autem [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] strenuum studiosumque rei quaerendae [gerundive] existimo [aci:believe:existim-], verum, ut supra dixi, periculosum et calamitosum [\_\_Cato:Agri] (Intro).  
C Praedium [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] quom parare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] cogitabis [ctrl:subj:want:cogit-], sic in animo habeto, uti ne cupide emas neve opera tua parcas [ctrl:subj:spare:parc-] visere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] et ne [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] satis [ecm:deontic:sat-] habeas [aci:believe:hab-] semel [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] circumire [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null:coord] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (1).  
C In bona regione bene [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] nitere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportebit [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (1).  
C Et uti eo introeas et circumspicis, uti inde exire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (1).  
C Qui in his agris praedia vendiderint, eos [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] pigeat [ctrl:obj:impers:pig-] vendidisse [ctrl:obj::inf:perf] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (1).  
C Ubi non erunt, scito [aci:know:sc-] pro ratione fructum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (1).  
C Scito [aci:know:sc-] idem agrum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] quod hominem, quamvis quaestuosus siet, si sumptuosus erit, relinqui [aci::inf:pres:pass] non multum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (1).  
C Roget, quid operis siet factum, quid restet, satisne temperi opera sient confecta, possitne [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] quae reliqua sient conficere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:rel], et quid factum vini, frumenti aliarumque rerum omnium [\_\_Cato:Agri] (2).  
C Ubi ea cognovit, rationem [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] inire [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] operarum, dierum [\_\_Cato:Agri] (2).  
C Si ei opus non apparet, dicit [aci:say:dic-] vilicus sedulo se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] fecisse [aci::inf:perf] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:undef], servos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] non valuisse [aci::inf:perf], tempestates malas [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] fuisse [aci::inf:perf:cop], servos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] aufugisse [aci::inf:perf], [aci::bound:se:subj:local:null] opus publicum [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] effecisse [aci::inf:perf], ubi eas aliasque causas multas dixit, ad rationem operum operarumque vilicum revoca [\_\_Cato:Agri] (2).  
C Cum tempestates pluviae fuerint, quae opera per imbrem fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] potuerint, dolia [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] lavari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] picari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], villam [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] purgari

[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], frumentum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] transferri  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], stercus [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] foras  
 [\_linear] efferri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], stercilinum  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] fieri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], semen  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] purgari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], funes  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] sarciri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], novos  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] fieri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], centones  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj], cucliones [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] familiam  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] [\_non:linear] oportuisse [aci::inf:perf]  
 [ecm:deontic:oport-] sibi [ecm:deontic::bound:se:goal:local] sarcire  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (2).  
 C Per ferias potuisse [aci::inf:perf] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] fossas veteres  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] tergeri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass], viam publicam  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] muniri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass], vepres  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] recidi [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass], hortum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] fodiri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass], pratum  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] purgari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass], virgas  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] vinciri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass], spinas  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] runcari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass], expensi  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] far [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], munditias  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (2).  
 C Cum servi aegrotarint, cibaria tanta [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] dari  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] non oportuisse [aci::inf:perf]  
 [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (2).  
 C Ubi ea cognita aequo animo sint, quae reliqua [ctrl:subj:remain:relinqu-]  
 opera sint curare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] uti perficiantur, rationes  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] putare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] argentariam,  
 frumentariam, pabuli causa quae parata sunt [\_\_Cato:Agri] (2).  
 C Quae opera [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] fieri [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass]  
 velit [ecm:want:velle] et quae [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] locari  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] velit [ecm:want:velle], uti imperet et uti faciat  
 [\_\_Cato:Agri] (2).  
 C Patrem familias [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] vendacem, non emacem esse  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (2).  
 C Prima adulescentia patrem familiae [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] agrum  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] conserere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 studere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:want:stud-] oportet  
 [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (3).  
 C Aedificare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] diu  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] cogitare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj:want:cogit-] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], conserere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] cogitare  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:want:cogit-] non oportet  
 [ecm:deontic:oport-], sed [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] facere  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null] oportet  
 [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (3).  
 C Ubi aetas accessit ad annos XXXVI, tum [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null]  
 aedificare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-]  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null], si agrum consitum habeas [\_\_Cato:Agri] (3).  
 C Patrem familiae [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] villam rusticam  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [\_linear] bene aedificatam habere  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] expedit [ecm:deontic:exped-], cellam oleariam  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj], vinariam [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj], dolia multia  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj], uti lubeat [ctrl:impers:lub-] caritatem  
 [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null] expectare  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (3).

C Torcularia bona [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] habere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], ut opus bene effici [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] possit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (3).

C Cogitato [aci:think:cogit-] quotannis tempestates magnas [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] venire [aci::inf:pres] et [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] oleam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] deicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] solere [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (3).

C Ex quavia olea oleum viridius et bonum fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], si temperi facies [\_\_Cato:Agri] (3).

C In iugera oleti CXX vasa bina [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], si oletum bonum beneque frequens cultumque erit [\_\_Cato:Agri] (3).

C Trapetos [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] bonos privos inpares esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], si orbes contriti sient, ut commutare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] possis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], funes loreos privos [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], vectes senos [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], fibulas duodenas [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], medipontos privos loreos [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (3).

C Si rotas [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], tardius ducetur, sed minore labore [\_\_Cato:Agri] (3).

C Bubilia bona [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], bonas praesepis [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], faliscas clatratas [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], clatros [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] interesse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] pede [\_\_Cato:Agri] (4).

C Vicinis bonus esto, familiam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] ne siveris [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] peccare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (4).

C Vilicus si nolet [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] male facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], non faciet [\_\_Cato:Agri] (5).

C Si passus erit, dominus inpune ne [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] sinat [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] esse [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (5).

C Pro beneficio gratiam referat, ut aliis [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:dative] recte facere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] libeat [ctrl:impers:lib-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (5).

C Ne plus [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] censeat [aci:believe:cens-] sapere [aci::inf:pres] se [aci::bound:se:subj:local] [\_non:linear] quam dominum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (5).

C Nequid [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] emissee [ctrl:subj::inf:perf] velit [ctrl:subj:want:velle] insciente domino, neu quid [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] dominum celavisse [ctrl:subj::inf:perf] velit [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (5).

C Haruspitem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], augurem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], hariolum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], Chaldaeum nequem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] consuluisse [ctrl:subj::inf:perf] velit [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (5).

C Opus rusticum omne [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] curet uti sciat [ctrl:subj:know:sc-] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], et id facias saepe, dum ne lassus fiat [\_\_Cato:Agri] (5).

C Si hoc faciet, minus libebit [ctrl:impers:lib-] [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null] ambulare [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] et valebit rectius et dormibit libentius [\_\_Cato:Agri] (5).

C Boves [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] maxima diligentia curatos [ctrl:obj::inf:perf:pass:no:cop] habeto [ctrl:obj:have:hab-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (5).

C Scabiam pecori et iumentis caveto, id ex fame et si inpluit fieri  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] solet [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (5).

C Agrum quibus locis conseras, sic [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] observari  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (6).

C Ubi ager crassus et laetus est sine arboribus, eum agrum  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] frumentarium esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop]  
oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (6).

C Idem ager si nebulosus est, rapa [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], raphanos  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], milium [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], panicum  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], id [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] maxime seri  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (6).

C In agro crasso et caldo oleam conditivam, radium maiorem, Sallentinam,  
orcitem, poseam, Sergianam, Colminianam, albicerem, quam  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] earum in iis locis optimam dicent [aci:say:dic-]  
esse [aci::inf:pres:cop], eam maxime serito [\_\_Cato:Agri] (6).

C Qui ager frigidior et macrior erit, ibi oleam Licianam  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] seri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet  
[ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (6).

C Vineam [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] quo in agro conseri  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oporteat [ecm:deontic:oport-], sic observato  
[\_\_Cato:Agri] (6).

C Qui locus [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise] vino optimus dicetur  
[aci:say:dic-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] et ostentus soli, Aminnium minusculum  
et geminum eugeneum, helvolum minusculum conserito [personal:passive]  
[\_\_Cato:Agri] (6).

C Fundum suburbanum arbustum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] maxime convenit  
[ctrl:obj:conven-] [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj:null] habere  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres], et ligna et virgae venire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possunt  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-], et domino erit qui utatur [\_\_Cato:Agri] (7).

C In eodem fundo suum quidquid [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] conseri  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], vitem  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], compluria genera [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], Aminnium  
minusculum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] et maius [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] et  
Apicium [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (7).

C Eo lotium suillum [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] aut stercus  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] ad radicem [ecm:deontic::2nd:null:subj] addere  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], uti pabulum malorum  
fiat [\_\_Cato:Agri] (7).

C Sorba [historical::unbound:3rd:obj] in sapa condere [historical::inf:pres]  
vel siccare [historical::inf:pres] [historical::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord],  
arida facias [\_\_Cato:Agri] (7).

C Salicta [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] locis aquosis, umectis, umbrosis propter  
amnes ibi seri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-]  
[\_\_Cato:Agri] (9).

C Et id videto uti aut domino opus siet aut ut vendere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] possit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Cato:Agri]  
(9).

C Hoc est praedium quod [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] ubi vis expedit  
[ctrl:obj:exped-] [ctrl:obj::unbound:2nd:subj:null] facere  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (9).

C Quo modo oletum [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] agri iugera CCXL  
[ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] instruere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oporteat  
[ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (10).

C Quo modo vineae iugera C [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj]  
[ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] instruere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oporteat  
[ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (11).

C Dolia ubi quinque vindemiae esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possint  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-] culleum DCCC [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (11).

C Villam aedificandam [\_gerundive] si locabis novam ab solo, faber haec  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] faciat [ecm:deontic::inf\_subjunct] oportet  
[ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (14).

C Loco pestilenti, ubi aestate fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] non potest  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-], bono domino pars quarta preti accedat [\_\_\_Cato:Agri]  
(14).

C Et uti sublinat [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:impers] locari  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (15).

C Pinus eo, quis semen viride et maturum habet, id semen  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] de cupresso, de pino quidvis anni legere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], item quidvis anni matura  
est et tempestiva [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (17).

C Ibidem sunt nuces bimae, inde semen excidet, et anniculae, eae ubi primum  
incipiunt [ctrl:subj:begin:incip-] hiascere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], tum  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] legi [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet  
[ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (17).

C Per sementim primum incipiunt [ctrl:subj:begin:incip-] maturae esse  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres], postea usque adeo sunt plus menses VIII [\_\_\_Cato:Agri]  
(17).

C Torcularium [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] si aedificare  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle] quadrinis vasis, uti  
contra ora sient, ad hunc modum vasa componito [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (18).

C Si trabes minores [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] facere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle], canalis extra columnam  
expolito [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (18).

C Inter arbores medium quod erit, id ad mediam conlibrato, ubi porculum  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] figere  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportebit [ecm:deontic:oport-], uti in medio prelum  
recte situm siet [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (19).

C Trapetum [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] quo modo [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null]  
concinnare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oporteat [ecm:deontic:oport-]  
[\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (20).

C Columellam ferream, quae in miliario stat, eam [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj]  
rectam stare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] in medio ad  
perpendicularum, cuneis salignis [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] circumfigi  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] bene, eo plumbum  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:] [\_non:linear] effundere  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres], caveat ni labet columella [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (20).

C Crassam quam columella ferrea erit, eam mediam pertundito, uti columellam  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] indere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possis  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (21).

C Trapetum [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] hoc modo [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null]  
accommodare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-]  
[\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (22).

C Digitum minimum orbem [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] abesse  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] ab solo mortari  
[\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (22).

C Orbis [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] cavere  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] nequid mortarium terant  
[\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (22).

C Inter orbem et miliarium unum digitum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] interesse  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:cop] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (22).

C Vinum Graecum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] hoc modo fieri  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (24).

C Si helvolum vinum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] facere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle], dimidium helvoli,  
dimidium Apicii vini indito, defruti veteris partem tricesimam addito  
[\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (24).

C Quom vinum coctum erit et quom legetur, facito uti servetur familiae primum  
suisque, facitoque studeas [ctrl:subj:want:stud-] bene percoctum  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] siccumque [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] legere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres], ne vinum nomen perdat [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (25).

C Vindemia facta, vasa torcula [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj], corbular  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj], fiscinas [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj], funis  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj], patibula [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj],  
fibulas [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] iubeto [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] suo  
quidquid loco condi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (26).

C Si voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle] de faece demere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] vinum  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], tum erit ei rei optimum tempus [\_\_\_Cato:Agri]  
(26).

C Oleas [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj], ulmos [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj],  
ficos [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj], poma [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj],  
vites [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj], pinos [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj],  
cupressos [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] cum seres, bene cum radicibus eximito  
cum terra sua quam plurima circumligatoque, uti ferre [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] possis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], in  
alveo aut in corbula ferri [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] iubeto  
[ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (28).

C Vineas [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] arboresque  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] mature face incipias [ctrl:subj:begin:incip-]  
putare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (32).

C Susum vorsum, quod [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] eius facere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] poteris [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], vitis facito uti ducas  
[\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (32).

C Vineam putatam circumfodito, arare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] incipito [ctrl:subj:begin:incip-],  
ultro citroque sulcos perpetuos ducito [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (33).

C Vitem novellam [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] resicari  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] tum erit tempus [ecm:deontic:tempus], ubi  
valebit [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (33).

C Ubi vinea frondere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] coeperit [ctrl:subj:begin:coep-],  
pampinato [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (33).

C Ubi uva varia fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] coeperit [ctrl:subj:begin:coep-],  
vites subligato, pampinato uvasque expellito, circum capita sarito  
[\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (33).

C In caldissimis locis sementim postremum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] fieri  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (34).

C Siliginem [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], triticum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] in  
loco aperto celso, ubi sol quam diutissime siet, seri  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (35).

C Hordeum, qui locus novus erit aut qui restibilis fieri  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] poterit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], serito  
[\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (35).

C Trimestre [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], quo in loco sementim maturam  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] non potueris  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-] et qui locus restibilis crassitudine fieri  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] poterit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], seri  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (35).

C Stercus columbinum [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null]  
spargere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] in pratum vel  
in hortum vel in segetem [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (36).



C Hoc signi erit, ubi calx cocta erit, summos lapidos  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] coctos esse [ecm:deontic::inf:perf:pass:with:cop]  
oportebit [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (38).

C Si ligna [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] et virgas  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] non poteris [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] vendere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] neque lapidem habebis, unde calcem coquas, de lignis  
carbones coquito [\_\_Cato:Agri] (38).

C Ubi tempestates malae erunt, cum opus fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] non  
poterit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], stercus in sterculinum egerito [\_\_Cato:Agri]  
(39).

C Si bene sarseris aut bene alligaveris et in rimas medicamentum indideris  
beneque picaveris, quodvis dolium vinarium [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] poteris [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Cato:Agri]  
(39).

C Per imbrem in villa quaerito quid fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] possit  
[ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (39).

C Cogitato [aci:think:cogit-], si nihil fiet, nihilo minus sumptum  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] futurum [aci::inf:fut:cop] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (39).

C Per ver haec [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] fieri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass]  
oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (40).

C Sulcos [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] et scrobes [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] fieri  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], seminariis, vitiariis locum  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] verti [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], vites  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] propagari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], in locis  
crassis et umectis ulmos [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], ficos  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], poma [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], oleas  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] seri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet  
[ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (40).

C Ficos [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], oleas [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], mala  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], pira [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], vites  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] inseri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet  
[ecm:deontic:oport-] luna silenti post meridiem sine vento austro  
[\_\_Cato:Agri] (40).

C Postea capito tibi surculum, quod genus [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
inserere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle], eum primorem  
praeacuito oblicum primoris digitos II [\_\_Cato:Agri] (40).

C Surculum aridum, quem artiveris, eximito, eo artito surculum, quem  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] inserere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voles  
[ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (40).

C Terebra vitam quam inseres pertundito, eo duos surculos vitigineos, quod  
genus [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [ecm:want::inf:pres] voles  
[ecm:want:velle], insectos obliquos artito ad medullam [\_\_Cato:Agri] (41).

C Quod genus [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] aut ficum  
[ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] aut oleam [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] esse  
[ecm:want::inf:pres] voles [ecm:want:velle], inde librum scalpro eximito,  
alterum librum cum gemma de eo fico, quod genus [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj]  
esse [ecm:want::inf:pres] voles [ecm:want:velle], eximito, adponito in eum  
locum unde exicaveris in alterum genus facitoque uti conveniat [\_\_Cato:Agri]  
(42).

C Sulcos [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], si locus aquosus erit, alveatos esse  
[ecm:deontic::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], latos  
summos pedes tres, altos pedes quattuor, infimum latum P I et palmum  
[\_\_Cato:Agri] (43).

C Si voles [ecm:want:velle] vinea cito crescat [ecm:want::inf\_subjunct] et  
olea, quam severis, semel in mense sulcos [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] et circum  
capita oleaginea quot mensibus, usque donec trimae erunt,

[ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] fodere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet  
[ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (43).  
C Olivetum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] diebus XV ante aequinoctium vernum  
incipito [ctrl:subj:begin:incip-] putare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri]  
(44).  
C Si parum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] deprimere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
poteris [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], malleo aut mateola adigito [\_\_Cato:Agri] (46).  
C Si pecus pascetur, ubi vitem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] serere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle], ter prius resicato, quam  
ad arborem poneas [\_\_Cato:Agri] (47).  
C Simul herbae inceperint [ctrl:subj:begin:incip-] nasci  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres], eximito [\_\_Cato:Agri] (48).  
C Vineam veterem [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] si  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] in alium locum transferre  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle], dumtaxat brachium crassam  
[ctrl:impers::2nd:subj:null] [ctrl:impers::inf:pres:dup] licebit  
[ctrl:impers:lic-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (49).  
C Quae inrigiva non erunt, ubi favonius flare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] coeperit  
[ctrl:subj:begin:coep-], cum prata defendes, depurgato herbasque malas omnis  
radicitus effodito [\_\_Cato:Agri] (50).  
C Haec facito, antequam vineam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] fodere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] incipias [ctrl:subj:begin:incip-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (50).  
C Ubi daps profanata comestaue erit, verno arare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] incipito [ctrl:subj:begin:incip-]  
[\_\_Cato:Agri] (50).  
C Ficum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], oleam [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], malum  
Punicum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], cotoneum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] aliaque  
mala omnia [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], laurum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], murtum  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], nuces Praenestinas [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj],  
platanum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj], haec omnia [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] a  
capita propagari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass]  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] eximique [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass]  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] serique [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass]  
eodem modo oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (51).  
C Quae [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] diligentius propagari  
[ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] voles [ecm:want:velle],  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] in aullas aut in qualos pertusos  
propagari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], et cum  
iis in scrobem [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] deferri  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (52).  
C Per fundum aut qualum ramum, quem radicem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
capere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle], traicito  
[\_\_Cato:Agri] (52).  
C Bubus pabulum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] hoc modo parari  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] darique  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (54).  
C Ubi sementim patraueris, glandem [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] parari  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] legique  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] et in aquam  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] conici [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass]  
[\_\_Cato:Agri] (54).  
C Inde semodios [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] singulis bubus in dies dari  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], et si non  
laborabunt, pascantur satius erit, aut modium vinaceorum, quos in dolium  
condideris [\_\_Cato:Agri] (54).

C Ubi verno dare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:indef] coeperis [ctrl:subj:begin:coop-], modium glandis aut vinaceorum dato aut modium lupini macerati et faeni P XV [\_\_Cato:Agri] (54).

C Nihil [ctrl:sent] est quod magis expediat, quam boves [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj] bene [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] curare [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (54).

C Boves [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] nisi per hiemem, cum non arabunt, pasci [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] non oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (54).

C Nam viride cum edunt, semper id expectant, et fiscellas [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] habere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], ne herbam sectentur, cum arabunt [\_\_Cato:Agri] (54).

C Ubi vineam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] fodere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] coeperint [ctrl:subj:begin:coop-], panis P V, usque adeo dum ficos esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] coeperint [ctrl:subj:begin:coop-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (56).

C Eos [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] non est nimium [ecm:deontic:nim-] in annos singulos vini Q X [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] ebibere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (57).

C Postea oleas tempestivas, unde minimum olei fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] poterit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], eas condito [\_\_Cato:Agri] (58).

C Sculponias bonas [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] alternis annis [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] dare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (59).

C Quid est [ctrl:sent] agrum [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj] bene [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] colere [ctrl:sent::inf:pres], bene [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] arare [ctrl:sent::inf:pres], quid secundum, [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] arare [ctrl:sent::inf:pres], quid tertium, [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] stercorare [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (61).

C Cetera cultura est [ctrl:sent] multum [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj] [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null] sarire [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] et diligenter eximere [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] semina [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj] et per tempus radices quam plurimas [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj] cum terra [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] ferre [ctrl:sent::inf:pres], ubi radices bene operueris, [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] [ctrl:sent::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] calcare [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] bene, ne aqua noceat [\_\_Cato:Agri] (61).

C Quot iuga boverum, mulorum, asinorum habebis, totidem plostra [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (62).

C Funem torculum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] esse [ecm:deontic::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] extentum pedes LV [\_\_Cato:Agri] (63).

C Olea ubi matura erit, quam primum [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] cogi [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], quam minimum in terra et in tabulato [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (64).

C Nolito [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] credere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [aci:believe:cred-] oleum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] in tabulato posse [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] crescere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (64).

C Postea dolium calfacito minus, quam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] si picare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] velis [ctrl:subj:want:velle], tepeat satis est [\_\_Cato:Agri] (69).

C Haec omnia [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] sublimiter legi  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] teri  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] darique  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (70).  
 C Bos si aegrotare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] coeperit [ctrl:subj:begin:coop-],  
 dato continuo ei unum ovum gallinaceum crudum [\_\_Cato:Agri] (71).  
 C Ubi uvae variae coeperint [ctrl:subj:begin:coop-] fieri  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass], bubus medicamentum dato quotannis, uti valeant  
 [\_\_Cato:Agri] (73).  
 C Ubi bene distriverit, farinae siligineae libram aut, si voles  
 [ecm:want:velle] [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj:null] tenerius esse  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres], selibram smiliaginis eodem indito permiscetoque cum  
 caso bene [\_\_Cato:Agri] (75).  
 C Inde quantos [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle]  
 facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] facito [\_\_Cato:Agri] (79).  
 C Farris L III et lardi P IIII S et pulpae P IIII S, vini S III, id  
 [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] in unum vas liceto [ctrl:impers:lic-]  
 [ctrl:impers::2nd:subj:null] coicere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres]  
 [\_impersonal:imperative] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (83).  
 C Hoc votum [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] in annos singulos, si voles, licebit  
 [ctrl:impers:lic-] [ctrl:impers::2nd:subj:null] vovere  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (83).  
 C Id aliquotiens in die cotidie facito, usque adeo donec sal desiverit  
 [ctrl:subj:stop:desin-] tabescere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] biduum [\_\_Cato:Agri]  
 (88).  
 C Eodem modo anserem alito, nisi prius dato [ctrl:impers:dar-]  
 [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null:coord] bibere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj:null:indef] et bis in die, bis escam  
 [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (89).  
 C Fici aridae si voles [ecm:want:velle] ut integrae sint  
 [ecm:want::inf\_subjunct], in vas fictile condito [\_\_Cato:Agri] (99).  
 C Virgas murteas [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] si voles  
 [ctrl:subj:want:velle] cum bacis servare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] et item aliut  
 genus quod vis, et si ramulos ficulneos voles cum foliis, inter se alligato,  
 fasciculos facito [\_\_Cato:Agri] (101).  
 C Et dato [ctrl:impers:dar-] rarenter [ctrl:impers::3rd:subj:null] bibere  
 [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] conmixtam [ctrl:impers::3rd:obj] cum aqua  
 aequabiliter [\_\_Cato:Agri] (103).  
 C Biennium in sole sinito [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-]  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] positum esse  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (105).  
 C Sesquilibram salis frigito, eodem indito et rude misceto usque adeo, donec  
 ovum gallinaceum coctum natabit, desinito [ctrl:subj:stop:desin-] miscere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] [\_\_Cato:Agri]  
 (106).  
 C Siquid plus [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle]  
 aquae marinae concinnare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], pro portione ea omnia facito  
 [\_\_Cato:Agri] (106).  
 C Vinum si voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle] experiri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [aci:know:exper-] duraturum sit [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] necne, polentam  
 grandem dimidium acetabuli in caliculum novum indito et vini sextarium de eo  
 vino quod [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle] experiri  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] eodem infundito et inponito in carbones [\_\_Cato:Agri]  
 (108).  
 C Si id sapiet, quod in dolio est, scito [aci:know:sc-]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] duraturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop]  
 [\_\_Cato:Agri] (108).

C Vinum asperum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] quod erit lene et suave si voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], sic facito [\_\_Cato:Agri] (109).

C Si voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle] scire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [aci:know:sc-], in vinum aqua addita sit [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] necne, vasculum facito de materia hederacia [\_\_Cato:Agri] (111).

C Vinum id, quod [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] putabis [aci:think:put-] aquam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:rel:1st] habere [aci::inf:pres], eo demittito [\_\_Cato:Agri] (111).

C Vinum Coum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] si voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], aquam ex alto marinam sumito mari tranquillo [\_\_Cato:Agri] (112).

C Ubi hauseris de mari, in dolium infundito, nolito [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] implere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord], quadrantalibus quinque minus sit quam plenum [\_\_Cato:Agri] (112).

C Unde vinum Coum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle], uvas relinquito in vinea, sinito [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] bene coquantur [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (112).

C Hoc facito pridie quam vinum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] infundere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (113).

C Vinum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] si voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle] concinnare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], ut alvum bonam faciat, secundum vindemiam, ubi vites ablaqueantur, quantum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] putabis [aci:think:put-] ei rei satis esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] vini, tot vites ablaqueato et signato [\_\_Cato:Agri] (114).

C Si voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle] servare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] in vetustatem ad alvum movendam [\_gerundive], servato, ne commisceas cum cetero vino [\_\_Cato:Agri] (114).

C Vinum [historical::3rd:obj] ad alvum movendam [\_gerundive] concinnare [historical::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (115).

C Lentim [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] quo modo servari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oporteat [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (116).

C Postea lentim oleo perfricato, sinito [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] arescat [ctrl:obj::inf\_subjunct] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (116).

C Si una admiscere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle], cito utito [\_\_Cato:Agri] (117).

C Mustum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] si voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle] totum annum [\_linear] habere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], in amphoram mustum indito et corticem oppicato, demittito in piscinam [\_\_Cato:Agri] (120).

C Vinum [historical::3rd:obj] concinnare [historical::inf:pres], si lotium difficiliter transibit [\_\_Cato:Agri] (122).

C Canes [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] interdiu clausos esse [ecm:deontic::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], ut noctu acriores et vigilantiores sint [\_\_Cato:Agri] (124).

C Ubi desiverit [ctrl:subj:stop:desin-] fervere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] mustum, murtam eximito [\_\_Cato:Agri] (125).

C Ubi voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle] cibum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] concoquere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] et lotium [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], hinc bibito quantum voles sine periculo [\_\_Cato:Agri] (127).

C Incenatum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] [ctrl:obj::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] iubeto [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] esse [\_\_Cato:Agri] (127).

C Habitationem [historical::3rd:obj] delutare [historical::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (128).

C Postea verno arare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] incipito [ctrl:subj:begin:incip-]  
[\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (131).

C Dapem [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] hoc modo fieri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass]  
oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (132).

C Cum [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] pollucere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
[ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj:null] oportebit [ecm:deontic:oport-], sic facies  
[\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (132).

C Iuppiter dapalis, quod [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] tibi fieri  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] in domo familia mea  
culignam vini dapi [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (132).

C Extollito, uti radicem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] capere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possint [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (133).

C Ficum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj], oleam [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj], malum  
Punicum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj], mala strutea [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj],  
cotonea [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] aliaque mala omnia [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj],  
laurum Cypriam [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj], Delphicam [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj],  
prunum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj], murtum coniugulum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj]  
et murtum album [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] et nigrum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj],  
nuces Abellanas [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj], Praenestinas  
[ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj], platanum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj], haec omnia  
genera [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] a capitibus propagari  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null:coord] eximique  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] ad hunc modum oportebit [ecm:deontic:oport-]  
[\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (133).

C Quae [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:subj] diligentius seri  
[ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] voles [ecm:want:velle], in calicibus  
[ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null:coord] seri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet  
[ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (133).

C Eo modo quod vis genus [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] arborum facere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] poteris [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] uti radices bene habeant  
[\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (133).

C Priusquam messim facies, porcam praecidaneam [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] hoc  
modo fieri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-]  
[\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (134).

C Eo [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] indere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet  
[ecm:deontic:oport-] coria bona VIII nostratia [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj],  
recentia quae depsta sient, quam minimum salis habeant [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (135).

C Ea [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] depdere  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] et [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj:null:coord]  
[ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null:coord] unguere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] unguine  
prius oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], tum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj:null:coord]  
[ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null:coord] siccare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres]  
[\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (135).

C Funem [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] exordiri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass]  
oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] longum P LXXII [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (135).

C Funem torculum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] extentum longum esse  
[ecm:deontic::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] P LV  
maximis vasis, minoribus P LI [\_\_\_Cato:Agri] (135).

C Politionem [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] quo pacto partiario dari  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oporteat [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_\_Cato:Agri]  
(136).

C Boves [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj] feriis [ctrl:impers:::2nd:subj:null]  
coniungere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] licet [ctrl:impers:lic-] [\_\_\_Cato:Agri]  
(138).

C Haec [ctrl:impers:::3rd:obj] licet [ctrl:impers:lic-]  
[ctrl:impers:::2nd:subj:null] facere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri]  
(138).

C Lucum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] conlucare  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] Romano more sic oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-]  
[\_\_Cato:Agri] (139).

C Uti tibi [ctrl:deontic:::2nd:subj:dative] ius [ctrl:deontic:ius] est porco  
piaculo facere [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres] illiusce sacri coercendi [\_gerund]  
[\_\_Cato:Agri] (139).

C Si fodere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef]  
voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle], altero piaculo eodem modo facito, hoc amplius  
dicito [\_\_Cato:Agri] (140).

C Agrum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] lustrare  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] sic oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (141).

C Impera [ctrl:obj:order:imper-] suovitaaurilia [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj]  
circumagi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (141).

C Cum divis volentibus quodque bene eveniat, mando tibi, Mani, uti illace  
suovitaaurilia [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], fundum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj],  
agrum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], terramque meam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] quota  
ex parta sive circumagi [aci::inf:pres:pass] sive  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] circumferenda [\_gerundive]  
[aci::inf:pres:no:cop] censeas [aci:believe:cens-], uti cures  
[ctrl:subj:care:cur-] lustrare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (141).

C Ergo agrum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj], terram  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj], fundumque meum [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj],  
suovitaaurilia [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] circumagi  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] iussi [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (141).

C Utique tu fruges [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj], frumenta  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj], vineta [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj]  
virgultaque [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] grandire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
beneque [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] evenire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]  
siris [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (141).

C Nominare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] vetat [ctrl:obj:prohibit:veto-] Martem  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] neque agnum  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] vitulumque [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
[\_\_Cato:Agri] (141).

C Vilici officia quae sunt, quae dominus praecepit, ea omnia quae  
[ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] in fundo fieri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet  
[ecm:deontic:oport-] quaeque [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:coord] emi  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null:coord] pararique  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri]  
(142).

C Hoc amplius, quo modo vilicam [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj]  
[ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] uti [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet  
[ecm:deontic:oport-] et quo modo eae [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null] imperari  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri]  
(142).

C Scito [aci:know:sc-] dominum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] pro tota familia rem  
divinam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] facere [aci::inf:pres]  
[\_\_Cato:Agri] (143).

C Farinam bonam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] et far suptile  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] sciat [ctrl:subj:know:sc-] facere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (143).

C Oleam legendam [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [\_gerundive] hoc modo  
[ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] locare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet  
[ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (144).

C Qui oleam legerint, omnes iuranto [aci:say:iur-] ad dominum aut ad custodem sese [aci:::bound:se:subj:local] oleam [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] non subripuisse [aci::inf:perf] neque quemquam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] suo dolo malo ea oletate ex fundo L Manli [\_\_Cato:Agri] (144).

C Oleam faciundam [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [\_gerundive] hac lege oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] locare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (145).

C Factores, qui oleum fecerint, omnes iuranto [aci:say:iur-] aut ad dominum aut ad custodem sese [aci:::bound:se:subj:local] de fundo L Manli neque alium quemquam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] suo dolo malo oleum [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] neque oleam [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] subripuisse [aci::inf:perf] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (145).

C Oleam pendentem [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] hac lege [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] venire [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (146).

C Recte haec [ecm:promise:::unbound:3rd:subj] dari [ecm:promise::inf:pres:pass] [ecm:promise:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] fierique [ecm:promise::inf:pres:pass] satisque [ecm:promise:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] dari [ecm:promise::inf:pres:pass] domino, aut cui iusserit, promittito [ecm:promise:promitt-] satisque dato arbitrato domini [\_\_Cato:Agri] (146).

C Si emptor legis et factoribus, qui illic opus fecerint, non solverit, cui [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null] dari [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportebit [ecm:deontic:oport-], si dominus volet, solvat [\_\_Cato:Agri] (146).

C Hac lege vinum pendens [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] venire [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (147).

C Vinum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] in doliis hoc modo [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] venire [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (148).

C Si emptor postularit, dominus ius iurandum [\_gerundive] dabit [aci:say:iur-] [aci:::bound:se:subj:local:null] verum [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] fecisse [aci::inf:perf] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (148).

C Qua lege pabulum hibernum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] venire [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oporteat [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (149).

C Prato sicco decedat, ubi pirus florere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] coeperit [ctrl:subj:begin:coop-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (149).

C Bubus domitis binis, cantherio uni, cum emptor pascet, domino [ctrl:impers:::3rd:subj:dative] pascere [ctrl:impers::inf:pres] recipitur [ctrl:impers:recip-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (149).

C Fructum [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] ovium hac lege [ecm:deontic:::2nd:subj:null] venire [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (150).

C Semen [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] cupressi quo modo legi [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null:coord] seri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null:coord] propagarique [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oporteat [ecm:deontic:oport-] et quo pacto cupresseta [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] seri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oporteat [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (151).

C Semen [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj] cupressi Tarentinae per ver legi [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (151).

C Subcavas facito, uti aquam [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] continere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possint [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (151).



C Inter eas sulcos facito, qua herbas [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] de areis purgare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (151).

C Ubi areae factae erunt, semen serito crebrum, ita uti linum seri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] solet [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (151).

C Per aestatem ita uti dictum est [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] fieri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], et ubi semen satum siet, stramentis [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] operiri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], ubi germinascere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] coeperit [ctrl:subj:begin:coop-], tum demi [\_\_Cato:Agri] (151).

C Id habeat ad summum ansas IIII, uti transferri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] possitur [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_attraction] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (154).

C Ea fistulam subdito, uti opturari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] recte possit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (154).

C Id in suggestu inter dolia positum habeto, uti in culleum de dolio vinum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] salire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] possit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (154).

C Per hiemem aquam [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] de agro depelli [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (155).

C In monte fossas inciles puras [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] habere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (155).

C Cum pluire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] incipiet [ctrl:subj:begin:incip-], familiam [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] cum ferreis sarculisque exire [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] incilia [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] aperire [ecm:deontic::inf:pres], [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] aquam [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] diducere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] in vias et [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null:coord] curare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] uti fluat [\_\_Cato:Agri] (155).

C In villa, cum pluet, [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] circumire [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null:coord] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], sicubi perpluat, et [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] signare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] carbone, cum desierit [ctrl:subj:stop:desin-] pluire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], uti tegula mutetur [\_\_Cato:Agri] (155).

C Per segetem in frumentis aut in segete aut in fossis sicubi aqua constat aut aliquid aquae obstat, id [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] emittere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres], [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] patefieri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:coord] removerique [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (155).

C Si voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle] in convivio multum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] bibere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] cenareque [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] libenter, ante cenam esto crudam quantum voles [\_\_Cato:Agri] (156).

C Alvum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] si voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle] deicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] superiorem, sumito brassicae quae levissima erit P IIII inde facito manipulos aequales tres conligatoque [\_\_Cato:Agri] (156).

C Ubi occipiet [ctrl:subj:begin:occip-] fervere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], paulisper demittito unum manipulum, fervere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] desistet [ctrl:subj:stop:desist-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (156).

C Postea ubi occipiet [ctrl:subj:begin:occip-] fervere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], paulisper demittito ad modum dum quinque numeros, eximito [\_\_Cato:Agri] (156).

C Verum quibus tormina molesta erunt, brassicam [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] in aqua [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] macerare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (156).

C Sed si poterit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] solam brassicam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] (eat), edit [\_\_Cato:Agri] (156).

C Nolito [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] multum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] dare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], ne pertaedescat, uti possit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] porro libenter esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] (eat) [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (156).

C Postea inde iusculum frigidum [historical::3rd:obj] sorbere [historical::inf:pres] et ipsam brassicam [historical::3rd:obj] esse [historical::inf:pres] (eat) [\_\_Cato:Agri] (156).

C Principium te [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj] cognoscere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [aci:know:cognosc-] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], quae genera brassicae sint [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] et cuius modi naturam habeant [aci::inf\_subjunct:indir] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).

C Eadem tumida concoquit, eadem erumpit, eadem vulnera putida canceresque purgabit sanosque faciet, quod [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] aliud medicamentum facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] non potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).

C Et si ulcus acrimoniam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] eius ferre [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] non poterit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], farinam hordeaceam misceto, ita opponito [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).

C Huiusce modi ulcera omnia haec sana faciet, quod [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] aliud medicamentum facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] non potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] neque purgare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).

C Et si voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle] eam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:subj] consecram, lautam, siccam sale, aceto sparsam esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] (eat), salubrius nihil est [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).

C Id bene faciet et mali nihil [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] sinet [ctrl:obj:allow:sin-] in corpore consistere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] et alvum bonam faciet [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).

C Hanc [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] mane [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] (eat) oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] ieiunum [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).

C Nam venae omnes ubi sufflatae sunt ex cibo, non possunt [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] perspirare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] in toto corpore [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).

C Haec si uteris, omnis articulos [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] poteris [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] experiri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).

C Hanc [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] mane ieiunum [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] esse [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] (eat) [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).

C Haec res sanum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).

C Si caput aut cervices dolent, eo lotio caldo lavito, desinent [ctrl:subj:stop:desin-] dolere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).

C Et si mulier eo lotio locos fovebit, numquam miseri fient, et [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] fovere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] sic oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).

C Eam [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] arfacere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] et [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj:null:coord] [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null:coord] conterere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] bene minutam [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).

C Siquem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] purgare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voles  
 [ctrl:subj:want:velle], pridie ne cenet [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).  
 C Scito [aci:know:sc-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] salubrem esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] corpori [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).  
 C Quos [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] diffidas [ctrl:subj:despair:diffid-]  
 sanos facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], facies [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).  
 C Ubi esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] (eat)  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] volet [ctrl:subj:want:velle], carnem  
 assam dato [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).  
 C Si esse [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] (eat)  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] non volet [ctrl:subj:want:velle],  
 dato brassicam coctam et panem [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).  
 C Cito te [aci::bound:2nd:subj] intelleges [aci:know:intelleg-] plus  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] audire [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (157).  
 C Alvum [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] deicere  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] hoc modo oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-], si vis  
 [ctrl:subj:want:velle] bene tibi deicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (158).  
 C Ubi iam coctum incipit [ctrl:subj:begin:incip-] esse  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:perf:pass:with:cop], eo addito brassicae coliculos duos  
 [\_\_Cato:Agri] (158).  
 C Et si voles [ctrl:subj:want:velle] insuper vinum Coum mixtum  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] bibere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], licebit  
 [ctrl:impers:lic-] bibas [ctrl:impers::inf\_subjunct]  
 [ctrl:impers::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (158).  
 C Alvum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] deicere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] potest  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (158).  
 C Incipe [ctrl:subj:begin:incip-] cantare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (160).  
 C Locum [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] subigere  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] bene, qui habeat umorem,  
 aut locum crassum [\_\_Cato:Agri] (161).  
 C Ubi erat subactus, areas facito, ut possis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] dextra  
 sinistraque sarire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef], runcare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef], ne calcetur [\_\_Cato:Agri] (161).  
 C Usque licebit [ctrl:impers:lic-] vellas [ctrl:impers::inf\_subjunct],  
 donicum in semen videris [aci:see:vid-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] ire  
 [aci::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Agri] (161).  
 C Ita, cum sumpseris semen, incendito, et cum coeperit  
 [ctrl:subj:begin:coop-] asparagus nasci [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], sarito et  
 stercorato [\_\_Cato:Agri] (161).  
 C Evellito, sic circumfodito, ut facile vellere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] possis [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Cato:Agri]  
 (161).  
 C Pernas [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::2nd:subj:null] sallire  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] sic oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] in dolio aut in  
 seria [\_\_Cato:Agri] (162).  
 C Egoque iam pridem cognovi [aci:know:nosc-] atque intellexi  
 [aci:know:intelleg-] atque arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] rem publicam  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] curare  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] summum periculum  
 [ecm:deontic:pericul-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_non:linear] [\_\_Cato:Or]  
 (21).  
 C Atque quamquam multa nova miracula fecere inimici mei, tamen nequeo  
 [ctrl:subj:able:qu-] desinere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:obj:prohibit:desin-] mirari [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] eorum audaciam

[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] atque confidentiam  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Cato:Or] (22).  
 C Laudant [aci:praise:laud-] me [aci::unbound:1st:subj] maximis laudibus,  
 tantum navium [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], tantum exercitum  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], tantum commeatum  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] non opinatum esse [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop]  
 [aci:think:opin-] quemquam hominem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_non:linear]  
 comparare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] potuisse [aci::inf:perf]  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Cato:Or] (28).  
 C Mare [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] velis florere [aci::inf:pres] videres  
 [aci:see:vid-] [\_\_Cato:Or] (29).  
 C Nam ita dicunt [aci:say:dic-] palam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers]  
 necessum esse obcuratum [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] [\_\_Cato:Or] (33).  
 C Si quis strenue fecerat, donabam honeste, ut alii idem  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] vellent [ctrl:subj:want:velle] facere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Or] (35).  
 C Me [aci::bound:1st:subj] sollicitum [aci::inf:perf:depon:no:cop] atque  
 exercitum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] habitum [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] esse  
 atque porro [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] fore [aci::inf:fut:cop]  
 [\_\_Cato:Or] (39).  
 C Si cuperent [ctrl:subj:want:cup-] hostes fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass],  
 temere fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] nunc possent [ctrl:subj:able:pot-]  
 [\_\_Cato:Or] (42).  
 C Ridibundum [ecm:deontic:ridibund-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null]  
 [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] magistratum [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [\_linear]  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] gerere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres], pauculos  
 homines [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj], mediocriculum exercitum  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] obvium duci [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Cato:Or]  
 (43).  
 C Recto fronte ceteros [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] sequi  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] si norit [ctrl:subj:know:nosc-] [\_\_Cato:Or] (47).  
 C Dixit [aci:say:dic-] a decemviris [\_abl:agent] parum bene sibi  
 [aci::bound:se:goal:distant] cibaria [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] curata esse  
 [aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] [\_\_Cato:Or] (58).  
 C Iussit [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] vestimenta [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj]  
 detrahi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] atque flagro  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] caedi [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass]  
 [\_\_Cato:Or] (58).  
 C Nemo hoc [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] rex ausus est [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-]  
 facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Or] (58).  
 C Quid [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] illos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], bono genere  
 gnatos, magna virtute praeditos, opinamini [aci:think:opin-] animi habuisse  
 [aci::inf:perf] atque [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord]  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] habituros [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop], dum  
 vivent [\_\_Cato:Or] (58)?  
 C Insignitas iniurias [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], plagas  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], verbera [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], vibices  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], eos dolores [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 atque carnificinas [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] per dedecus atque maximam  
 contumeliam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], inspectantibus popularibus suis  
 atque multis mortalibus, te [aci::unbound:2nd:subj] [\_non:linear] facere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] ausum esse [aci::inf:perf:depon:with:cop]  
 [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] [\_\_Cato:Or] (58).  
 C Tuum nefarium facinus [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] peiore facinore operire  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] postulas [ctrl:subj:want:postul-] [\_\_Cato:Or] (59).

C Domi cum auspicamus, honorem [ecm:want:::unbound:3rd:obj] me  
 [ecm:want:::bound:1st:subj] [\_non:linear] dium immortalium velim  
 [ecm:want:velle] habuisse [ecm:want::inf:perf] [\_\_Cato:Or] (73).  
 C Aquam Anienem [ecm:deontic:::3rd:obj] in sacrarium  
 [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null] inferre [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportebat  
 [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Or] (74).  
 C Sedere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] potest [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] in equo  
 trepidante [\_\_Cato:Or] (80).  
 C Nunc ergo arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers]  
 oportere [aci::inf:pres] [ecm:deontic:oport-] [ecm:deontic:::3rd:subj:null]  
 institui [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], quin minus duobus milibus ducentis sit  
 aerum equestrium [\_\_Cato:Or] (85).  
 C Miror [aci:wonder:mir-] [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] audere  
 [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] atque religionem  
 [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] non tenere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], statuas  
 [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] deorum, exempla [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 earum facierum, signa [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] domi pro supellectile  
 statuere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_irony] [\_\_Cato:Or] (98).  
 C Prorsum quodcumque [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj] iubebat  
 [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] fecisse  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:perf] neque [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] quemquam  
 [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:obj] observavisse [ctrl:obj::inf:perf] [\_\_Cato:Or]  
 (101).  
 C Quotiens vidi [aci:see:vid-] trulleos [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] assiternas  
 pertusos [aci::inf:perf:pass:no:cop], aqualis matellas  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] sine ansis [\_\_Cato:Or] (110).  
 C Quod si non conveniatis, cum [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord]  
 convocari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] iubet [ctrl:obj:order:iub-], ita cupidus  
 orationis conducatur, qui auscultet [\_\_Cato:Or] (111).  
 C Frusto panis conduci [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] potest  
 [ctrl:subj:able:pot-], vel uti taceat vel uti loquatur [\_\_Cato:Or] (112).  
 C In coloniam, mercurus, scribere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] nolim  
 [ctrl:subj:want:nolle], si trium virum sim, spatiatorem  
 [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] atque Fescenninum [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 [\_\_Cato:Or] (113).  
 C Quid ego cum illo dissertem amplius, quem [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] ego  
 denique credo [aci:believe:cred-] in pompa vectitatum iri [aci::inf:fut:pass]  
 ludis pro cetera, atque cum spectatoribus  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] sermocinaturum [aci::inf:fut:peri:no:cop]  
 [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj:null:indef] [\_\_Cato:Or] (116)?  
 C Scio [aci:know:sc-] fortunas secundas [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] neglegentiam  
 [ctrl:subj:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] prendere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] solere  
 [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] [\_\_Cato:Or] (122).  
 C Video [aci:see:vid-] hac tempestate [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj:null]  
 concucurrisse [aci::inf:perf] omnes adversarios [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj]  
 [\_\_Cato:Or] (123).  
 C Aetolos [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] pacem [aci:::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear]  
 velle [aci::inf:pres], de ea re oratores [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] Romam  
 [\_linear] profectos [aci::inf:perf:depon:no:cop] [\_\_Cato:Or] (130).  
 C Aliud [ctrl:sent] est [ctrl:sent:::unbound:3rd:subj:null] properare  
 [ctrl:sent::inf:pres], aliud [ctrl:sent] [ctrl:sent:::unbound:3rd:subj:null]  
 festinare [ctrl:sent::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Or] (131).  
 C Iam principio quis vidit [aci:see:vid-] corona donari [aci::inf:pres:pass]  
 quemquam [aci:::unbound:3rd:subj] [\_promoted:goal], cum oppidum captum non  
 esset aut castra hostium non incensa essent [\_\_Cato:Or] (148)?  
 C Postea, ubi irata facta est, servum recepticium  
 [ctrl:obj:::unbound:3rd:subj] sectari [ctrl:obj::inf:pres]

[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] atque  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null:coord] flagitare [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] virum  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:ambig] iubet [ctrl:obj:order:iub-]  
[\_\_\_Cato:Or] (158).

C Scio [aci:know:sc-] solere [aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:used:sol-] plerisque  
hominibus rebus secundis atque prolixis atque prosperis animum  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] excellere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] atque superbiam  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] atque ferociam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] augescere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] atque crescere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Cato:Or] (163).

C Atque ego quidem arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] Rodienses  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] noluisse [aci::inf:perf] [ecm:want:nolle] nos  
[ecm:want::unbound:1st:subj] [\_linear] ita depugnare [ecm:want::inf:pres],  
uti depugnatum est, neque regem Persem [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] vinci  
[ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_\_Cato:Or] (164).

C Sed non Rodienses modo id noluerunt, sed multos populos  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] atque multas nationes [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] idem  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] noluisse [aci::inf:perf] arbitror  
[aci:think:arbitr-] atque haut scio an partim eorum fuerint quo non nostrae  
contumeliae causa id [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] noluerint [ecm:want:nolle]  
evenire [ecm:want::inf:pres] [\_\_\_Cato:Or] (164).

C Libertatis suae causa in ea sententia [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] fuisse  
[aci::inf:perf:cop] arbitror [aci:think:arbitr-] [\_\_\_Cato:Or] (164).

C Quod [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] illos [aci::unbound:3rd:subj]  
[\_non:linear:rel] dicimus [aci:say:dic-] voluisse [aci::inf:perf]  
[ctrl:subj:want:velle] facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres], id  
[ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:obj] nos priores [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj]  
[\_non:linear:is] facere [ctrl:obj::inf:pres] occupabimus  
[ctrl:obj:allow:occup-] [\_\_\_Cato:Or] (165)?

C Qui acerrime advorsus eos dicit, ita dicit [aci:say:dic-],  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] hostes voluisse [aci::inf:perf]  
[ctrl:subj:want:velle] fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_\_Cato:Or] (166).

C Ecquis est tandem, qui vestrorum, quod ad sese attineat,  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:rel] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] aequum  
[ecm:deontic:aequ-] censeat [aci:believe:cens-] poenas  
[ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] dare  
[ecm:deontic::inf:pres] ob eam rem, quod [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
arguatur [aci:say:argu-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null] male facere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voluisse [aci::inf:perf] [ctrl:subj:want:velle]  
[\_personal:passive] [\_\_\_Cato:Or] (166)?

C Si quis illud [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear:demon:2nd] facere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voluerit [ctrl:subj:want:velle], mille minus dimidium  
familiae multa esto, si quis plus quingenta iugera  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] habere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voluerit  
[ctrl:subj:want:velle], tanta poena esto, si quis maiorem pecum numerum  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] habere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voluerit  
[ctrl:subj:want:velle], tantum damnas esto [\_\_\_Cato:Or] (167)?

C Atque nos omnia plura [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] habere  
[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] volumus [ctrl:subj:want:velle], et id nobis impoene est  
[\_\_\_Cato:Or] (167).

C Sed si honorem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] non [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] aequum  
haberi [aci::inf:pres:pass] [aci:believe:hab-] [\_personal:passive] ob eam  
rem, quod [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] bene  
facere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] voluisse [aci::inf:perf] [ctrl:subj:want:velle]  
quis dicit [aci:say:dic-], neque fecit tamen, Rodiensibus oberit, quod non  
malefecerunt, sed quia voluisse [aci::inf:perf] [ctrl:subj:want:velle]  
dicuntur [aci:say:dic-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:raise:null] facere

[ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord]  
 [\_personal:passive] [\_\_Cato:Or] (168)?

C Rodiensis [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] superbos esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] aiunt  
 [aci:say:ai-] id obiectantes quod [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] mihi et  
 liberis meis minimi dici [ecm:want::inf:pres:pass] velim [ecm:want:velle]  
 [\_\_Cato:Or] (169).

C Iussi [ctrl:obj:order:iub-] caudicem [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] proferri  
 [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass], ubi mea oratio scripta erat de ea re quod  
 sponsionem feceram cum M Cornelio [\_\_Cato:Or] (173).

C Sed si omnia dolo fecit, omnia avaritiae atque pecuniae causa fecit,  
 eiusmodi scelera nefaria, quae neque fando [\_gerund] neque legendo [\_gerund]  
 audivimus, supplicium [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] pro factis  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null] dare [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] oportet  
 [ecm:deontic:oport-] [\_\_Cato:Or] (177).

C Quantoque suam vitam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] superiorem atque ampliorem  
 atque antiquiorem animum inducent [aci:believe:duc-] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop]  
 quam innoxiolem [\_\_Cato:Or] (178).

C Multa me [ctrl:obj::unbound:1st:subj] dehortata [ctrl:obj:order:dehort-]  
 huc prodire [ctrl:obj::inf:pres], anni, aetas, vox, vires, senectus, verum  
 enimvero cum tantam rem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] peragier  
 [aci::inf:pres:pass] arbitrarer [aci:think:arbitr-] [\_\_Cato:Or] (196).

C Tamen dicunt [aci:say:dic-] [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] deficere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null] voluisse  
 [aci::inf:perf] [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Cato:Or] (197).

C Ego me [ecm:want::bound:1st:subj] nunc volo [ecm:want:velle] ius  
 pontificium [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_linear] optime scire  
 [ecm:want::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Or] (197).

C Quod maiores [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop]  
 sanctius [ecm:deontic:sanct-] habuere [aci:believe:hab-] defendi  
 [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] pupilem [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] quam clientem  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:obj] non [ecm:deontic::bound:se:subj:distant:null]  
 fallere [ecm:deontic::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Or] (200).

C Si posset [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] auctio fieri [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] de  
 artibus tuis, quasi supellectilis solet [\_\_Cato:Or] (201).

C Pueris in ludo stilos [partial::3rd:obj] stilos [partial::3rd:obj],  
 pasceolos [partial::3rd:obj] furare [partial::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Or] (205).

C Uti testes non interessent, illi, unde petitur, ei  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null:impers] potius credendum [\_gerundive] esse  
 [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Cato:Or] (206).

C Nem, opinior, tam insanus esset, qui iudicaret [aci:believe:iudic-]  
 meliorem esse [aci::inf:pres] Gellium [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] quam Turium  
 [aci::unbound:3rd:subj], si non melior Gellius est Turio [\_abl:compar],  
 potius oportet [ecm:deontic:oport-] [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj:null:impers]  
 credi [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass], unde petitur [\_\_Cato:Or] (206).

C Venefici postridie iussisti [ctrl:obj:order:iub-]  
 [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj:null] adesse [ctrl:obj::inf:pres:cop] in diem ex  
 die non ausi [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] recusare [ctrl:subj::inf:pres]  
 [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_\_Cato:Or] (207).

C Quod [ecm:hope::unbound:3rd:obj] ego me [ecm:hope::bound:1st:subj]  
 [\_non:linear:rel] spero [ecm:hope:sper-] ostenturum  
 [ecm:want::inf:fut:peri:no:cop] [\_\_Cato:Or] (209).

C Sed nisi qui palam corpore pecuniam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] quaerere  
 [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] aut se [ctrl:subj::bound:se:obj:local] lenoni  
 locavisset [ctrl:subj:try:loc-], etsi famosus et suspiciosus fuisset vim  
 [ecm:deontic::3rd:subj] in corpus liberum [aci::unbound:3rd:subj:null] non  
 aecum [ecm:deontic:aequ-] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] censuere [aci:believe:cens-]  
 adferri [ecm:deontic::inf:pres:pass] [\_\_Cato:Or] (212).

C Nunc ita aiunt [aci:say:ai-], in segetibus, in herbis bona frumenta  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] esse [aci::inf:pres:cop] [\_\_Cato:Or] (217).

C Nolite [ctrl:subj:want:nolle] ibi nimiam spem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj]  
habere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] [\_\_Cato:Or] (217).

C Saepe audiui [aci:hear:aud-] inter os atque offam multa  
[aci::unbound:3rd:subj] intervenire [ctrl:subj::inf:pres] posse  
[aci::inf:pres] [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Cato:Or] (217).

C In adulterio uxorem tuam siprehendisses, sine iudicio inpoene necares,  
illa te [ctrl:subj::bound:2nd:obj], si adulterares sive tu adulterarere,  
digito non auderet [ctrl:subj:dare:aud-] contingere [ctrl:subj::inf:pres],  
neque ius est [\_\_Cato:Or] (222).

C Quod compluriens usu venit omni tempore ante ventum esse  
[aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] rem publicam [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] credimus  
[aci:believe:cred-] [\_\_Cato:Or] (227).

C Communem rem [aci::unbound:3rd:subj] agi [aci::inf:pres:pass] putatote  
[aci:think:put-] ac vos [aci::bound:2nd:subj] huic rei prepositos esse  
[aci::inf:perf:pass:with:cop] [\_\_Cato:Or] (237).

C Si falsa confingis, mendax [aci::unbound:2nd:subj:raise:null] esse  
[aci::inf:pres] videris [aci:see:vid-] [personal:passive] [\_\_Cato:Or] (244).  
= De Bacchanalibus

C De Bacchanalibus quei foederatei esent, ita exdeicendum  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] censuere [aci:believe:cens-]  
[\_\_Baccan] (2 3).

C Neiquis eorum Bacanal [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] habuise  
[ctrl:subj::inf:perf] velet [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Baccan] (3).

C Seiques esent, quei sibi [ctrl:deontic::bound:se:subj:dative] deicerent  
[aci:believe:deic-] [aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:impers] necesus  
[ctrl:deontic:necess-] ese [aci::inf:pres:cop] Bacanal  
[ctrl:deontic::3rd:obj] [\_linear] habere [ctrl:deontic::inf:pres], eeis utei  
ad praitorem urbanum Romam venirent [\_\_Baccan] (3 5).

C Bacas [ecm:want::unbound:3rd:subj] vir nequis adiese  
[ecm:want::inf:perf:cop] velet [ecm:want:velle] ceivis Romanus neve nominus  
Latini neve socium quisquam, nisei praitorem urbanum adiesent, isque de  
senatuos sententiad, dum ne minus senatoribus C adesent, quom ea res  
cosoleretur, iousisent [\_\_Baccan] (7 9).

C Neve pecuniam [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] quisquam eorum comoinem habuise  
[ctrl:subj::inf:perf] velet [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Baccan] (11).

C Neve magistratum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj], neve pro magistratud, neque  
virum [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] neque mulierem  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] quisquam fecise [ctrl:subj::inf:perf] velet  
[ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Baccan] (12).

C Neve post hac inter sed [ctrl:subj::bound:se:oblique:local] coniurase  
[ctrl:subj::inf:perf] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] neve comvovise  
[ctrl:subj::inf:perf] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] neve  
conspondise [ctrl:subj::inf:perf] [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord]  
neve conpromiesise [ctrl:subj::inf:perf]  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj:null:coord] velet [ctrl:subj:want:velle], neve  
quisquam fidem [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] inter sed dedise  
[ctrl:subj::bound:se:oblique:local] velet [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Baccan]  
(13 14).

C Sacra [ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] in oquoltod ne quisquam fecise  
[ctrl:subj::inf:perf] velet [ctrl:subj:want:velle] [\_\_Baccan] (15).

C Neve in poplicod neve in preivatod neve extrad urbem sacra  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] quisquam fecise [ctrl:subj::inf:perf] velet  
[ctrl:subj:want:velle], nisei praitorem urbanum adieset, isque de senatuos  
sententiad, dum ne minus senatoribus C adesent, quom ea res cosoleretur,  
iousisent [\_\_Baccan] (15 18).



C Homines plous V oinvorsei virei atque mulieres sacra  
[ctrl:subj::unbound:3rd:obj] ne quisquam fecise [ctrl:subj::inf:perf] velet  
[ctrl:subj:want:velle], neve inter ibei virei plous duobus, mulieribus plous  
tribus arfuise [ctrl:subj::inf:perf:cop] velent [ctrl:subj:want:velle], nisei  
de praitoris urbani senatuosque senetentiad, utei suprad scriptum est  
[\_\_Baccan] (19 22).

C Sei ques esent, quei arvorsum ead fecisent, quam suprad scriptum est, eeis  
rem capitalem faciendam [aci::unbound:3rd:obj] [\_gerundive]  
[aci::inf:pres:no:cop] censuere [aci:believe:cens-] [\_\_Baccan] (24 25).

C Atque utei hoc in tabolam ahenam inceideretis, ita senatus  
[aci::unbound:3rd:obj:null:impers] [aci::inf:pres:no:cop] aiqum censuit  
[aci:believe:cens-], uteique eam [ctrl:obj::unbound:3rd:subj] figier  
[ctrl:obj::inf:pres:pass] ioubeat[is] [ctrl:obj:order:iub-], ubei facilumed  
gnoscier [ctrl:subj::inf:pres:pass] potisit [ctrl:subj:able:pot-] [\_\_Baccan]  
(25 27).

## APPENDIX C. NOUN/ADJECTIVE INFLECTIONS

General note: Following both PIE and its contemporary daughter languages, early Latin nominals take identical inflections in the nominative and accusative cases within the singular or plural system for all [neuter] forms.

Common variants in early Latin are listed after a tilde (~); forms in parentheses are rare or restricted to only a few nouns. Some adjectival inflections differ slightly from those of nouns, which are shown below.

**FIRST DECLENSION** (mostly feminine, a few masculine)

Case	Singular	Plural
Nominative	-a	-ae
Genitive	-ae ~ -ai <sup>93</sup>	-ārum
Dative	-ae ~ -ai	-īs (-ābus) <sup>94</sup>
Accusative	-am	-ās
Ablative	-ā	-īs (-ābus)

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<sup>93</sup> The archaic genitival -as is fossilized in *paterfamilias*, lit. ‘father of the family’.

<sup>94</sup> The alternative dative/ablative plural occurs only with two nouns, *dea* ‘goddess’ and *filia* ‘daughter’ to distinguish them from the otherwise identical forms of *deus* ‘god’ and *filius* ‘son’. From the earliest inscriptions it is apparent that -abus was the original first-declension form but later lost the /b/ and developed a compensatory long vowel.

**SECOND DECLENSION** (Mostly masculine and neuter, a few feminine [declined like masculine])

	<b>Singular</b>		<b>Plural</b>	
<b>Case</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>N</b>
Nominative	<i>-us ~ -os</i> <sup>95</sup>	<i>-um</i>	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-a</i>
Genitive	<i>-ī</i>		<i>-ōrum ~ -um</i>	
Dative	<i>-ō</i>		<i>-īs</i>	
Accusative	<i>-um ~ -om</i>		<i>-ōs</i>	<i>-a</i>
Ablative	<i>-ō</i>		<i>-īs</i>	

**THIRD DECLENSION** (Masculine, feminine, and neuter)

	<b>Singular</b>		<b>Plural</b>	
<b>Case</b>	<b>M/F</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>M/F</b>	<b>N</b>
Nominative	— <sup>96</sup>		<i>-ēs (-īs)</i> <sup>97</sup>	<i>-(i)a</i>
Genitive	<i>-is</i>		<i>-(i)um</i>	
Dative	<i>-ī</i>		<i>-ibus</i>	
Accusative	<i>-em (-im)</i>	[same as nominative]	<i>-ēs (-īs)</i>	<i>-(i)a</i>
Ablative	<i>-e (-ī)</i>		<i>-ibus</i>	

<sup>95</sup> The variant endings *-os* and *-om* (accusative singular) are a hallmark of early Latin, disappearing by the classical period.

<sup>96</sup> Unlike all other declensions, the third declension has no paradigmatic ending in the nominative singular.

<sup>97</sup> The *-ē ~ -ī* variation and the presence or absence of /i/ in other endings depends on whether the stem ends in *i-*. *i*-stems take the /i/ variants.

**FOURTH DECLENSION** (Mostly masculine, a few feminine and neuter)

	<b>Singular</b>		<b>Plural</b>	
<b>Case</b>	<b>M/F</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>M/F</b>	<b>N</b>
Nominative	<i>-us</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-ūs</i>	<i>-ua</i>
Genitive	<i>-ūs</i>		<i>-uum</i>	
Dative	<i>-ui</i>		<i>-ubus</i>	
Accusative	<i>-um</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-ūs</i>	<i>-ua</i>
Ablative	<i>-ū</i>		<i>-ubus</i>	

**FIFTH DECLENSION** (Mostly feminine, a few masculine)

<b>Case</b>	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
Nominative	<i>-ēs</i>	<i>-ēi</i>
Genitive	<i>-ēi</i>	<i>-ērum</i>
Dative	<i>-ēi</i>	<i>-ēbus</i>
Accusative	<i>-em</i>	<i>-ēs</i>
Ablative	<i>-ē</i>	<i>-ēbus</i>

## VITA

Sarah Ross grew up in Huntsville, in northeast Alabama. She attributes her early interest in linguistics to the fact that both of her parents are from New Orleans yet speak with different accents, and those accents also differ from what one typically hears in north Alabama. As an important part of NASA's Apollo program, Huntsville attracted scientists from all over the U.S. and even internationally, including many Germans. Together, those speakers created a rich sociolinguistic fabric.

Another factor in Ms. Ross's linguistic interests was the dictionary work assigned by her fourth-grade teacher, Mrs. Rankin. Students had to look up words and copy their definitions from the dictionary. Fortunately for Ms. Ross, the dictionary she had was an old unabridged version that included substantial etymologies – and it did not require too many look-ups to realize that the etymology “L” (Latin) was a recurring theme.

Thus began her interest in systematically understanding Latin, and by high school she was able to begin formal study of that language. The initial reason for studying Latin was to learn more word roots, but the focus quickly expanded into understanding what the ancient Romans had to say about themselves, in their own language. Ms. Ross enjoyed Latin so much that she decided to major in it in college, and she received an undergraduate degree in Classics (a major in Latin and minor in Greek). Eventually she formalized those language studies by earning the Master of Arts degree in linguistics from Louisiana State University and plans to continue research in linguistics and Latin.